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## REVIEW OF UNITED NATIONS REPORT ON SOUTH-WEST

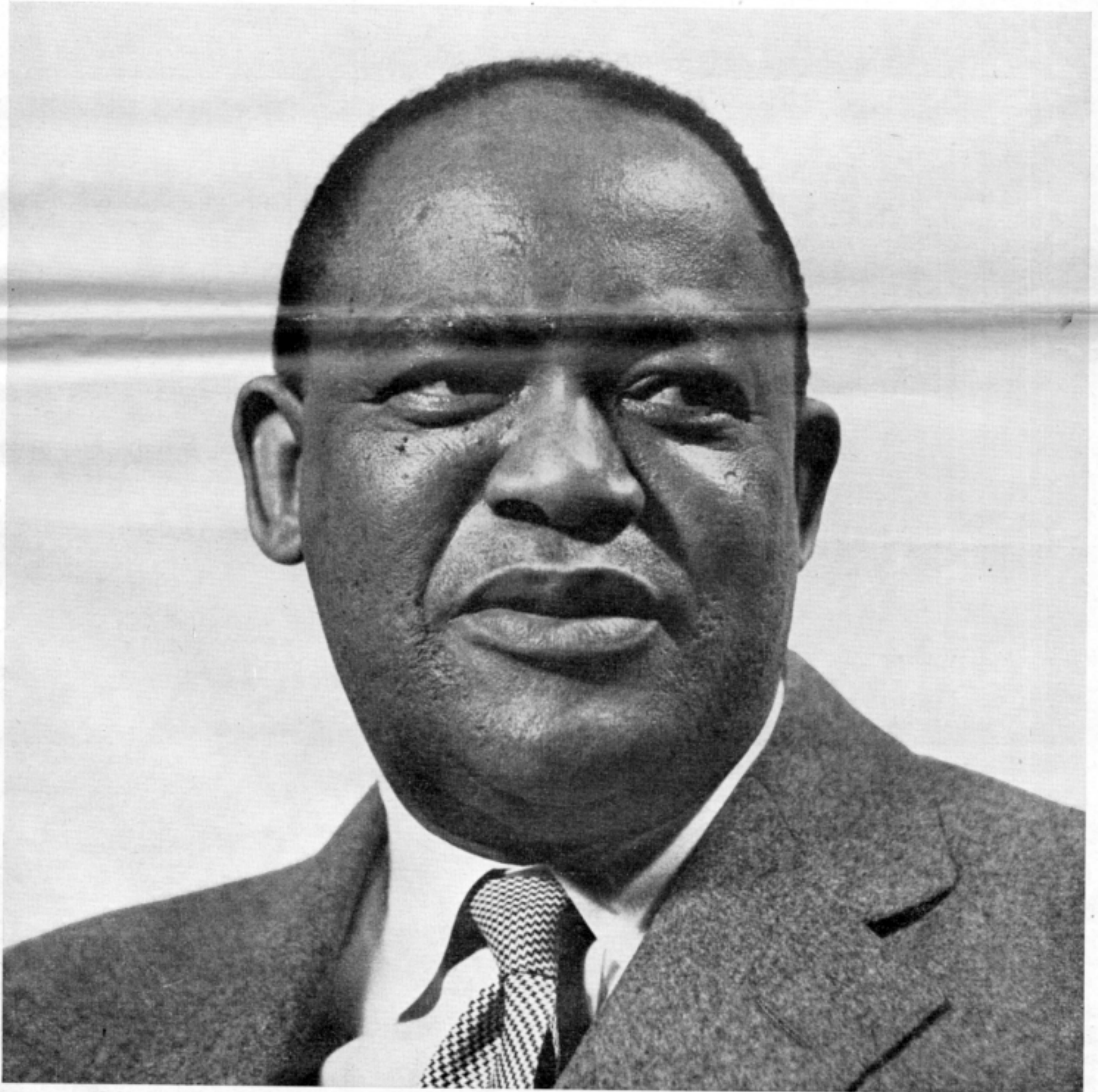
**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW**

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EXCLUSIVE TO CONTACT

# UN EXPERTS PROBE SWA

"If non-European drivers of vehicles are employed, and a European applies for such a position, a non-European driver shall be discharged in order that the European may be employed". The Windhoek Town Council debated and passed this resolution early this year.

