

contact

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CONTACT INTERVIEWS ELIZABETH MAFEKENG

See PAGE 2



BANISHED TO LONELY EXILE — Elizabeth Mafekeng with the youngest of her eleven children

A BUS TWICE A WEEK

THE LONELY EXILE OF ELIZABETH MAFEKENG

TWO policemen and a Native Commissioner banged on the door of a small terraced cottage in Paarl a few days ago. They produced a scrap of paper. And that bit of paper, signed by Mr. de Wet Nel, Minister for Bantu Affairs, ordered the mother of that household to leave her husband, to whom she was married in a Christian ceremony 22 years ago, and to leave her eleven children, and go to live alone 600 miles away until the Honourable Minister gave her permission to return.

Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, the first woman in South Africa to be served with a summary banishment order, has lived in Paarl for 32 years. The place she has been banished to — Southey—is in the north-west semi-desert of the Cape, about 40 miles from Vryburg. The area of her banishment has been described as a "concentration camp", a "political detention camp" and a "Native Trust farm".

The point is that she will live in a two-roomed, specially built hut on a desolate plot of land euphemistically called a cattle farm by the Vryburg Native Commissioner. She cannot move without Ministerial permission. Several other huts there, I am authoritatively told, are being prepared for other women considered "detrimental to good native administration" from other areas.

No public trial

Who is Mrs. Mafekeng and what is she like? She has had no public trial. No one has heard what evidence, if any, the Government has against her.

What has she done? Mrs. Mafekeng is president of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, probably the most militant trade union in the country. She is also vice-president of the Women's League of the African National Congress. (The president, Lilian Ngoyi, is on trial for treason.)

A few weeks ago Mrs. Mafekeng led a large demonstration against the issue of passes to African women in Paarl. She was arrested, kept in gaol for three weeks, but the charge against her failed in court. One

By
Myrna Blumberg

week later, coinciding with the official drive for women's passes in the Cape, Mrs. Mafekeng received her banishment notice.

Under that darkly despotic piece of legislation, the Native Administration Act, a number of African male leaders have already been banished to rot in remote and forgotten areas.

Remarkable woman

At 41 she is a very handsome and compact woman, remarkably cheerful and calm. A fiery orator on public platforms, who always introduces her speeches with a song sung in a rich melodious voice. She spoke very gently and lovingly about the family she will leave behind her.

Her husband, a £4-a-week canning worker, will have to take care of the whole family, without the £5-a-week she has been earning as a full-time trade union worker. (She will get £2-a-month in Southey from the Government for her needs.)

Her household is probably the best organised in the Cape. Visitors to her small cottage have always been full of admiration at the way all her children have their special tasks, and the place runs like clockwork. Now the children are distraught at the loss of their mother's guiding and warm presence.

In the one week's grace given to Mrs. Mafekeng to organise her affairs before leaving for the wilderness, she was faced with the problem—a small, human one of no concern, perhaps, to the Honourable Christian Minis-

ter who has banished her but of great significance to any mother—of whether to wean her two-months-old baby quickly and leave it behind or take it with her.

"But what am I going to, and for how long?" she asked me. "Is it fair to expect a child to endure such loneliness?"

I asked Mr. Bourquin, Native Commissioner in Vryburg, what sort of conditions she would face in Southey.

"Her two rooms will be furnished—very simply, of course," he said. "She will be one hundred yards away from two white families, engineers on the farm. And a couple of miles away from some other native families. There is a bus that goes to the nearest shop—about twice a week, I think.

"She could probably get work"—and he laughed with apparent embarrassment—"as ... ah ... a domestic servant with one of the white families. But I don't know if it would suit her. Most of the deportees we get here are raw natives."

But the story of Mrs. Mafekeng and the possibility that more women will be treated so ferociously has been reported throughout the world press; overseas protests have joined the local pleas that Mrs. Mafekeng be left with her family.

In Paarl, the women workers, who adore her, call her Rocky. The Government might notice the connection between her nickname and the most popular current song among African women: "When you strike the women, you have struck a rock ..."

CONCERT FOR TRIALS FUND

CAPE TOWN: *INGOMA* is the name of a concert to be held in aid of the Treason Trials Defence Fund at the Temple Israel Hall, Green Point, on Saturday, November 14, at 8.15 p.m.

The concert, which will consist of African folk songs and dances with massed choirs, as well as a special jazz section, promises Cape Town something new and exciting in entertainment.

Admission 7/6 and 5/-. and tickets are obtainable at 2 Vlam Gebou, Church Square (phone: 3-3506) and at the hall on the night of the concert.

The TTDF is also organising a mammoth bazaar in the Cathedral Hall on Friday, November 27. This bazaar is also being sponsored by a number of organisations and church bodies and a large range of goods, with special emphasis on the Christmas shopper, will be on sale.

DEPORTED MOTHER'S FAMILY



Only the baby can go with her into exile

APARTHEID = GREED

GROUP AREAS WILL FAVOUR WHITES

From Contact Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG: The recent announcement that Umzimkulu, a small town in the Transkei, is to be a white group area has been bitterly criticised here. Commenting, Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, referred to the fact that during the recent elections Nationalist speakers repeatedly assured their listeners that they need not fear that white interests would suffer through the application of Dr. Verwoerd's new Bantustan vision.

"This assurance," said Mr. Brown, "is confirmed by the news that the village of Umzimkulu is now to be declared a white group area.

"Since the disastrous floods of May," adds Mr. Brown "African residents of Umzimkulu have been living in great uncertainty. Quite apart from the fact that many of them lost their homes and most of their belongings and have been living in tents for some four months, persistent rumours have circulated to the effect that freehold owners would not be permitted to return permanently to their holdings. These fears have now been confirmed and Umzimkulu is to be declared a white group area.

"The Liberal Party is entirely opposed to the whole conception of group areas for any section of the population. Nevertheless, if Bantustan means anything at all, Umzimkulu should be part of it, and if the interests of any group are to prevail, then African interests should. Instead African landowners who have made great sacrifices to purchase land and security in Umzimkulu are now to be denied both and moved to a new site twelve miles away.

"Those whose homes were destroyed in the floods will be offered compensation which the European chairman of the village management board has described as 'farcical.'

"The chairman has rightly objected to the Government plan and has complained of the

deterioration in racial harmony which has resulted from it. But, as the Liberal Party has consistently pointed out, such deterioration is an inescapable result of apartheid, for in no matter what glowing terms the Government may attempt to describe it, apartheid remains, in practice, white domination. Under white domination, white interests inevitably prevail over those of everyone else.

"The announcement that Umzimkulu is to be a white group area exposes Dr. Verwoerd's Bantustan vision for the farce it is. Is it too much to hope that this vicious proposal will be dropped and that the residents of Umzimkulu of all races will be left to live in the peace which they have enjoyed in the past?"

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FREE STATE MEETING

Job Reservation "Real And Serious Threat"

—Say Coloured Workers

BLOEMFONTEIN: The biggest meeting in the history of the coloured community in the Free State was held recently in Bloemfontein to protest against the very real and serious threat of job reservation. The meeting was organised by the Heatherdale Advisory Board, of which Mr. T. E. Barlow is chairman, and Mr. Plaattjies secretary.

It had been called as a result of the Government announcement that, with effect from next year, certain work now being done by coloured workers, would be reserved for whites only. This included work done by lorry drivers, builders, painters and in the furniture trade. In consequence, the coloured people throughout the Free State now live in fear of losing their livelihood.

Prior to the meeting the Heatherdale Board had met leading members of the African National Congress and other non-whites in order to draw up a plan of action and arrange the present protest meeting. At this, Mr. Barlow pointed out the grave injustice of job reservation and how the coloured people would suffer.

He appealed to the community to join in a protest to Government by taking the following action:

by withdrawing their money from the Post Office Savings Bank.

by stopping their children from buying Union loan certificates and

by boycotting the Union festival celebrations next year.

Mr. Barlow said that by

putting money in the Post Office, or by buying certificates, it was providing the Government with funds with which to help its policy of *apartheid* and enabling it to bring in oppressive legislation against the non-white people in the country.

Other Views

Several other speakers took part in the meeting, including Mr. J. B. Mofora, Free State president of the ANC and former treason trialist. Also Mr. Chatfield, one of the leading personalities in Bloemfontein, who said that South Africa was spacious enough and rich enough "for all its children to share in peace and prosperity" and that there was "no need for *apartheid*, job reservation and all other oppressive laws". He predicted that the present form of government would end "within the next five years."

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution urging Government to reconsider its plans for job reservation. A petition to this effect was drawn up and signed by all those present.

The Liberal Party is also taking a serious view of the matter. In a statement on the

subject Mr. Peter Brown, the Party's national chairman says:

"The Party protests in the strongest terms against the growing threat to non-white workers contained in the extension of the "job reservation" provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

"At the present moment a Government inquiry is being made into the desirability of reserving certain jobs in the building industry in Natal and the Cape for white workers. Recently the Minister of Labour announced a similar investigation among lorry drivers in the Free State. He has now assured white garage men that they will be protected from unfair competition from Africans working in African areas.

Liberal Policy

"The Liberal Party is entirely opposed to the principle of protecting members of one group at the expense of others. Job reservation will lead to experienced and highly-skilled workmen being graded down to jobs which require neither the skill nor the experience they have spent years acquiring. It can mean their displacement by less competent white workers. It can also mean a serious loss of income to many non-white families.

"What employer can afford to pay brick-layer's wages to a man who was a brick-layer but who is now forced to work as a labourer?

"Job reservation is an evil device designed to extend white privilege and to protect white workers from competition which, if they can attain the necessary standard of competence, they should be able to meet through their own efforts. It is not only evil but unnecessary.

"As a young and developing country South Africa needs all the skilled workmen she can find. Her economy needs the skilled wages they can earn. Mr. de Klerk may produce expedient arguments to justify these moves of his. All he is really doing is condemning the whole South African economy to a stagnation which will be as ultimately disastrous for white South Africans as it promises to be immediately disastrous for non-white South Africans."

working knowledge of colonial affairs and feel that Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd's exit from the Colonial Office and his replacement by Mr. Macleod is a move in the right direction. They blame Lennox-Boyd for the British Government's rejection of the Devlin Report and for covering up the Hola (Kenya) tragedy.

In the general election Oxford returned a Conservative candidate. Oswald Mosley ("keep Britain white") lost his deposit standing on a racialist platform, and an Indian candidate was successful in a constituency renowned for its "violent racialism".

These factors, and the knowledge that the new Colonial Secretary (Macleod) belongs to the "liberal" wing of the Conservative Party, are hopeful signs of the liberal trend in Britain today.



Liberals Support Boycotts

THE growing boycott of South Africa overseas was discussed by the Liberal Party at its recent National Committee meeting in Johannesburg. After the meeting the following statement was issued:—

While fully aware of the many possible shortcomings of and hardships caused by boycotts, the Liberal Party of South Africa affirms that this is one of the few non-violent means available of influencing white government in South Africa, and therefore approves of its use, both here and overseas, as a legitimate political weapon.