This item of news is taken from the latest Report on South-West Africa compiled by a committee of the United Nations. In New York they know much more about what is going on in SWA than we do here in the Union. This fact no doubt helps to explain why the Union Government has recently reversed its previous policy of refusing to submit to UN an annual report on SWA.

In the face of the repeated refusal which goes back to 1948, the UN Secretariat, a well-informed and highly qualified

By Julius Lewin

20,000 acres. Since 1955 the Administration has opened up more and more blocks of land for white settlement, even extending the "police zone" boundary when necessary for this purpose. In 1959, twenty-six farms were offered to Europeans, in 1957 seventy, and in 1958 eighty-eight.

The consequences of this transfer of land are serious for the Africans affected by it. Under the land laws, Africans living on land allocated for white settlement have either to work for the new white farmer or to move away into the crowded reserves. The Government is even considering the removal of the Bushmen beyond the boundaries of the mandated territory in order to make more land available for Europeans.

(In SWA there are 452,000 Africans, 21,000 Coloured, and 66,000 White. A total of 93 million acres has been set aside for the white and about 50 million for Africans who number nearly seven times as many as the white).

### Help for whites

The white farmers receive every assistance from the paternal Government, elected by whites only. An exceptionally severe drought occurred during the past year over most of the territory. Strong financial measures were introduced to help the white farmers, who were relieved of their debts for some time to come. In addition, the Legislative Assembly voted for further relief the sum of £2,400,000, of which £1 million

would be divided among the four commercial banks—an unprecedented form of "relief" for banks which do most of their business in the Union and elsewhere in Africa.

### Serious loss

In two Native Reserves alone, 25,000 head of cattle were reported to have died as a result of the drought. The UN Committee drily remarks that since "drought knows no racial barriers it would be interested to know what steps, if any, have been taken to provide African

farmers with relief similar to that received by the Europeans."

Some of the people of South-West Africa continue to enjoy the fruits of an economy expanding at a very rapid rate. In 1947 the total revenue amounted to only £3 million; ten years later it was £17 million. Government expenditure has likewise increased, but for whose benefit? Of £1 million spent on education, £800,000 is for white education; £79,000 on Coloured; and only £126,632 on African schools, which are now threatened with "Bantu education" on the Union's model. At the same time the Government is building up substantial reserve funds in its treasury, while getting financial aid from the Union.

The distribution of the increasing wealth of SWA blatantly ignores the claims of the Africans, without whose labour the highly profitable farming and mining could not be carried on. Wages range from 20s. to 65s. a month, usually with rations. Such a "shortage of labour" is alleged, that contractors are

allowed to bring Africans all the way from the Union. (The Railways pay their labourers about 40s. a month.)

The authorities seem to be anxious lest arms and ammunition fall into non-white hands. For the crime of supplying any arms to non-whites, the maximum penalty was last year increased from a fine of £50 or six months' imprisonment to ten years' without the option of a fine.

Since the Report under review was published in September last, a South-West African National Union has been formed. The Secretary, Mr. Nataniel Mbaeva, a Herero from the Epikuro Reserve, has already has 600 members drawn from all tribes and races. Its aims are "to fight relentlessly without violence to put SWA under the UN trusteeship system and to abolish all forms of oppression and economic exploitation."

The new SWANU should find plenty of work to do in this neglected territory, where wealth accumulates and men decay.

No previous survey of the latest UN report on South-West has yet appeared in the South African press. Our correspondent has succeeded in obtaining one of the only copies in existence in the country, and here reviews it for our readers.

body—has every year compiled its own Report for the General Assembly of 82 nations.

Reading the 1959 Report, one can understand why Mr. Eric Louw must now feel that, after all, UN will discover less about South-West Africa if the annual report is drafted with care and edited with official discretion in Pretoria rather than by international civil servants in New York. For the trouble about UN, from Mr. Louw's point of view, is that it gets hold of far too much accurate information.