Plans For New Church At Kwazakele

From Contact Correspondent

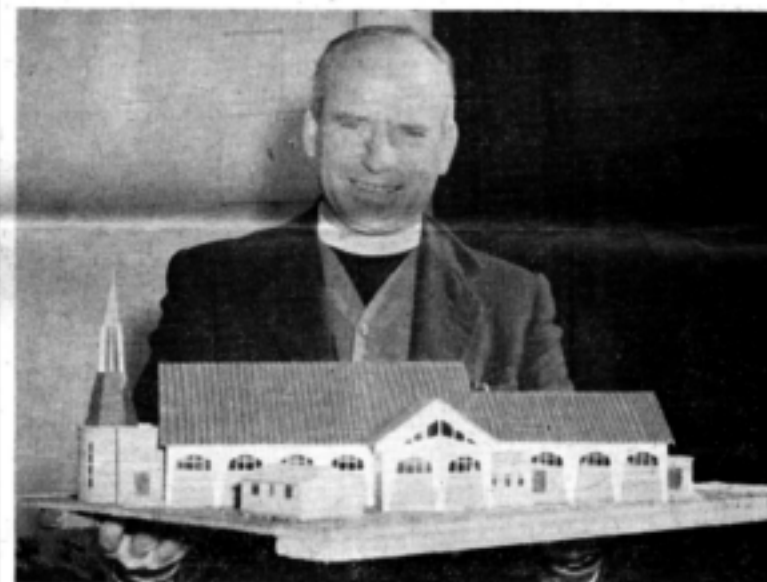
PORT ELIZABETH: Plans for a new £23,000 church and community centre for African Anglicans in Kwazakele are almost complete and have been submitted for approval by the Port Elizabeth City Council. All that now remains is to raise additional funds to assure the success of the project.

Nation-wide support for the building fund has been helped by donations from the United States and among donors in the Union are Africans, Whites, Coloured, Indian and Chinese, some of them non-Christians.

Father H. F. C. Thorpe (pic-

tions of up to 1,000 are expected. The church itself will accommodate 800 people.

The Board of Finance of the Diocese of Grahamstown has made available an immediate grant of £7,000 and the Port Elizabeth Church Extension



tured holding a model of the church community centre) will be the priest-in-charge. The church and community centre have been designed as a unit to enable sliding doors to be used as part of the church during special festivals when congrega-

Board has promised an interest-free loan of £3,000. These sums, together with the £5,000 raised by the church appeal, bring the total to £15,000 and it is hoped public support will be forthcoming to raise the balance required.

MINISTERS BACK APPEAL AGAINST GROUP AREAS

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: Eight ministers of religion have endorsed an appeal made to the City Council by the Durban Citizens' Committee to contest Group Areas proposals for the city.

The ministers are: Archdeacon Wade (Anglican), Archbishop Denis Hurley (Catholic), Rev. H. F. Yule (Presbyterian), Rev. P. Gordon (Congregational), Rev. J. Poorter (Baptist), Dr. S. Sudbury (Methodist), Rabbi Shroch (United Hebrew Congregation) and Rabbi Miller (Progressive Jewish Congregation).

Expressing their concern at the harsh treatment that will be inflicted on non-whites if the group areas plans are carried out, the ministers continue: "We need not emphasise the re-

ligious and moral issues involved. An injustice against a fellow-man is an offence against God.

"How can we, in conscience, turn to God in prayer knowing that by consent or our silence we are contributing to the misery of our neighbour?"

"No true prayer can rise from a heart unconcerned about the sufferings of others. Let us seek for ourselves and our rulers the will to respect in all our dealings the love and justice that are the attributes of God."

AUDIENCE LAUGHED AT HIM

VAN RHIJN'S FIASCO AT OXFORD

From Contact Correspondent

OXFORD: Dr. Van Rhijn, South African High Commissioner in England, did a lot to get Oxford interested in South Africa a couple of weeks ago. He held a meeting which turned out, from his point of view, to be disastrous.

He came to the University to put across the South African government's case. Unfortunately for him he has not been in England long enough to know how people are thinking here and he still uses language more suited to the Union Parliament.

He enraged the students by saying things like this: "The Bantu breed like flies". He said that his "boy" had been in his service "since he was a boy", and called him "Baas". He referred to the coloured people as "bastards".

He tried to show that the government's latest *apartheid* programme was benevolent. But each time he slipped into using contemptuous language about the non-whites there were shouts from the crowded audience of "Fascist!"

He tried to justify the Fort Hare sackings—this drew shouts of "Fascist!"—and by the end of the meeting the audience was laughing at him.

Oxford knows all about the Fort Hare sackings and is bitter about them.

The more "liberal" elements at Oxford also have a good

CONTACT

TAXI APARTHEID

GOVERNMENT IS RUINING COLOURED TAXI DRIVERS

ON 1 JANUARY 1960 an amendment of vital importance to the 1930 Road Transportation Act of May 1959 will come into force. When it does, it will mean that many non-white-owned taxi firms will be prohibited from accepting white fares, and even the choice they have at present of plying for either non-white or white fares, will be taken away from them.

This will mean the death-blow to the livelihood of many coloured taxi drivers whose families have, for generations, served the public of Cape Town to their satisfaction.

The Road Transportation Act of 1930 legislates that separate taxis shall be set aside for non-whites and whites. Until recently, however, taxi drivers have been able to take both whites and non-whites under the provision of a local municipal law which requires drivers to take an agreed fare anywhere without delay, "unless he is drunk, suffering from an infectious disease, or is wearing filthy clothes."

As a result of spying and trapping by the Road Transportation Board in a tightening-up campaign started last year, a number of taxi drivers have been summoned for carrying

European. Eventually I got a fare—it was for 2s. 6d.—my total takings that day". He said that this was a typical example of the hardship caused by the act.

Mr. R. Adams, another taxi driver said, "for years we have been peacefully running our taxis; now the government has turned on us, and everything has gone bad. I have a wife and family to feed. To do it at the moment I sometimes have to be on the rank for 8 hours at a stretch. God knows what I am going to do in the New Year."

The result of the Amendment of May 1959 will be that non-white taxi owners will be forced to take non-white fares only. This is in spite of the fact that the Minister of Transport, Mr. Schoeman, said in May that he had given the taxi men the opportunity to choose whether they wished to convey whites or non-whites.

Insidious anomaly

An insidious anomaly of the Amendment is that if the taxi is owned by a white, then, with the permission of the minister, the driver, even though he is a non-white, may ply for white fares. This permission must be granted if the white-owned taxi firms are to stay in existence, as wages prohibit employing whites as taxi drivers. Having got the necessary permission, the taxi owners are in for a period of prosperity at the expense of the non-white owners they will displace.

The number of white-owned taxis is comparatively small, but they will be in constant demand by the white clientele which previously patronised the non-white taxi men.

Malnutrition Main Problem at Durban Hospital

DURBAN: Malnutrition is the main problem in the African children's ward of King Edward VIII non-white hospital in Durban, states a memorandum issued by the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Natal.

Malnutrition is also increasing among Indian and coloured children, it adds.

£35,000 a year is the minimum sum which, it is estimated, will care for African children suffering from the disease. It costs the provincial medical service £45 a month to restore a starving child to health when a small part of that amount could have prevented the disease, states the memorandum.

From July, 1958, to June,

That is why white taxi owners will welcome the implementation of apartheid in taxis, and Mr. M. T. Bardiën alleges that already one white-owned firm in particular is benefiting from the desperate position of the non-white taxi men. It was when the licences held by non-whites for operating taxi ranks controlled by the Railways and Harbours Police, in Observatory, Rondebosch and Salt River, were suddenly withdrawn and given to that firm in addition to a licence for a newly constituted rank in Rondebosch, that the Cape Taxi Owners Association became suspicious. Information was received that the firm in question had associates in the Railway Police, who obtained these ranks for it. This led to an application for an enquiry into the whole affair. The result was that before it could be held, two members of the Railway Police resigned.

Mr. Bardiën adds: "At a subsequent meeting of the Cape Taxi Owners Association, held to protest against the Amendment to the Road Transportation Act, at the City Hall, a white taxi operator hired the room next to where the meeting was held and listened in to the proceedings of our meeting on a wire recorder."

Oppressive Pattern

At a meeting of the Cape Taxi Owners Association in the City Hall, Cape Town, on 18 October, it was stated that "throughout the Union of South Africa taxi-operators are totally opposed to the idea of taxi apartheid, and are convinced that it is part of a pattern to prevent the economic advancement of the oppressed people."



M. T. BARDIËN

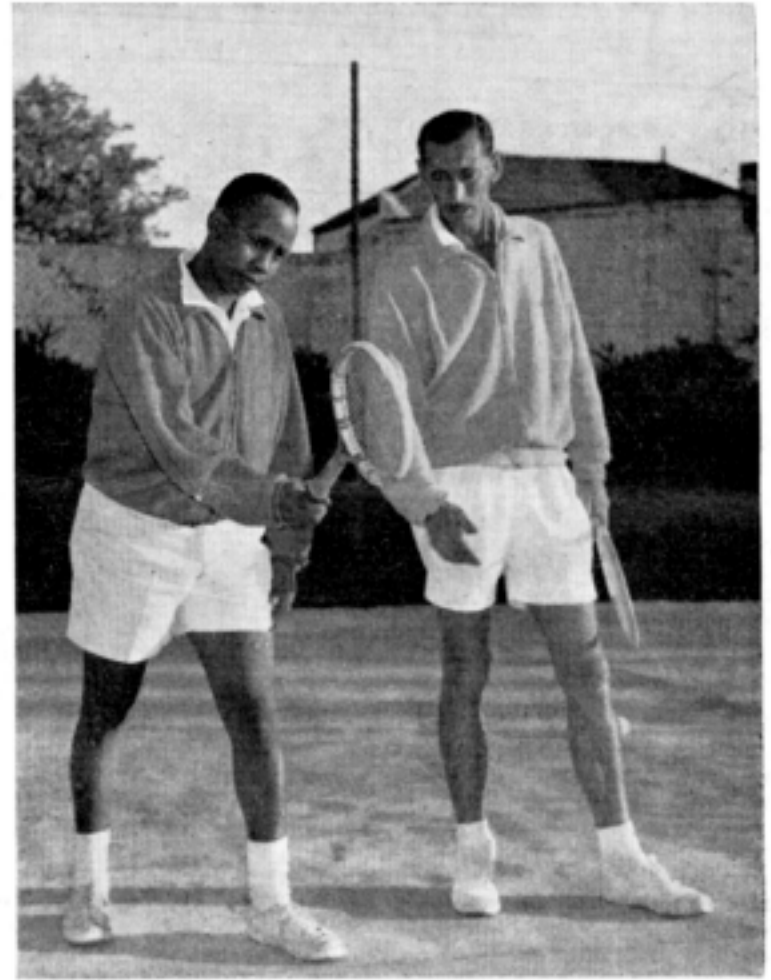
fares of the race for which they were not licensed. In Port Elizabeth and Durban two such drivers were found not guilty of the charge because of the existence of this municipal law. Subsequently another amendment to the act was passed obliging drivers to ply for one race of passenger only, regardless of any local law to the contrary. The consequence of this was that taxi owners found their profits cut immediately by nearly half.