Here are some of the things recorded in this revealing Report:

The SWA Government continues to grant extensive farms to Europeans, although Africans are short of land for their stock. The size of these farms averages about

## CHURCH CHIEF BACKS PASSIVE RESISTANCE

LEGALLY it may be right but morally it is wrong. This expression is often heard in South Africa to-day. What do we mean by it? To ask this question is to open an immense field of discussion on the intricate problem of conscience and state law.

We would all agree that conscience is our personal interpretation of the moral law. We would find it harder to agree on what the moral law is. For religious believers the moral law is God's law for man. The most celebrated formulation of it is the Ten Commandments.

The non-believer has no such ready answer. He must seek his moral law in an instinct of human nature, in group subconscious or social convention. Whatever his view on the matter, he would nevertheless be in agreement with religious people, if he was not a fascist or a communist, on the proposition that the state does not make the moral law.

In other words, the moral law is antecedent to state law, transcends it, outweighs it and gives it foundation, meaning and validity.

### State law

State law presupposes a community of free men who recognise a moral law and because of that are prepared to respect each other's rights and the lawful claims of authority. State law is (or should be) an interpretation of the larger and more general demands of the moral law and an application of them to the particular circumstances of a community.

Only too often, unhappily, it is not. And when a state law conflicts with the moral law we have the situation in which people say: legally it may be right but morally it is wrong.

What should citizens do under such circumstances? Should they obey unjust laws? This is a question that has tortured the conscience of mankind ever since it came to the clear realisation that the state does not make the moral law.

This contribution by "Gregory More" comes from one of South Africa's foremost religious leaders.

No complete answer can be given in a short article like this, but a few points can be touched upon.

In the first place, if the state commands a man to do what is clearly contrary to the moral law, like blaspheming God, or inflicting misery on others, or lying, or indulging in sexual offences, or sending his children to schools designed to pervert their religious and moral ideals, he is bound in conscience to refuse and, if necessary, die rather than obey.

If, however, the unjust law is not a command to do evil but rather an unjustifiable limitation of human rights, the position is somewhat different.

A man is never bound to claim his rights, unless in renouncing his claim he would injure a third party. He can freely abdicate his rights unless those rights are connected with obligations to others. Then a man can renounce his property rights if he is the only one to suffer, but if his renunciation would impoverish his family it would be reprehensible.

### Not binding

In regard, therefore, to unjust state laws that unjustifiably restrict the rights of citizens, the latter are not bound under all circumstances to disobey them. They can tolerate the unjust law.

But another question arises—not whether citizens may obey unjust laws of the kind under discussion, but whether they may disobey them? It must be noted that we are discussing here not active resistance or out-

and-out rebellion but passive resistance or civil disobedience.

The answer to the question must be in the affirmative as long as two conditions apply: firstly, that the laws are clearly unjust, and secondly, that there is no hope of constitutional redress.

A third condition can also be mentioned, namely, that there should be some proportion between the issue at stake and the consequences likely to flow from disobedience. A man would be a crank to risk the welfare of himself and his family for the sake of protesting by disobedience against some trivial state enactment.

The big question is to decide:

- ¶ (1) is the law clearly unjust?
- ¶ (2) is there hope of constitutional redress?
- ¶ (3) is it such a serious matter as to warrant recourse to civil disobedience?

### Burning issues

These questions usually become burning issues, not in isolated instances but when a whole system of government results in persistent, irremediable injustice. When this is the case, civil disobedience may be the best answer. Allowing the situation to go on festering may lead ultimately to violence.

Justification of civil disobedience is based on the conviction that the state is not above the moral law, that the state does not make the moral law, that the state must obey the moral law and that when the state's enactments are in conflict with the moral law, they are not laws at all; they are a denial of law; of that law written by God in the mind and heart of man, on which all human laws depend.