Commenting on the injustice of the law, the secretary of the Cape Taxi Owners Association, Mr. M. T. Bardiën, says, "this act creates terrific difficulties for us. We are now required to act as race classification officers in having to decide what so-called race a passenger is. If the government is finding difficulty in deciding what race a particular person is, how are we supposed to know? As it is we are losing many fares through having to cross-examine passengers as to what race they belong to."

One old taxi driver who had been driving a cab for thirty years said: "One day I waited in Adderley Street for seven hours and had to refuse every fare because it was from a

CONTACT

AIMING AT S.A. TITLE



John Booyesen (left)—who hopes to play at Wimbledon—with his coach Brian Bands (right).

BORDER CHAMPION WANTS TO PLAY AT WIMBLEDON

From Contact Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: John Booyesen, 27-year old Eastern Province and Border non-white tennis champion, wants to play in overseas tournaments and at Wimbledon in 1960.

Without coaching, without stern opposition and the facilities enjoyed by more fortunate South Africans, he has won the Eastern Province and Border singles titles on several occasions and has reached the semi-finals of the national tournament twice.

His ambition is not a selfish one. He hopes that the experience he gains will enable him to return and coach the dozens of young non-whites who, otherwise, would continue to fall away from tennis for the want of expert guidance.

He is training conscientiously for the South African tournament to be held in Port Elizabeth early next year and hopes his results will prove he is worth a chance.

He is prepared to work his passage overseas just as Springbok Owen Williams did on his first trip. He peeled potatoes on the ship, that took him to England.

Brian Bands, the Port Elizabeth professional spent some time playing with John recently and was surprised at his ability considering his lack of opportunity.

His employer, Mr. Ronnie Kaplan, said Mr. Booyesen was given time off twice a week to practise and if he were to go overseas, they would keep his job for him.

Trial of Strength

The Weightlifting Federation is being quite modest about the claims of its lifters, despite exaggerated press-reports. While two champions, Johnny Gedult and Precious Makenzie have exceeded

the totals put up by the white champions in their own championships in September, they did not break the existing records. But the non-racial Federation has great hopes for them and they have staked a strong claim for the Rome Olympics.

The real test will come when the Federation asks for an Olympic trial with the whites-only body which is stubbornly opposed to it. But the essence of weightlifting is competition on the same platform.

Cricket Racialists

Sportsmen everywhere are disgusted at the failure of the Natal Indian Cricket Union to delete its racial designation. There is serious talk of secession, both in the Cape and elsewhere. It is difficult to understand why this should have happened in Natal, normally so progressive.

But it is in line with the racial ideas in the cricket bodies who prefer to chase the chimera of a racial tour of India and Pakistan in 1961 (!) rather than seek international recognition for all South African cricketers.

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APARTHEID AND THE SASJ

White Journalists Accept Racial "Kraaling"

TOWARDS THE END of August, a journalist on the *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg) was selected for a bursary made available by the Imperial Relations Trust to enable him to stay in Britain for six months to study conditions of life. More recently, a young journalist, a member of the editorial staff of *The Friend* (Bloemfontein), left for the United States of America to take his chance at winning a £3,000 bursary, offered by the Ford Company from 30 teenage reporters from all over the world.

In both cases the journalists, selected with the cooperation of the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ), were White. Since no non-white journalists are members of the SASJ, which practises a colour bar, it therefore means that no non-white has a chance of being selected for bursaries of a similar nature.

During the month of October, the largest party of South African journalists ever to go overseas will fly to Germany on a ten-day visit. The journalists—20 representatives of South Africa's leading newspapers, magazines and radio programmes—will be guests of the Ford Motor Co. on a visit to the Cologne factory. Needless to say, all these journalists will be white because non-white journalists are not employed on the Union's leading newspapers, magazines and radio programmes.

The only newspapers and magazines that do employ non-white reporters are those which cater for the interests of the non-white population, the so-called non-European press. These include the *Golden City Post*, the *World*, the *Leader*, the *Graphic*, the *African Reporter*, *Drum* and *Zonk*.

No non-whites

The SASJ has no non-white members because it is a registered trade union, i.e. it is officially recognised under the *apartheid*

Henry Simmons By

provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act. The SASJ cherishes and clings to this recognition, therefore it accepts the principle of *apartheid* and the racial *kraaling* of journalists and other workers into separate unions.

No non-white can become a member of the SASJ as long as it remains registered. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act Africans are not even recognised as employees and therefore never registered when organised into trade unions. In short, they are prohibited by law from becoming members of a registered trade union.

Some time ago several Coloured and Indian journalists from Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town applied for membership of the SASJ. Their applications were turned down because the SASJ could not accept them as members and at the same time remain a registered union. To get out of this embarrassing situation the SASJ has made plans to organise a "mixed union" with Coloureds and Indians as members—under the I C Act. It is presently awaiting the approval of the Industrial Registrar for such a "mixed" union.

Under such a mixed union the Coloured and Indian journalists

will have second-class membership as they will not have a say in the policy-making activities of that union. They will not be able to influence the union since it is illegal for Coloureds and Indians to be elected to the executive committees of mixed unions.

The only democratic course open for the SASJ is to reject the government registration of trade unions and to go ahead with the formation of a non-racial, democratic trade union of journalists.

Such a union would, of course, not be recognised by the authorities, but the strength of any union does not lie in Government registration, recognition and arbitration. It lies in unity, discipline and principled struggle.

If the SASJ deregistered, in terms of the *apartheid* clauses of the I C Act, it would lose nothing because it has gained very little, if anything, through recognition. And in any case why should journalists let the Government determine membership, organisation and form of struggle undertaken?

How long

How long will the SASJ allow the Government to dictate to it through the I C Act? How long will it cling to recognition with its dubious advantages?

Perhaps the SASJ needs to be reminded of the history of the trade union movement. During the

LUTULI AND ANC POLICY

Chief Albert J. Lutuli referred recently to the women's disturbances in Natal, and took the opportunity to define the methods which he and the African National Congress, of which he is President-General, were adopting to deal with the mounting oppression of apartheid. Inter alia he said:

"Congress has adopted the policy of using extra-parliamentary methods of struggle but strictly on the basis of non-violence. This policy has been adopted deliberately, following a profound study and experience of the South African situation. We believe that as conditions are in this country it is possible for the people by the use of overwhelming peaceful pressure to win all their demands for freedom. We are aware of the fact that people as a result of desperation at the terrible conditions under which they live and sometimes owing to deliberate provocative acts by the authorities may spontaneously resort to violence. But our task is to educate our people on the efficacy of Congress methods of struggle. We do not preach the use of non-violent methods for the benefit of our enemies but for the benefit of our own people and for the ultimate benefit of our multi-racial society. Under our conditions in South Africa violent struggle would probably leave a legacy of bitterness which would render it difficult to establish a firm and stable multi-racial democracy in the future."

period of the industrial revolution in Britain, workers were prohibited by law from combining or organising to fight for better conditions. The penalties for doing so were extremely severe. Workers had no vote, no say in Parliament, no say in the framing of the laws of the country. Did this daunt them? Did this prevent them from forming unrecognised organisations? No—the workers organised despite the ruthless and tyrannical policies of their oppressors. Eventually they got the franchise, the right to enter Parliament and also the right to form trade unions.

There is need for an organised, non-racial, unrecognised and unregistered trade union of all journalists to fight all attempts by the authorities to control and regiment the free association of workers in trade unions. Only such a militant union could withstand the depredations of the Nationalist Government and fight for the extension of democratic rights to all.

Press not free

It is important to bear in mind that the Press in South Africa is no longer free. The prisons Act illustrates this most vividly. The deportation of Mr. Henry Barzilay, the Government's denial of official recognition to Mr. George Clay (former editor of *Contact* and now African Correspondent of the *London Observer*) and the denial of a visa to Mr. Sven Oeste, assistant foreign editor of the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, serve to underline this fact.

In the face of these onslaughts on the freedom of the Press what has the SASJ done? Nothing really except to formally call on the Government to give its reasons for deporting Mr. Barzilay. The Association of Foreign Correspondents (AFC), on the other hand, disowned Mr. Barzilay because he was not a member of the AFC. Instead of facing the fundamental issue of the freedom of the Press and the right to free and unfettered criticism of State policies, the AFC allowed itself to be sidetracked into unimportant issues. The consequence of this was to split the AFC into two groups.

Press heritage

Developments in South Africa make it essential for all journalists, and more particularly those who are among the disfranchised, to make the most searching appraisal

of the attempts of the Nationalists to muzzle the Press. The freedom of the Press is part of our heritage. The fight for the preservation of the freedom of the Press is part of our struggle to establish our right to equal and full democratic rights. Therefore journalists cannot but identify themselves with the forward progress of mankind.

In the meantime, democratic journalists should call upon the SASJ to open its doors to all journalists irrespective of colour. If the SASJ refuses to do this (i.e. declines to deregister) then it is the duty and task of all those journalists who treasure their heritage to come together and form a non-racial trade union which will take its place alongside those organisations that are struggling for a democratic way of life.

PROFESSOR MATTHEWS' HEROIC SACRIFICE

"Professor Z. K. Matthews' decision to resign his position at Fort Hare rather than compromise his political and educational beliefs is an act of heroic sacrifice" is the view expressed by Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party. "In taking this step" continues Mr. Brown, "Professor Matthews has decided to stand by his principles even though this has placed his own future and that of his family in jeopardy. He himself is within two years of retirement and pension. Three of his children have still to complete their education. It is almost impossible to over-estimate the extent of Professor Matthews' sacrifice. All one can do is pay humble tribute to an act of magnificent determination."

Mr. Brown says that the least that those who support Professor Matthews' action can undertake "is to try to spare him the anxiety he must now be feeling over the future of his children. Whether they need financial assistance to complete their education I don't know, but, if they do, a fund must clearly be launched to see that they do not suffer as a result of his stand. I am sure that such a fund would command wide support from sympathetic individuals and organisations throughout South Africa. This also applies to other members of the staff of Fort Hare who have suffered as a result of the takeover by the new regime."

OUR CONTEMPORARIES

Review of Periodicals

RACE RELATIONS JOURNAL

NOW in its twenty-sixth year, this quarterly carries those articles which are too long or too important to be included in the monthly *News*. Authors do not have to reflect the views of the Institute.

The July-September issue contains valuable articles on farm labour, one on slum clearance, and some book reviews by writers of note.

This journal continues the high standards of the Institute. One past leader said of the Institute, that if it did not exist it would be necessary to invent it. 2s. 6d. for each issue, from: P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKETER. Vol. I, No. 1 1959.

A WARM welcome to this annual which calls itself

CONTACT

"the national cricket journal of Southern Africa". The Editor is Mr. S. J. Reddy. The articles are brightly-written and illustrated. One refers to the tour of East Africa and Rhodesia by Basil D'Oliveira's team.

Published from P.O. Box 644, Port Elizabeth. There is no indication of the price.

RACE RELATIONS NEWS

THIS is the monthly produced by "the Institute". All along the Institute has played a valuable part in fact-finding on our complicated situation. But it seems to be doing better today than ever before. Not only is it publishing authoritative surveys on semi-slave systems such as the farm labour system, but its regular publications are more "newsy", of more immediate relevance than they have ever been. There can be few readers of *Contact* who would not find value in this monthly. 6d. for one copy from: P.O.