## CONTACT

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## Chief denies "Sunday Times" report

A REPORT published in the Sunday Times (November 15) alleging that a Basuto Chief "had forced Mrs. Mafekeng to leave her hide-out" is denied categorically by Chief Alexander Maama, Chief of Qhobosheaneng, in a statement received by Contact.

Chief Maama writes:

The Sunday Times report ("Basuto Chief Forces Mrs. Mafekeng to Leave her Hide-out") by Mr. Oscar Tamsen is completely false regarding me. It defames my name, my four villages, and the Basuto. I intend to seek legal redress and damages.

1. I deny that I have ever been contacted by Mrs. Mafekeng or anyone on her behalf. How could I have ordered her to leave?

2. I am not supporting any political party in Basutoland. I can serve my people best by staying out of party politics. None of the four villages in my area is dominated by any political party.

3. How could I threaten "to make this a major plank . . ." when I am not even remotely engaged in a "pre-election vote-catching campaign"?

4. Mafefooane "Mamama" (should be "Maama"), my father, turned over his chieftainship to me in 1956. Neither he, nor I, have received any request to grant asylum. How could I have "adamantly refused" a request that was never made?

The Basuto are known for their hospitality, friendliness, and helpfulness. It is regrettable that politicians (if they are responsible) should invent stories for party gain at the expense of their people's reputation. It is even more regrettable that a journalist should print such invented stories.

## HOW PROGRESSIVE ARE THE PROGRESSIVES?

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: How progressive are the Progressives? Having now seen the full text (not merely the press summaries) of the congress resolutions, I can assure the Liberals that their own political integrity shines by comparison.

1. Although the Progressives want to repeal the Group Areas Act, they are in favour of residential and social segregation. Their policy is careful to make no provision for mixed suburbs in which all races could live.

2. On the franchise, the new party has not yet committed itself clearly. The question of voters' qualifications is referred to an independent commission. This body will, I predict, hedge political rights about with such safeguards (designed to protect white supremacy) that only a very small number of non-whites would ever reach the voters' roll. The present balance of political power would not, in fact, be altered.

3. Although the Progressives are in favour of free trade unions, they definitely exclude all unskilled African workers from the right to form trade unions on the same basis as other workers. Unskilled workers are to remain under Government control.

This distinction between different classes of workers is evidently made in order to deny to African mine-workers the right to have a trade union.

## "Will Provide Separate Amenities"

[From another Correspondent] A further cause of disillusionment to those Liberals who hoped that the Progressives would take a bold anti-apartheid course is the published policy statement on "Social, Residential Aspects" (Progressive News No. 2, November). "The Party recognises the social conven-

tions which exist in South Africa. It will not force residential or social integration upon any, and it will continue to provide separate amenities as desired by the different races. The Party will repeal the Group Areas Act, simultaneously making provision for those who so wish to live among their own people, but opening the industrial and commercial areas to all races." (my italics).

Liberals are puzzled by this reference to their "own people" in view of other statements that the Progressives seek to build one great nation including all races in a single patriotism. They also feel that happier wording might have been chosen than "separate amenities", especially as there is no guarantee of equality in separation.

The most disappointing feature, though, is the arrangements made by the Progressives with regard to membership. A spokesman for the Party explained to a Contact representative that applications for membership might be made by anyone, but that such applications would be accepted or refused by the Party in the light of the probable final decision on the vote qualification—membership being limited to such people as would be qualified for the vote.

But the voting qualification was not decided on at the recent congress, and the question was remitted to a commission, headed by Mr. D. B. Molteno, which is expected to take from six months to a year to make its findings.

Prospective members, thus, of all races, will not know for a considerable time whether they are qualified to be members of the new party.

South-West debate at UN

# MAJOR U S POLICY SHIFTS AGAINST S A

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK: There has been a dramatic, but unpublicised, switch in United States policy here toward South Africa. It was first shown in the South-West Africa issue. Hitherto the United States has tried not to offend South Africa, while showing friendship towards the emergent African states.

Now, as reported by Donald Grant in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "United States policy on Africa is moving to a perceptible degree away from a cautious desire to please the Union of South Africa and the colonial powers who are our European allies. It is moving toward positive support for the emerging peoples of the African continent."