Box 97, Johannesburg.

The September issue contains articles on "Legal Aid in Danger", an obituary of Professor Jabavu by Professor Matthews, "Apartheid's impact on S.A.'s coloured people" and the usual valuable review of the non-white press.

VENTURE

Journal of the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau.

THE "long-haired Fabians" have long been the nightmare of the white settlers. They have long campaigned against colonialism and colour-bars, and have done so ably and with a sense of direction that has enormously deepened their impact.

This is their monthly journal. The September issue contains articles by Bernard Chidzero, Dingle Foot, and James Callaghan, M. P. It is deeply interested in Africa.

A single issue costs 1s. The annual subscription is 13s. from The Fabian Commonwealth Bureau, 11 Dartmouth Street, London SW 1, England.

(III)

CONTACT

Effective Boycotts

LAST week, at its National Committee, the Liberal Party issued a statement giving its approval to boycotts, both internal and overseas, aimed against apartheid. Many people, who otherwise would approve boycotts, disapprove of overseas boycotts on the grounds that "they have never worked." It is true that there have been notable failures. But there have been astonishing successes.

A currently successful boycott is the boycott of Israel by the Arab world. Contact does not support this particular boycott, but mentions it to show how effective such moves can be.

Two weeks ago Renault, world's sixth largest motor car manufacturer, cancelled its contract with an Israeli firm to assemble cars in Israel because of this boycott. Other firms that have had to boycott Israel or lose all their trade with the Arab world are Philco, Standard Oil, Shell. Time reports: "The Arabs' economic blockade of Israel has probably caused Israel more injury than Arab armies did in two wars."

A boycott of apartheid is likely to be backed by a much larger part of the world. It is likely to be imposed much more enthusiastically, for apartheid treats with contempt the greatest movement of the twentieth century—the liberation of the non-white peoples.

By realistically working for such a boycott, the Liberal Party has served notice on the Government that it means business. It has also served notice on its muddled white critics that while it is idealistic it is not "starry-eyed." On the contrary, it has taken into its hand one of the weapons that is destined to destroy apartheid.

A Greater South Africa

Contact in this issue comments favourably on the various boycotts directed against apartheid. There will be many who will criticise this stand, on the grounds that it is anti-South African. This is not so. Contact stands for a greater South African patriotism, including all on a basis of equality. Such a patriotism could not only unite the various South African communities into a truly great nation—it would almost certainly attract into our orbit as willing partners all the various peoples between the Cape and the Copperbelt.

The United States of Southern Africa could take its place among the greatest nations of the world. This has been the dream of some of the greatest South Africans. It is a vision which is within our grasp. It is, of course, unattainable except on a basis of equality and non-racialism. That is why those who can see far and clear believe in these things.

Now, in order to attain non-racial equality it is necessary for justice to be armed. The boycott is nothing but that arm, that weapon. We who wish to use it are thus the true patriots. Those who hesitate are the anti-South African, for apartheid is mean and small. Apartheid means small, broken South Africas, as Dr. Verwoerd has shown.

Forward, then, to a new South African patriotism based on non-racial democracy. A party that adopts this as its slogan has in its hands the key to greatness.

Sorel and the Strike

A NINETEENTH century thinker, Sorel, put forward the theory that no movement could succeed without its "myth"; that is, a powerful belief, true or false, shared by the members of the movement. He believed that the "myth of the general strike" would enable the European working class to seize power. Not only would it excite the imagination of the people, but in its very nature it would separate the working class and its friends on the one side from its enemies on the other.

For one reason or another, Sorel's idea never succeeded in Europe. Is it not possible that it may in South Africa?

Our task is to destroy apartheid non-violently. We must carefully study all peaceful weapons which can succeed. One undoubtedly is passive resistance. Another is the strike, the political strike, frankly aimed at freedom. As this is so, it would be profitable if freedom fighters spent time studying Sorel and applying his theories to our South African situation.

Keep Africa Atom-Free

AS an African fortnightly we have already raised our voice against the obstinate determination of General de Gaulle to detonate a French hydrogen bomb in the Sahara Desert. There have been many other voices of protest. But none seem to be listened to in Paris. For this reason Contact must protest again. There are many excellent reasons why the French should not go ahead with their plan.

Scientists are becoming more and more alarmed about the effect of atomic explosions on little children and the yet unborn. Africa has so far been almost untouched by the harmful by-products of bomb tests. As Africans we want it to stay that way.

Lastly, Mr. Khrushchev has said that he will not explode any more Russian bombs unless someone else explodes a bomb. The British and Americans have temporarily given up their tests in their respect for this decision. If General de Gaulle remains obstinate; if he explodes his bomb, he may well start a chain reaction that will set the great powers off again in a new, feverish competition. In such a competition all will be the losers.

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"I'm not always optimistic, but I'm becoming more and more convinced of the existence of a great provider in the Union Buildings somewhere."

APARTHEID IS CRAZY ECONOMICS (2)

IF YOU want to build a house you must get command of money—your own or a building society's or someone else's—in order to pay for the use of the resources needed to build the house. The amount of money you have determines the general limits to the sort of house you can build.

A great many different types of houses can be built for £4,000, but you cannot build a house costing £7,000 for £4,000. Your money enables you to get control over only limited amounts of labour (of various sorts) and of materials (of various sorts).

It may be possible to erect for £4,000 a building with twenty-three bedrooms, but if so the outside walls will probably have to be of corrugated iron or asbestos sheeting—because the resources at your command are limited. Again, it may be possible to face the outside of your £4,000 house with imported marble, but if so the number of bedrooms will have to be reduced to one or two. Parquet flooring throughout is obtainable, but only if you forego the

In response to many requests, we have planned a series of articles on the economic craziness of apartheid. Here is the second. The series will continue regularly for some time. The author is Mr. Douglas Sloan, of the Department of Economics of the University of Natal.

To get the one thing you must forego the other. Man with his many wants and only a limited amount of resources has to choose which of those wants he will satisfy. Some will not be satisfied and others only partly satisfied, but the intelligent man will try his utmost to use the resources he has to satisfy his most urgent wants, those that by being met bring him the most satisfaction.

And in this respect a community is just like a person.

South Africa, as a community, has at its disposal a certain limited amount of resources, some of which it can be regarded as owning, viz., its skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labour forces, its mineral wealth, area, harbour facilities, etc.; and some of which are analogous to the private person's building materials which he has paid for by a building society loan. Among these are the capital goods such as mining machinery or railway engines or calculating machines which the South African community is able to acquire because foreigners lend us their money.

If we are an intelligent community we would use these limited resources to satisfy our most urgent wants. We would employ our labour, our land, our organisational ability, our

capital goods to make the things and provide the services that would most enhance our standard of living. We would build our "house" so that it should contain what we reckon are the most important amenities.

There are so very many things in South Africa that we would like to have, things which would make living here easier, fuller, more exciting, happier or richer in some way and which today we lack entirely or have only in limited degree—not because our resources will not stretch to them but because we use our labour

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and materials to make other things.

If we take our working time and timber and glue and screws to make a partition in our local post office so that when we go to buy stamps we will not see the very same people we have mingled with on the footpath outside, then we cannot use those same working hours and timber and glue and screws to make something sensible that will add to our comfort and joy of life.

By running two buses, each half-empty because each is for a different "racial" group, between the same two places in a city (or from outside to inside a city) we ensure that instead of having one economic bus service, we have two uneconomic services.

(Continued on page 12)



second garage. You can incorporate a patio with gold-fish pond and braai-veis nook, if for dining-room you will accept an alcove off the lounge.

NAT. ASSAULT ON EDUCATION



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

THE reception given to the representatives of the new Fort Hare regime by the students of that institution brings our attention back to issues of great importance which have recently been partly submerged in the froth of electioneering.

In recent months there have been at least three threatening developments in the field of education. First, there is the continuing attempt by the Government to force the appointment of Mr. Stander as Deputy-Director of Education in Natal. Second, there is Dr. Verwoerd's announced intention to introduce some sort of uniformity, as yet unspecified, into the Union's whole school system. Thirdly, there is the decision, clearly taken because of their private political views, to terminate the appointment of certain members of the staff at Fort Hare.

Taken on their own, each of these events would be bad enough. Taken together, they are a grim reminder of our steady march, under Nationalist direction, towards the joyless sterility of educational conformity. Yet, as Fort Hare reminds us, our conformity is not to be complete, for to each of us, according to our ancestry, a special social stratum is decreed, and it is for this predetermined place of ours that each of us is to be prepared.

When the Bantu Education Act was passed, not everyone saw in it the first step in a drive to take firmly into the hands of the Nationalist Party the control of all education. And although the Act was a clear intrusion into provincial rights and a blatant interference with free missionary effort, the protests against it were scattered and sporadic. They did not command great support from respectable, non-Nationalist, white South Africans, who apparently felt that African education was no great concern of theirs.

The Stander affair provoked much stronger reaction. Meetings of protest were held throughout Natal and every political candidate in the provincial elections, who was not a Government supporter, swore to oppose this assault on provincial and parental rights to the last breath in his body.

However far this promised

opposition may be taken, it seems perfectly clear that we can now look forward to greater efforts on the part of the Government to force its educational views on the only province which it does not yet completely control.

The action taken at Fort Hare against some of the college's ablest staff-members was only to be expected. The legislation passed in the last session dealing with non-white university education was a logical extension of the Bantu Education Act. And where, under Bantu Education, recalcitrant schools such as Adams College were closed down by the refusal to them of registration, in the new "Bantu" universities recalci-

trant staff-members will quickly be dismissed.

It would be pointless for the authorities to establish a firm hold over African education at its lower levels if, at university, the well-schooled student were to escape from this tight, confining grip into a world of new ideas. Every precaution will therefore be taken to ensure strict control of the new colleges by making quite certain that no lecturers likely to infect students with ideas foreign to their own prescribed role in life, will be allowed to teach there.

The free interplay of ideas is the last thing the Government can afford to tolerate. Only the faithful need apply to teach at the Fort Hare of the future.

The Nationalist attempt to control and direct thinking is

doomed to failure. But it is ironic that the failure is more certain in the field of African education, where the initial protests were restricted, than it is in the field of white education, where they have been so vocal. The Fort Hare students' demonstrations against their new Rector are an indication of this.

Despite their apparent acceptance of Bantu Education, the African people, almost without exception, reject it at heart. Dr. Verwoerd may go to great lengths in building up a system designed to steer Africans in the direction he has mapped out for them, but, in the end, he will not succeed, because Africans, and certainly all those who reach university level, have already decided that they want to go in a different direction. They will take what Dr.

Verwoerd offers, simply because there is nothing else, but they will bitterly resent the fact that what he offers is different and they will be as determined as ever to achieve their full status as men in free competition with other men. In their resistance to indoctrination, passive though that resistance may often have to be, they will be sustained by the knowledge that their aspirations are shared by the rest of Africa.

Will the white opponents of Afrikaner Nationalism have the same determination to resist? Already in three provinces the Nationalists are in control. In Natal they are threatening infiltration. There is a very real danger that their own comfort and seeming security will seduce white non-Nationalists into an inadequate and ineffective defence of their rights, in this vital field.

FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

"AFRICANISATION to the utmost—there must be Africans right at the top of our organisations as soon as possible." This is the message left in Africa by Lord Heyworth, president of Unilever, the giant world oil and soap organisation. And so the Belgian Congo, and the Federation, like West Africa, are expecting African directors to be appointed

Unilever have big interests in the Union, and I hope that Lord Heyworth will extend the same policy to us down here. After all over three-quarters of our population is non-white; the greatest area where soap sales can be extended is among Africans; and nothing could more surely bind Unilever to the heart of Africa than such a decision.

JIM GRIFFITHS is to step down from the Labour Party vice-chairmanship. His going will be a great loss to the Labour movement, for he has been one of its most distinguished leaders for many years.

It will be an even greater loss to Africa. Ever since he was Colonial Secretary in the last Labour administration he has been deeply interested in Africa, and it is largely due to his wise counsels that the Labour Party has been so Africa-conscious.

His African admirers are many, and I am proud to number myself among them.

IF I had had to choose whether to vote for Mr. Douglas Mitchell or for an ordinary Nat. I would have voted Nat. The reasons? Firstly because Mr. Mitchell has been pretending that Dr. Verwoerd is more Liberal than the Liberals, and is doing too much for the Africans. Secondly because the United Party is nothing now but organised hostility to the Nats. It stands for nothing creative. It has nothing to offer the non-whites. It is now merely an encumbrance in the way of the many awakening progressives and liberals among the Afrikaners who will stick by the Nationalist party so long as there is a "Jingo-threat" on the horizon, but no longer.

When the United Party disappears, the resurgent oppressed will be more able to wring concessions out of the ruling class—let the day come soon.

THE story that appeared in some newspapers that Mr. Louw's visit to Ghana is the result of American pressure is true. The Americans are more and more worried about the possibility of international race tensions, and the fact that although "the United States Government was doing all it could to advance the cause of human rights, South Africa was doing the opposite"—as the US delegate told the UN.

Apparently Mr. Louw was quite willing to go to Ghana, but lots of heat had to be turned on to Dr. Verwoerd to get him to reverse the attitude he took up earlier this year, when, in conversation with a friend, he said that no Ghana minister would be allowed here, nor would a South African minister go there. It all goes to show that it's later than you think.

DIE Burger and Die Transvaler have been re-assuring their readers that everything is better this year at the United Nations. They say that there is noticeable a more conciliatory spirit.

This is quite untrue. What has happened, on the contrary, is that South Africa's refusal to heed the repeated calls by members of UN has reached the stage when many members are thinking of action.

This development comes at the same time as anti-apartheid boycotts are beginning to appear all over the world. It is a conjunction that should make Dr. Verwoerd think deeply, for ranged against him are the whole of the Afro-Asian world, the US and the USSR. This combination is powerful, as Britain and France learned at Suez.

AND it's not only at the UN that South Africa has been coming up against the harsh facts of the world's view of apartheid. At the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, now meeting in Canberra, we hear from Mr. R. E. Jajatilaka, leader of the Ceylonese delegation, "sparks are going to fly", and uncomfortable things which were not spoken of earlier, will be brought up. One of these uncomfortable things will be apartheid.

As pointed out truly in a very recent issue of the London Economist, Dr. Verwoerd does not want to be pushed out of the Commonwealth. So for different reasons from those that weighed with General Hertzog, Dr. Verwoerd finds himself in the identical political posture—pretending to push for a republic, but actually holding on to the Commonwealth as strongly as General

Selby and the late Anti-Republican League.

Perhaps the cause of that League's decision to close down was the receipt of an application form signed "Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd", and enclosing the 2/6 entrance fee.

HOW traditional is apartheid? Is the Government trying to brainwash our young people?

In the Transvaal schools (for whites only) there has now been introduced a new subject. It is called "counselling". A lot of it is good—it is designed to teach the young people (age about 17) the elements of good manners. But this is South Africa. You have guessed! There is a catch. In the official syllabus occur the words: "Race Relations: whites and non-whites according to the legal and traditional South African point of view; how to promote this tradition."

So all you young people look out. The government has announced that it intends to brainwash you with the race hatred of apartheid, which to them is "traditional". Actually it is a neofascist phenomenon. South Africa's tradition is different. Remember the marriage of Eva at the Cape? Miss M. K. Jeffreys, who used to work at the Archives, and is perhaps the best-informed person on this subject, estimates that nearly all whites who have an ancestor among the Afrikaners who were here a hundred years ago have some non-white blood in their veins.

That means that about half the "white" South Africans are really non-white. Don't listen, you young people, when teacher says anything different.

IT'S almost unbelievable, but Swaziland is still celebrating Dingaan's Day, the anniversary of the Boer victory over Dingaan at Blood River. This holiday is one of the curious assortment of impedimenta that the little territory inherited from the Transvaal.

With a certain sense of humour the Swaziland Progressive Association (President Mr. J. J. Nquku) has passed a resolution asking that that holiday be scrapped, and that in place of it the Swazi celebrate the national festival of the incwala—the first-fruits festival perhaps the most colourful event of the year south of the Zambezi.

NYASALAND

Chirwa's Malawi Party Embarrasses Governor

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: Nyasaland Africans, under the leadership of lawyer and educationist Orton Edgar Chirwa, have formed the Malawi Congress Party. Orton Chirwa was legal adviser to the now proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress and, together with his wife, was arrested and detained when most African leaders were locked up early in March this year. He was released a few weeks ago amid rumours that the Governor was offering him either one of the nominated seats in the Legislative and Executive Councils or a seat on the 1960 Conference Commission.

It is said that Orton Chirwa has declined both. Instead he has formed the Malawi Congress Party adopting virtually all the aims and objects of the banned Congress.

Malawi is the name Nyasaland African Nationalists hope to give to their country when they get independence. It means "the flame-like shimmer of the sun on water" and is associated not only with the lake but also with the Malawi people who entered present-day Nyasaland from the north about 500 years ago and fragmented into the main tribes that have settled in this part of the world.

The significance of the formation of this Party lies in the fact that it has embarrassed the Governor who has had to consider whether to ban it or not since it has the same aims as the proscribed Congress and looks upon itself as a caretaker party until Dr. Banda is released.

The Governor must have weighed and considered the advantages and disadvantages of

proscribing the Malawi Party. Banning it would have shown that Congress aspirations are illegal but would most certainly have driven the party underground. Yet allowing it to exist openly is providing the people with a political spiritual home to keep the fire burning, the very fire the Government hoped to put out when it declared a state of emergency in the country.

The existence of the party is further proof that the Congress spirit has not been broken and that people still look to Dr. Banda as their leader. The longer it exists, the more compelling it will be for the Government to have to negotiate with Dr. Banda, an eventuality which would be an admission that the policy of locking up Congress leaders was ill-conceived and has got the Government nowhere.

The Malawi Party will also affect the efforts of the United Federal Party and the Central Africa Party to recruit African

members in Nyasaland. People who would have considered joining, particularly the Central Africa Party, will now hesitate and probably throw in their lot with the Malawi Congress Party. If this happens the Central Africa Party Division in Nyasaland, whose leader is an African former Federal Member of Parliament, Mr. Clement Kumbikano, will have nobody but itself to blame. For instead of propounding a policy for Nyasaland which expresses the aspirations of the majority of Africans, what pronouncements it has made so far, are only just to the left of the United Federal Party.

RACIAL ANTAGONISMS MUST BE COUNTERED!

TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE from 23 countries recently attended an impressive conference in Austria organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, among them individuals active in non-violent resistance in Europe, South Africa and the Deep South of the United States of America.

Welcoming the members, who represented all the main denominations of the Christian church, Kasper Mayr, of Austria, said that it was good that they should feel united and renew their vision never to take arms.

Prof. Hannes de Graaf, Chairman of the European Committee of the FOR, referred to the Fellowship's meaningful beginnings in August 1914. "The positive content of non-violence is nothing else than love," he said. "The programme of this Conference is based on this conviction that there is no situation, no department of personal and collective human life in which the beneficial, healing and regenerating action of love would be in principle inapplicable."

The Rev. Arthur Blaxall, engaged for 36 years in multi-racial work in South Africa, spoke on "The Ways and Power of Love in Race Relations." The

great task, he said, was to awaken understanding, break down apathy, and develop the reign of love where there are only tension and fear. Christians must be humble and try to train their hearts and minds not to use violence. In an emergency there could be great strain; hence the need for study and preparation.

Speaking on "Love and Conflict in Africa," the Rev. Michael Scott, Hon. Director of the Africa Bureau, said that at the present time things appeared to be getting worse and he hesitated to hold out false grounds for hope or optimism in a situation which was rapidly deteriorating.

Referring to the growing competition between the newly emerging African states, Michael Scott told of unscrupulous arms dealers who offered surplus, out-of-date arms and ammunition, disposing of this at cut prices, as in South America 20 to 30 years ago. Latent conflicts existed, and there was competition for leadership and struggle between violent and non-violent forces.

Referring to South Africa, he said the state was actually fostering racial division and so leading that country into ever-mounting racial antagonisms. Nothing less than the truth would suffice in face of this. They must see themselves as a nation of variety in unity, in which all could share; this would not come without a hard struggle.

CALL FOR MORE POLICE

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: The Reverend A. D. Kayira, one of the Governor's nominees to the Legislative Council, has had to resign before actually taking his seat in the Council. His house was burnt shortly after he had accepted nomination to the Council. The popular cry is that many intimidators—Congress sympathisers—are still at large and so the country needs a greater and stronger police force. What is apparently escaping these people's attention is that no police force will be adequate to quell the spirit of the people of Nyasaland and their determination to gain independence for their country.

LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN CONSERVATIVES

From Contact Correspondent

SALISBURY: While most whites welcomed the result of the British election, Africans in Nyasaland expressed great disappointment with the Conservative win. Rightly or wrongly Africans have come to believe that the Labour Party is more sympathetic to their aspirations. It is being suggested that the result has shown that the British electorate is only interested in local affairs and would never throw out a Government because of its colonial policy.

One hopes that this is an in-

accurate assessment of the position, because, if it were true, it would mean that the British electorate is not fit to control the destiny of the millions of people in Britain's dependencies whom history and fate have made to look to London for political and economic salvation.

The Conservative Party should now take steps to win African confidence because in the long run this is what will count in Africa.

Sorry Plight of Deportees

REPERCUSSIONS of the state of emergency in the Federation have thrown a strain on the missions in Nyasaland. At Likoma, Fort Johnston, Dr. David Stevenson and other members of UMCA have had to cope with a considerable influx of deportees from Rhodesia, many of whom have been away for more than twenty years, earning their living as clerks or in other ways. These men, with their wives and families, are now having to find new homes on Likoma Island, with no prospect of paid jobs by which to keep themselves. To add to their plight, many have arrived ill or undernourished. Most of them have lost nearly all they possessed. But the missionaries at Likoma are doing their best for them.