Mr. Mason Sears, the chief United States delegate on the Trusteeship Committee, has been working closely with the escapees from South-West Africa, Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, and Mr. Hans Beukes, and has emerged as a considerable figure on the African scene.

A Boston patrician, he has been personally arguing for years inside the State Department for the new policy, and its adoption is in some aspects a personal triumph for him. "He is becoming a symbol", writes Donald Grant "in African eyes almost as powerful as the Rev. Michael Scott, the Anglican priest who has been fighting for the people of South-West Africa for thirteen years."

The African countries succeeded (52 for; 17 abstentions, 4 against) in pushing through

their resolution, which seeks to invoke the World Court against the Union on the South-West issue. Sears threw American influence in to back the African countries to the hilt—the only power to do so, as both India and the USSR have reservations about calling in the World Court. It was almost certainly this powerful backing that brought success so easily.

Donald Grant writes: "Africans and Americans who have been working together believe new World Court action could result in a decision as significant for Africa as the United States Supreme Court school segregation decision was for this country. In the end, as a result of such action, these diplomats believe South-West Africa may be removed from the control of the Union of South Africa."

"So great" writes Grant, "is the influence of the United States that what might seem a small change in policy on a minor issue has resulted in a profound shift in the alignments of powers and peoples. The Union of South Africa has taken violent alarm and is conducting one of the most vigorous campaigns ever witnessed here."

From

Michael Scott

"Donald Grant's articles give a good account of what went on and of the new trends, particularly on the part of the US. Time is not on the side of the Union Government. It seems to me the longer they postpone coming to an agreement the more difficult it will get for them. World opinion is growing both in extent and strength and it is obvious that South African policies are an ever-increasing embarrassment to her friends. Only France, Portugal and UK can now be found to vote against the resolution condemning apartheid, and that for procedural reasons."

YOUTH

## ANCYL Congress Stalemate

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The conflict between the national leaders and the Transvaal Province of the African National Congress Youth League burst into the open again at the annual conference of the Transvaal held in Orlando, Johannesburg, on November 21 and 22. Delegates spent so much time at the meeting criticising and defending the Transvaal president, Mr. Stephen Segale, and in debating the dispute, that the conference had to adjourn without electing a new executive or discussing its resolution. A special meeting will be held on November 28.

On its second day, the conference could not go into closed session as planned. Eleven Security Branch detectives, acting on a warrant produced at the start of the proceedings, remained inside the hall throughout the day. They heard the 160 delegates spend hour after hour wrangling over points of procedure. The conference finally became completely bogged down in trying to decide whether it was entitled to challenge a directive from the National Working Committee of the ANC which sought to settle the dispute.

## PAC, ANC React to Progressives

From A Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The newly-formed Progressive Party has met with a mixed reception from African political organisations. The African National Congress has given it a qualified welcome, while the Pan-Africanist Congress has rejected it outright.

The ANC's press statement on the Progressives was seized by Security Branch detectives—together with other documents—during a raid on the Johannesburg office of leading Congress member Mr. Robert Resha, on November 17. But ANC officials have said that the statement, while welcoming the emergence of the Progressives, added that the ANC did not fully approve of all their policies, especially in regard to the franchise.

The ANC believed in universal franchise and hoped that in the future the Progressives would realise the necessity for this.

The action proposed by the Progressives for abolishing the Pass Laws was regarded as particularly important, as the passes were "Enemy Number One" to Africans.

It was hoped that those who still remained in the "reactionary" United Party would not stay there for long.

The Africanists stated that the Progressive Party was no different from the Liberal Party "except that it has more white parliamentarians to grace its ranks than the Liberal Party has. Both parties fulfil the traditional role of the liberals, to impede the genuine liberatory struggle of the African People by attempting to divert the attention of the people from their own programme and fixing it on white "spokesmen" of the African."

The Progressives would make no impact upon African politics "because today African politics are inextricably bound up with African nationalism."