These pictures show (right) Dr. Stevenson at the door of Likoma Cathedral, with Mr. Edwin Elephant, who tailored the coat and waistcoat Dr. Stevenson is wearing. (Below left) Likoma with Portuguese East Africa in the background. (Right) part of Likoma Cathedral, built fifty years ago by Africans, but now badly in need of roof repairs. (Bottom left) a mission nurse and others, on the sand near the lake at Chisamulu and (right) mission helpers off-loading damaged furniture at Likoma be-



STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN MIDDLE EAST

Communist Danger Growing In Oil-Rich Iraq

THE three recent attempts to assassinate Brigadier Kassem, the dictator of Iraq, have highlighted the methods which the Iraqi communists have followed in their attempt to eliminate or intimidate their principal opponents. The communists are not in control, but are using all methods to seize this oil-rich, strategic land.

Some months ago there was a fearful massacre at Kirkuk. Incited by communists the Kurds in this city turned on the Turkmenians who live there. Owing to the fact that many Turkmenians live inside the Soviet Union where they have no freedom, the Turkmenians in Iraq are solidly anti-communist, and it was for this reason that they were the victims of this massacre.

Other less violent methods of intimidation are used. For instance, there is no state-operated theatre in Baghdad, but there are three amateur groups which occasionally stage public performances. Of these three groups one is composed of communists; another is at least willing to subject itself to communist

This report comes from Arnold Hottinger, who reported for the Swiss newspaper *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* on what is going on behind the scenes in Iraq, as Arab nationalists, communists, and Kassemites struggle for the control of one of the world's key areas.

newspaper dared print its announcement. During the week in which the performances were being staged, the communists carried on a whispering campaign in the university and intellectual circles, the essence of which was something like this: "The members of this group are Baathists. Rioting might break out during the show; in any event, it would

"convert" anti-communist groups among the professors and students.

Early in the morning of 17 July a group of "demonstrators" assaulted the printing shop of the small anti-communist daily *Baghdad*. The guard that had been posted for the protection of the establishment fled. Printers and editors employed in the workshop escaped across the roof of the buildings. The "demonstrators" then smashed all the machines in the shop. A quarter of an hour later troops arrived but made no arrests. A police inspection was carried out in the afternoon. The Government promised the paper indemnification of 20,000 francs—which still remains to be paid. Khudr Abbasi, the publisher of the paper, was forced to hide with some friends. He hopes to be able to resume publication, but so far has not been able to find a printer.

On the same day there was an attack upon the house of Colonel Sham ed-Din Abdallah, president of the First Military Court. According to the report of an eye-witness in an adjoining building, the cause of the attack was two individuals having taken refuge in the Colonel's house. They left the house later, unmolested. In the meantime, "demonstrators" gathered in large numbers in front of the Colonel's house and would probably have entered it by force if the officer had not defended himself, shooting at least one of the "demonstrators". Later, troops arrived at the scene.

Is hated

To throw some light on this event it must be remembered that Colonel Sham ed-Din is hated by the extreme left. As president of the Military Court he will have to pass judgement on the pro-communist Colonel Jenabi, who was caught and arrested in June, when as commander of the Second Division of Kirkuk, he prepared for a putsch.

The events at Kirkuk have proved that the communists were aggressors. Eye-witnesses who came to Baghdad a few days later reported such details as the red flag waving over the city for two days, a loudspeaker car cruising through the streets issuing commands to the inhabitants in the name of the "National Front" (constituted by the communists and not recognized by the Government). A committee composed of six Kurd communist officers, the communist mayor and the secretary of the local communist party, decided which of the Turkmenian houses were to be sacked. The first victims were the Turkmenians who had occupied leading positions in the trade unions.

Thanks to the solid anti-communism of their Turkmenian

members, the unions of Kirkuk had often resisted communist ventures. The prelude to the massacres was an assault by the forces of the "people's resistance" upon police headquarters. The station was stormed and robbed of the weapons stored there. The Second Division, about 70 per cent of which is composed of Kurd units, had shortly before undergone an anti-nationalist purge under Jenabi, the communist commander. Jenabi himself having been arrested while preparing a putsch, the Government had not yet appointed a successor to the command of the Second Division. Kurd units of this Second Division terrorised Kirkuk for more than two days.

People's resistance

Even before the assault of the "people's resistance" upon the police and before the intervention of the communist elements of the Second Division, fighting had taken place between the Kurds and the Turkmenians of the city. The Turkmenians were about to celebrate the anniversary of the revolution with particular fervour, and had set up 133 triumphal arches with inscriptions—many of them in Turkish—in honour of Kassem. In their turn, the communists throughout the country had decided not to celebrate 14 July. The Party was rankling at the government's most recent anti-communist measures, and decided to demonstrate its displeasure.

Signs of this decision also became evident outside Kirkuk. Until the evening of the 13th the communist-oriented students of Baghdad refused to assist the professors in any way in preparing for the festivities. "It is not our revolution that is to be celebrated", they are said to have repeated on every possible occasion. Only the appointment of three new Ministers chosen from the National Front on the evening of the 13th induced the communists to participate in the celebrations.

The background

One must be aware of this background in order to understand why the Turkmenians sought to express their anti-communism by paying homage to Kassem, and why the triumphal arches of the Turkmenian population aroused the wrath of the Kurd-communist groups. The unrest began as a communist attack on the Turkmenian parades and symbols.

These facts are known to the Government. Nevertheless, the Chief of the Press Section of the Foreign Ministry, speaking to foreign journalists, said: "The communist party as such does not exist in the eyes of the Government". This argument is also used

to justify the prohibition of mentioning the Party in press dispatches. The Government is simply not prepared to break with the communist party as such, because it does not believe that it can stay in power without its support.

Some "errors"

The communist party of Iraq has published a voluminous document in which, buried under a heap of self-complacent phrases, a few "errors" are admitted to have been committed. The document declares that the party had nothing to do with the atrocities of Kirkuk, especially since such methods "are incompatible with the basic principles of Marxism". The document goes on to say that by pressing for the establishment of a National Front it had put itself in opposition to the highest authorities of the country. It further admits that its organ *Itihad es-Sha'ab* frequently published news without making sure that it was "correct". The communists explain the "mistakes" by their having erroneously assumed the Iraqi revolution to have been a revolution "of the people", whereas in reality it turned out to be a "bourgeois-democratic" one. By this error of judgment the party had occasionally allowed itself to assume "false positions", the document declares.

The error was apparently recognised by the Iraqi communists the moment they realised that despite their most gruesome activities they had no success with their pretended "revolution of the people". They would now like to correct their tactical error by placing themselves more loyally than ever behind the "bourgeois-democratic" revolution of Kassem, and if possible let themselves be carried along by it to a success of their own later on. In other words, having failed to seize power quickly by force because of Kassem's resistance, they are now falling back on the tried tactics of the communists in the Middle East, which is to get themselves accepted by the national forces and rise to power within a "National Front".

STUDENTS CONDEMN DISCRIMINATION

ST. LOUIS, U.S.A.: At the National Congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, in the United States, the students adopted a strongly worded resolution endorsing "all legal efforts to combat racial discrimination of all kinds." Another resolution on race relations condemned denial of higher education to non-whites in the Union of South Africa.

control—but the third is not. When this third group had finished rehearsing a play for public performance, the executive committee of the para-communist "peace partisans movement" demanded a share in the sale of the tickets, and demanded that the printed programme carry a remark to the effect that the performances were to benefit the "partisans of peace". When the group rejected this demand, it was informed that it would have to pay for using Faisal Hall for its performances.

The stage of this Hall, which used to belong to the King but which was nationalised in the wake of the revolution, is available free of charge to groups that enjoy the favour of the Ministry of Propaganda. The Ministry of Propaganda in turn is controlled by officials in sympathy with the extreme left.

When the group in question wanted to advertise its show, no

be wiser to stay away." As an inevitable consequence the group lost so much money that it will hardly dare repeat its effort for quite some time.

Such campaigns are effective only if the threats are carried out, at least occasionally. For this reason the communists like to give loud publicity to the brutalities they commit here and there. As members of the "people's resistance" or the "democratic youth movement" the communist students went to Mosul after Shawaf's revolt was suppressed, to help square accounts with the Nationalists of the defecting city. It is hard to determine how many of the atrocities reported to have taken place in Mosul really did happen. It is certain, however, that the students of the left wing boasted loudly of their misdeeds when they returned. Blood-stained ropes were brought to the university lecture rooms. Terror was systematically applied to silence or

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SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS

New Toad

I am honoured to print an extract, sent to me by Mr. Timothy Holmes from *An Anthology of South African Verse* published for the SA Information Service by Dongas & Beriberi, Bloodrivier, at R25. The piece quoted is from a long ode commemorating a tour made overseas by the Minister of External Affairs (since resigned to become Poet Laureate):

*In Parliament are Great,
Great Men,
(As a glance at Hansard will show)
But never a name to win
such fame
As that of Eric Louw.
The clever man from
Holland
Knew all there was to know
But he only knew one half
as much
As intelligent Mr. Louw.
The Bantoe sit in their
"stans" and cry,
Their tears in torrents flow:
Who was it said, "There's
Hope ahead?"
Encouraging Mr. Louw!
The Pressmen all saluted,
Their pens up, row on row;
Was it Oom Henk? or Jan
de Klerk?
No, it was Mr. Louw!
The wife of the Chairman of
UNO
Sat at her window to sew:
She cried, "Look, who's that
handsome man?"
They answered "Mr. Louw!"
[With apologies to Kenneth
Grahame]*

New titles

Libraries and booksellers may be pestered for these few forthcoming English books on Africa that are recommended to the faithful:

Of literature, only *King Lazarus* a satire by Mongo Beti, translated from the French; *Friday's Footprint*, short stories by Nadine Gordimer; *The Long Dream* a novel by Richard Wright (this will be banned); Vol. III of Roy Campbell's *Collected Poems*, all translations, prefaced by Dame Edith Sitwell, the poet's godchild.

Of African politics there is W. M. Macmillan's *The Road to Self-Rule*; a revised edition of Leo Marquard's *The Peoples & Policies of South Africa*; *The Unification of South Africa 1902-10* by L. M. Thompson, which Dr. Edgar Brookes will review for us; *Ghana and the New Africa* by Douglas Warner; and a 2s. 6d. paperback, *Kwacha! or Dawn in Nyasaland* by Guy Clutton-Brock.

Elizabeth Pakenham has written *Jameson's Raid* in the Woodham-

Smith manner. Must we now stop looking forward to one Le Roux Smith le Roux was writing about the Raid?

Alienation, a symposium, tells what settlers in England feel about transplanting themselves from South Africa (Dan Jacobson), West Africa (Abioseh Nicol), Rhodesia (Doris Lessing) and other places.

Jane Meiring is a talented writer only known for a heavyweight history of the Sundays River Valley. Her first novel, about the coloured poor, is due, called *Candle in the Wind*. Further off are biographies by David Lytton on Rhodes, Kruger and Smuts. Lytton has been broadcasting and acting in England for ten years.