The PAC added: "The concessions the Progressives claim they are prepared to make might have taken in the African people twenty years ago but today Africans will be satisfied with nothing less than the right to manage or mismanage every inch of Africa."



## FIRST TIME IN WESTERN CAPE

## COLOUREDS FORGE UNITY WITH AFRICANS

"THE COLOURED people of Paarl have realised that the lot of the Africans is also theirs. They have seen that the time has come for us to stand together as only on the basis of this, can the future be ours."

So spoke Mrs. Rhoda Mdietyana, sister-in-law of Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, banned trade union and women's leader.

We were sitting in the neat little home of Mrs. Mafekeng and the proof of her statement was right there—three African and three Coloured women.

"These people", she continued, "are not here because I have called them. They come daily to help Sophia (21 year old daughter of Mrs. Mafekeng and herself a Defiance Campaign volunteer) in the running of the home. This is what Elizabeth taught us—that colour is only skin-deep; that underneath that lies the broad humanity which

BY  
ABE SCHOLTZ

friendship between Africans and Coloureds. This is not something new. It has been there for years".

Mrs. Ellie Jacobs; "We are sorry about what happened. But the rioting had nothing to do with the demonstration of solidarity between Africans and Coloureds against an inhuman act by the Government. We have been living here for years and there has not been a single instance of inter-racial strife."

Was the riot not perhaps a blessing in disguise, I wanted to know.

"We do not need disguises," said Mrs. Mdietyana. "The authorities themselves have forced us to live together here. They should have known, that however prejudiced some people may be, living together, lending a helping hand at a sick-bed, loaning a cup of sugar, or giving a child a slice of bread when there is none in his own home—these things compel you to forget differences of race and colour. The only thing the riots did, was to show up the unity between the Africans and the Coloureds to those who were unaware of it."

I spoke to tens of people from all walks of life—postmen, butcher boys, factory hands, bricklayers and even members

of the CID. All of them condemned the riots.

"The demonstration of unity between the Africans and Coloureds at Paarl, is the finest thing that has ever happened at the Cape", said Councillor Eric Viljoen of the Unity Movement. "Naturally we condemn the rioting because we have consistently advocated that issues should be fought with political ideas and not demonstrations. But the display of unity between the people gives hope and with this fine achievement we can go forward into the future with confidence."

Dr. R. E. van der Ross: "That the Coloured people rose in defence of an African woman, speaks volumes. It is all the more laudable in that it was a demonstration of the working class. For the first time in the Western Cape, the Coloured worker has looked across the street and seen the African not as a "Kaffir" but as an equally exploited fellow worker."

"People who have striven for the unity of the working class have always been asked: where is the proof of your work? Paarl has given the answer in no uncertain manner. And it is this which encourages us as our problems in South Africa can never be solved until we have breached these racial barriers."

## "Unity Conferences" For ANC

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: "Unity conferences" will be held by the African National Congress in the chief centres of the Transvaal during this coming weekend, aimed at bringing all Africans together against the Nationalists. The conferences will also mark a turning-point in a campaign intended to place local grievances and needs before the authorities.

Linked with this is an intensification of the economic boycott of "nationalist goods." The names of various brands of tea, coffee, cigarettes and tinned fish are being circulated with the appeal "let us hit the Nationalists in the stomach."

Since the beginning of the month, ANC volunteers have been going from door to door in townships with a "unity appeal", stating that "unity of the people of the country against the tyranny of the Nationalist Party is essential if we are to win our desires."

The appeal calls for the nomination of delegates to the conference.

The appeal lists such needs as higher wages, better transport, free hospitals, cheaper and better houses, trade unions. Also such grievances as passes, permits, increased taxes, group areas, mass removals, race classification, assaults, farm labour schemes, police raids and mass arrests.

At the coming conferences, seven of which are planned, decisions will be taken to place needs and grievances before the authorities.

Conferences are also planned for the rural areas at the end of December. The rallying points will be cattle-culling, Bantu Authorities and Bantustans.