New glossy

"Which is superior to which?"
Asked the snob as she came to the city.
"I want to know people to kick,
"I want to know people to pity."

wrote Vachel Lindsay. This perennial but none the less grave problem may be partly solved by a new monthly, *The Johannesburg Tatler*. But the snob issues are clear in South Africa—money and antisemitism, are the best credentials, and much lower down pigmentation plays its part.

Moral Collapse

THE TEN PAINS OF DEATH.

By Gavin Maxwell (Longmans)

AFTER staying for some years in Western Sicily, Mr. Gavin Maxwell has produced an extremely useful report on that island. While carrying substantial material on the sociological background of the Sicilian natives, this work also handles the present human predicament in Sicily, the pressing poverty of the island, its crime, its religiousness, its power, politics and its illiteracy.

Mr. Maxwell has compiled a series of semi-biographical stories from Sicilians of various social stations. A prostitute tells how she set up practice (prostitutes are permitted and registered in Sicily). With great feeling, this woman explains how her father procured clients for her until she became pregnant.

"It was he himself who got me the clients—every evening there were some fifteen of them—and think, I was only 17! I was the disgrace of the town and everyone's gossip was about me. Then I was registered publicly as a prostitute. I didn't know what was happening and I felt highly flattered.

"But I understood when I found myself pregnant—I could have died of shame. Where was I going to give birth to my child? And what would the people say? I couldn't really know whose my child was, but I've always had a terrible suspicion that it was the parish priest's. My father used to bring priests to me."

The moral collapse of this society, as reflected in this girl's piece, comes up throughout the book. The Mafia, the famous Sicilian crime syndicate, sends two thugs to persuade a professor to see that some student is passed regardless of his ability or lack of it. In order to protect his life, the professor does pass the student, who subsequently goes to practice as a medical practitioner. Morality is simply pushed aside in instances like these.

"More than a third of the inhabitants are illiterate, and another fifteen per cent are semi-illiterate, which usually means that they can write—or rather draw their names", writes Maxwell. Stage by stage, as Maxwell brings up this picture of disaster, one can't help seeing the shadow of our own Union.

Like so many poverty-stricken communities, Western Sicily is tight in the grip of religion—Roman Catholicism in this case. Mr. Maxwell shows clearly how the Church has long been the Government's propaganda machine in Sicily.

"There's the Government to look after us too", a nun tells Mr. Maxwell, "The Christian Democrat Government—and what we owe them! The benefits of the Christian Democrat Government are very precious to us, specially at election time."

It is easy to imagine what conflict there must be when individual Sicilians stand up to assert themselves, defy this collapsing social frame and try to introduce order or purpose into their lives. It immediately means clashing with the Church, the State and the Mafia criminals. Trapped by these powers, and demoralised by poverty, how can the people save themselves?

NATHANIEL NAKASA



The Message Shines Through

MAHATMA GANDHI. By Reginald Reynolds (Muller) 8s. 6d.

THIS is No. 70 in the series of "True Books" on all sorts of subjects that could interest young teen-agers.

The author is the late Reginald Reynolds, friend and disciple of Gandhi.

Being for young people the accent is on Gandhi's youth, and we are nearly two-thirds of the way through the book before we come to his return to India in 1916, with the greatest and most important part of his life still to come.

The book is a simple narrative, with little description of the ideas and theories that underlie the in-

credible career of this incredible man. But perhaps the author is right, and perhaps, for his young readers, this is the way to hold their interest.

Nevertheless the great message shines through, the message to modern man that in order to defend one's rights it is not necessary to threaten the opponent; that where there is no constitutional remedy the only way forward is through non-violence, that truth-force, *satyagraha*, must replace military and political violence.

PATRICK DUNCAN

Laboured Missions

THE JOURNAL OF JOSEPH TINDALL. Edited by B. A. Tindall (Van Riebeeck Society, No. 40) 21s.

I AM afraid this book on the 1840's and 1850's in South West Africa left a disagreeable taste in my mouth. It is extraordinarily dull. I found it so, at least, although I am a devotee of old things, and especially of old South Africa and South West Africa.

The personality of the author is unsympathetic. Time and again he complains about the people among whom he went (uninvited) to live: "A stupid, ignorant, and yet conceited people" is his description of the Afrikaners (a Hottentot people), under Chief Ameral, at his station of Wesleyvale at Naosanabis on the Nosob River.

Tindall made a habit of "seizing by the throat" servants who persisted in whipping an ox when ordered to stop—and in this is quite reminiscent of our Prime Minister in his threatening moods.

His missionary services seemed to be a perpetual round of collections of oxen and sheep given by the people to their missionary. Living outside the Colony as they did, the people had no taxes to pay, but after one of Mr. Tindall's services one of the people said: "Must we pay taxes here too?"—a not surprising remark.

His son Henry, too, seems to have lacked the common touch, and once their old Damara sheep-watcher, "on being spoken to by Henry about his neglect of the calves, became so enraged that he foamed at the mouth as though mad, rolled himself upon the ground, and actually got into the fire, and burnt himself severely."

I believed, and still believe, in the healthful influence of missionaries in our history. But my belief has been somewhat shaken by this book.

Joseph Tindall established himself like a typical farmer. He had his cattle farm. And in his house there were servants. He disliked them entertaining. "An existing inconvenience had now to be removed. When our servants were at their meals, the kitchen was invariably crowded. I reasoned calmly with the intruders. First, by making this a coffee drinking place you hinder my servants and cause confusion . . ." His intervention was unsuccessful, as his congregation told him that if he went on interfering he would "drive them from the place."

What happened in the end was that he himself withdrew, exhausted after labours enough to break two normal men, as a protest it seems at the lack of appreciation which he had evoked from the people.

There are several indications of the rising tide of hostility on the part of the white South Africans: in 1839 he was told that near the

Berg River "many of the Dutch farmers did not suffer their servants to worship with them." In 1842 he found that the Hottentots had . . . "imbibed the tenets of the Dutch inhabitants of the Colony, that black people are designed of God for slavery." And, towards the end of his life, in 1857 he founded a new chapel at Robertson for the coloured population as "the prejudices of the white inhabitants of this new and rapidly increasing village against the coloured people" made such a step necessary.

I nevertheless feel awe for the quite superhuman efforts of Tindall and his wife, braving furnace-like summer, malaria, droughts, deserts. It is a heroic story. It tells much that is otherwise not known about the extraordinary peoples of South West, the Orlams, the Topenaars, the Red People, the Berg Damaras, the Bastards, the (Hottentot) Afrikaners. I am glad that the Van Riebeeck Society has published the book, edited as a work of piety by Tindall's grandson.

But I hope that next year's volume will be more interesting and less depressing.

P.D.

2

"THESE VESSELS . . ." By Iris Clinton (Stuart Manning) 6s.

MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA Compiled by Paul S. King (Inyati Centenary Trust) 6s. 6d.

THE histories of missions, like the waiting rooms of convents, all have a subdued sameness about them. Miss Clinton's story of the Inyati Mission in Southern Rhodesia, which is now celebrating its centenary, is no

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exception. One would have to be very missionary hearted to persevere in reading to the end of this little book. And yet the story, imaginatively told, should have been enthralling. For this was the first Christian mission to Southern Rhodesia. Indeed, the little band of men and women and children who set out 100 years ago under the auspices of the London Missionary Society formed the first Christian settlement there since the obscurely-chronicled days of the Portuguese.



ROBERT MOFFAT

William Sykes, Morgan Thomas, Robert Moffat—the names of these early missionaries are still by-words in Rhodesia. Their experiences, sufferings, fears and hopes as they made the fearsome trek up Africa from the Cape could have made a first-class adventure story. Why are missionary chroniclers invariably so ultra-modest? Why are they content to give lists of names, dates, and events, with scarcely a sentence to suggest that these brave, dedicated, and perhaps rather singular people were really flesh and

DESPITE Disraeli's classic definition of the three degrees of untruthfulness — "lies, damned lies and statistics"—figures can be highly instructive.

The Folio Society, for example, has just pulled off one of the major successes of post-war publishing in increasing its membership by over sixty per cent. during the last twelve months.

To cap this impressive achievement, it is now making a remarkably generous offer — a magnificent volume of Van Gogh reproductions — completely free of charge! Entitled *Portrait of Provence*, this is a book measuring 11½" x 8½", containing thirty plates in full colour with descriptive text. Here are many of Van Gogh's most famous works, works into which he poured all his intensity of feeling, all his rebelliousness and all his passionate sense of colour.

The Folio Society, as you may know, was founded twelve years ago with the express aim of producing books as attractive to look at as they are to read. The success of this venture has been notable. Members have been able to buy copies of great and lesser classics, beautifully illustrated, finely designed, bound often in the

blood?

We read that "while Robert Moffat was on a visit to England, David Livingstone heard him preach, and though destined for China, changed his mind and came to Africa, where he married Mary Moffat, and was stationed at Kolobeng". A sentence charged with destiny and history! But what a missed opportunity.

The same criticism applies to Mr. King's book. It is unexceptionable and dull. It gives brief accounts of the work of 18 missionary bodies in Southern Rhodesia. Controversial subjects and human interest are carefully excluded, and we are left with statistics which tell us everything and nothing.

It is to be hoped that these little books, so earnestly undertaken, may provide the basis for a livelier and more full-blooded volume later on.

FRANCES BOWERS

White Baby Plan

ONLY IN AMERICA. By Harry Golden (World Publishing Co., New York) \$4.

FOR many months this book has been a best-seller in the United States. The author lives in the South where he edits a small, personal monthly, *The Carolina Israelite*, that makes fun of bad prejudices with good humour. The book consists of extracts from his paper.

One of the best pieces offers a triple plan to improve race relations.

First comes the White Baby Plan. It began, he tells us, one afternoon when several Negro school teachers, eager to see the film *Hamlet*, hit on an ingenious idea to get into the white cinema. They asked some white friends to lend them two small children and, holding these by the hand, they obtained tickets without any difficulty.

(Cont. in col. 3)

lavishly gold-tooled style which was once the prerogative of royal libraries—and all at a price no more than ordinary books.

In its list are none of last year's best-sellers. Instead, the Society concentrates on the great books of the world and on some of the more fascinating byways of history and literature. Herodotus, Defoe and Jane Austen rub shoulder with Dostoevsky and de Maupassant; *The Golden Ass* and *Father Brown* are there, as are an eye-witness account of *The Trial of Charles I.*, a *Burmese Life of the Buddha*, and that classic compendium of crime, *The New Newgate Calendar*.

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"Most impressive book of verse ever produced by a South African"

THE POETIC VOICE OF TANIA VAN ZYL

By
Anthony Delius

*attitude of disillusion
unable to strip the gaze from
that magnetic
surface . . .*



TANIA VAN ZYL

TANIA VAN ZYL'S *Shadow and Wall* seems to me to be the most impressive book of verse ever produced by a South African. It has a contralto fullness and a deeply glimmering quality which I find in Kathleen Raine and Marianne Moore. But this book is Tania van Zyl's own voice, and her own identity murmurs continuously and with astonishing clarity in all the closely packed thought, imagery and feeling of her lines.

The compact richness of the poetry is its most immediately striking quality. Both Campbell and Van Wyk Louw seem a little thin in texture by comparison. The richness is in everything, in the rhythms, the sounds, the experience of this work. It imparts a feeling of organic growth to nearly all the poems, of unhurried budding and ripening and decay.

I can illustrate this most easily from one of the loveliest of the poems—and one of the more quickly comprehended—"Day and Night."

*"At the carved
entrance desire stands winged
to meet,
where sea and river rise, the
day; and lead
her here. Bells from copper
towers like*

*gold persimmons, let flow their
notes:
fire-stripped forests shiver;
while warm
as bees, stars cluster over the
abyss."*

THE word "strip" or "stripped" seems to fascinate this poet. For instance she uses "bark-stripped" twice, and on each occasion with magnificent though dissimilar effect. The first time in a poem called "The Past":

*"Those symbols
carved on post
of snake, pig and crocodile.
Those skulls
that were death's
trophy. A bark-stripped soul
was nailed
to mango tree."*

On the next occasion she refers to:

*"boys pale
as bark-stripped trees,
with smooth unfruitful loins."
Again in "Mirror" she shows her
mastery of placing and suggestion:
"Trapped that image postures
with tired*

The plan would also solve the baby-sitting problem. After a mutual exchange of references, the white folks could pool their children at a central point in each neighbourhood, and every time a Negro wants to go to the movies, all she need do is pick up a white child—and go.

Eventually the Negro community can set up a factory and manufacture white babies made of plastic. When Negroes want to go to a concert or theatre, all they need do is carry that plastic doll in their arms.

The second is Mr. Golden's out-of-order plan. Americans are accustomed to getting a drink of water in public places by bending over a small fountain. Mr. Golden persuaded the manager of a big store to cut off the water from his "white" fountain and put up

a sign, "Out of order." For the first day or two the whites hesitated, but the southern climate is hot and one after another they began to drink water from the separate but equal "coloured" fountain. "By the end of the third week, everybody was drinking the segregated water, with not a single, solitary complaint to date. My plan is to keep the out-of-order sign up for two years. We must do this thing gradually."

To ease the coming of integration in the schools, there is "the vertical Negro plan". Specialists in race relations report that black men are hardly noticed if they are standing up; it is sitting down that brings trouble. So Mr. Golden advises the schools to use those high old-fashioned book-keeper's desks before which one stood and wrote. "Young people

THIS poet is greatly concerned with shapes—more so, I should say, than most poets. Four of the poems have the titles, "Shapes", "Creative Form", "Form", "Dual Shapes". One poem opens "Tall as a tree, thought-shaped". Her work is filled with a strong sense of sight, the reader's eye is almost able to discern after-images lying behind the words, forms overshadowing whole poems. There are presences like trees, and more than trees.

But there is nothing static about this work. It is always moving, glittering like dust in sunlight, sounding with "the bell-note of the stream." Nor is it unbearably intense—her judgment is too good for that. Here is a breath-takingly brutal bit of "realism" there is the occasional flash of humour—such as "the white-collared crows":

*"cursing
are cemented by common
design
to invade the house."*

And she can handle a story in verse brilliantly. Her "Voices From The Dark" is a reconstruction, a revivification of the homecoming of Agamemnon and his murder by Clytemnestra. She writes a novel in six pages, and certainly no South African novelist has done better, nor lived out a theme more fully.

THERE should have been rejoicing in the land the day after *Shadow and Wall* appeared. Instead, such is the state of public taste and criticism in South Africa, the book was greeted with a couple of lukewarm notices and then lost in silence. Now, as a final shame, a year later we learn that the best bit of writing South Africa has produced in a generation has made so little impression on our "reading" public that it has been "remaindered" at a city sale.

To those who possess this book I say, hold on to it. Whether it cost the original 13s. 9d. or the present 2s. 6d., it is worth a fortune. And one day, when taste has at long last spread in the land, this first edition will be worth a material fortune as well. Even at that distant time it will still be cause for wonder that such a book had to be presented by Nasionale Boekhandel because, apparently, there was no English publisher in South Africa with the necessary feeling for the language to publish it.

JULIUS LEWIN

REVIEWS

Thomas Boydell's
MY BELOVED COUNTRY
by "Sam Sly"
Etienne le Roux's
DIE MUGU*
by Jan Rabie
George P. Murdock's **AFRICA**
by Hilda Kuper
Novels: Beryl Bloom, Olga
McDonald Meidner, Peter
Rodda
*The "Square"

NEXT CONTACT

Correspondence

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

SIR, I notice that Mr. Duncan in one of his speeches at Sea Point repeated the statement that "universal suffrage" was the objective of the Liberal Party.

Would it not be wiser to aim at qualified suffrage first. When that has been obtained, one could proceed step by step to a wider goal?

It is sometimes claimed that it is wise to ask for more than you expect to get, but in my opinion one only scares away support by aiming at what at present is impossible.

To win the co-operation of all races one must state a definite and practical policy.

As far as I know the National Party is the only one which has done so and even in that case the Bantustan areas have not been clearly defined.

M. N. SEGADLA
P.O. Mooiplaas, Cape Town

Until the oppressed people of South Africa unite on a programme such as the Liberal Party has formulated, it is my view that the white voters will accept neither a qualified nor an unqualified suffrage for the non-whites. So let us do first things first. Let democrats unite by calling for adult suffrage with such power that they compel respect.—Editor.

BANTUSTAN

SIR, In a statement to the *Natal Mercury* (7 October) Senator Cowley is reported to have said that "the Natives back Bantustans." On whose authority was he speaking?

The Chiefs are silent on this matter and it is difficult to assess public reaction on Bantustans, Bantu Authorities, Bantu Education and similar problems, and statements such as the one made by Senator Cowley have been challenged by a number of newspapers including *ILanga Lase Natal*, without reply.

The Government and Senator Cowley regard illiterate chiefs as leaders of the African people, but that is a thing of the past.

Our leaders are people like Chief Lutuli, Moses Mabhida, P. P. Duma Nokwe and others like them. These men have expressed their views on Bantustans, Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education and rejected them. Thus Senator Cowley's statement is irresponsible and not an expression of the true

state of African public opinion.

What we want is freedom in the land of our birth, proper education for our children and not education as envisaged by those in authority at the present time but similar to that enjoyed by other races.

In this connection why is it educated Africans are leaving South Africa to settle elsewhere?

GABRIEL
Mandeni, Zululand

EDUCATION

SIR, I am as strongly opposed to the ideals set out as Christian National Education as anybody else, but I feel considerable embarrassment at some of the criticisms made of it.

When the original pamphlet became known, the late Dr. M. C. Botha published a strong criticism of it in the daily Press. This seemed to me to be in some respects nearly as bad since it seemed to confine the pursuit of knowledge to the study of the physical, completely ignoring the metaphysical, or "the imponderables."

He condemned the conceptions with which he, like many of us, disagreed, on the ground that they were "theological". It would have been safer to have condemned them as based on bad theology. But in fact some of them were not theological but political and philosophical.

There is something of the same attitude on the part of your contributor in *Contact* on 17 October, with some of whose criticisms and all of whose conclusions I am in entire agreement.

It seems to me that the fundamental error is the conception of the nation as a religious unit. For many centuries political and racial divisions were subordinate to the idea of a United Christendom. Men thought of the church state. The new nationalism which appeared with the Renaissance, and lent impetus to the Reformation, substituted for this the idea of the state church. This conception never succeeded, whereas the former held the field for many centuries. Its attempted application led to the savage religious wars in Europe.

The modern State proceeds along a policy of toleration of the various religious groups. Its educational systems are planned on these lines.

The CNE policy is an attempt to revive a seventeenth century ideal which never succeeded and

had disastrous results. Do we want it here?

There is enough racial, political, and much other friction without claiming for one point of view a religious sanction. It is suspected that the Calvinist bodies are by way of claiming to be the state church in South Africa, with privileges in the educational world. The taking over of the mission schools by the then Native Affairs Department was a sweeping and determined step in that direction.

A. PIERCE-JONES
Cape Town

ANC AND COD

SIR, Perhaps I am hopelessly liberal and humanist in outlook, but really, the attitude of people like the Bishops and the Gibsons is very distressing.

Following Mr. Bishop's patronisingly contemptuous "the ANC has some very good people in its ranks", we have Mr. Gibson's comic operetta version of the activities of the Congress Alliance: "the diligent activities of a few COD and SACPO persons, with an obedient African stooge or two, who purport to represent the ANC."

Will Mr. Gibson undertake to write an open letter to Chief Lutuli, Professor Z. K. Matthews, Duma Nokwe, Oliver Tambo and their like, requesting them to cease "purporting to represent ANC", and telling them how they have rendered the ANC ineffective by passively acting as "stooges" to SACPO and COD?

As for the alleged "racialism" of the Congress Alliance—one of its greatest strengths is the way in which constant contact and co-operation between members of different groups are possible, while at the same time each group is able to feel that it has its own organisation dedicated to the cause of its own community group.

To use an analogy—Trade Unions have always found it more efficient to have separate organisations to represent workers in different branches of industry, while combining together federally in a larger organisation for co-operation and consultation.

The greatest need at present in the liberatory movement is similar to the most basic need of a Trade Union movement—that is, an effective popular organisation. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to recognise the conditions in

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which the people live, work, and feel.

Among these conditions, unfortunately, is a separation of the races which is not only an artificial result of oppressive legislation, but is also controlled by real factors such as differences of language, social organisation, and community needs. As a result of this the different communities have widely differing preoccupations, and need to adopt different methods to organise themselves and express their needs.

Even if Mr. Bishop is completely fluent in the African languages, even if he can get a permit to go from house to house in Nyanga location, he can't be very effective in organising opinion there unless he has lived and worked among Africans for many years—which he has certainly not been allowed to do. (This apart from the fact that not many Africans could be prevailed upon to listen to anyone holding Mr. Bishop's declared views.)

In short, the structure of the Congress Alliance is a means of combining the greatest possible efficiency with the greatest possible harmony.

Go to any meeting of ANC and see how real this harmony, and how natural this co-operation is. The warmth and spontaneity with which ANC members greet fraternal delegates from other Congresses is very impressive—and for good reason. The African people know that members of COD, SACPO and SAIC have completely identified themselves with their demands, and are prepared to work as one with them without attempting to dominate, control, or to cut down their legitimate aspirations to conform with a *parti pris* concept of democracy based on the need to preserve the control of international capital and the *status quo* of an oppressive and heartless economic and industrial system.

ALLAN VAUGHAN
Durban

Apartheid is crazy economics

(Continued from page 6)

mic ones. We are wasting capital goods (the buses and depot buildings), land (depot sites), manpower (drivers, conductors, maintenance workers, supervisors). It is to be noted that users of each bus service suffer: each has to be subsidised from some source.

One wonders how much of the railway deficits in this country have stemmed from the segregation policy.

And now we are having another outstanding example of

wasted resources in the proposed new "universities" to provide education for student bodies numbering a few score, when the necessary staffing and equipment facilities are already available at existing universities.

It does not matter to which sphere we turn: segregation taxes our resources. And this remains true irrespective of the real reason for advocating and practising segregation, whether that reason be fear, arrogance, inferiority complex, ignorance or stupidity.

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