## APARTHEID COMES TO SOUTH-WEST

## WINDHOEK REFUSAL TO MOVE

From Contact Correspondent

WINDHOEK: A serious collision took place on 4 October in Windhoek Location between the people and Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid policy. Windhoek Location, though containing many slum-like houses, lies conveniently near the town.

Now, as in so many South African towns, the Africans are to be moved to a distant area, to be laid out as a township and called "Katutura".

On 4 October the Superintendent of Locations, Mr. Potgieter, addressed a meeting at which some 480 people were present. Detectives of the Security Branch attended the meeting although the conveners, the Non-European Advisory Board, had not invited them. A large force of armed police was assembled at two points nearby.

The purpose for which the meeting had been called was to appoint a valuator to assess compensation for those who would lose property when the move took place. But the meeting strongly condemned the idea of removal itself.

Mr. Potgieter warned the people not to make trouble and called for good relations between white and non-white.

Speakers said forcibly that if the move were forced on the people there would be trouble. One speaker said that if Mr.

Potgieter were to force the people to move they would not be peaceful, and that he should go and tell the Government this.

In a statement on the subject the Action Committee authorised to assist the Advisory Board said that the move was not acceptable because it was the result of extending the Union's apartheid policy to South-West. It was part of a thorough plan to unify the "Native policies" of both countries.

Excuses had been given that the new houses could not be built in the existing location because of the sites of certain cemeteries. But this was a mere pretext for moving the Africans to a great distance from the white town with a buffer strip in between. "There is no doubt that the Africans are despised and are regarded as objects which can be pushed about so as to facilitate the expansion of the so-called white areas."

The statement ended with these words: "Our decision to refuse to move to the new township is firm and final."

## ANC To Boycott Beerhalls

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Transvaal women have decided that their husbands should boycott beerhalls if the local authorities refuse to allow home-brewing of beer. This decision was adopted unanimously at the annual conference of the African National Congress Women's League, held in Western Native Township, Johannesburg, recently.

The "home-brewing or boycott" call follows a similar decision made at the national conference of the league on September 6. Since then, the call has been endorsed by Natal women. It is also due to be discussed by the other Provinces.

The Transvaal plans to hold widespread house-meetings in townships to explain how the demand for home-brewing should be carried out. Women will be told that home-brewing of beer is a traditional African custom and that beerhalls in residential areas can contribute to crime.

The next step in the campaign will be to send deputations of women to local authorities with a request for home-brewing. If this is refused, husbands will be urged to stop patronising the beerhalls.

Other decisions of the more than 110 delegates from thirty branches included:

Condemnation of the Government's banishment of Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng.

Rejection of next year's Union Festival celebrations. A week of mourning will be held instead, during which women will take part in "funeral processions".

## NATAL LP FETE SUCCESS

From Contact Correspondent

DURBAN: The all-day fete held recently by the Natal Coastal Region of the Liberal Party in Durban was a great success, both financially and socially. Opening the fete, the National President of the Liberal Party, Mr. Alan Paton, said that it was "a symbol of the only kind of country that any sensible person could ask for."

He said that it was the first

time in the history of Natal that a political party representative of all sections of the people had held such a function. People of all races had contributed to its success and people of all races were equally welcome to attend it.

Mr. Paton said in the course of his otherwise appropriately humorous speech that the Liberal Party "stood for the removal of all racial discrimination enforced by law. This did not seem to be a popular election cry in South Africa and some people thought it never would be. But the world is on the side of those who stand for decent racial behaviour and there can be no doubt that world disapproval is increasing day by day."

People from all sections of the community, many of them not actually members of the Liberal Party had contributed enthusiastically to the success of the fete, both in the weeks of preparation and on the day itself, when a diversity of attractions ensured a thoroughly good and profitable time.

At the fete, £425 was raised.

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Please send all the material you can collect to the Liberal Party office, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

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## NATAL GOLFING SENSATION



"Papwa" on his triumphant return from Europe.

## "Papwa" Issues Challenge

WHEN Commonwealth golfers met at the Royal Johannesburg Golf Course recently, they had before them a letter in the form of a challenge from the South African golfing sensation and reigning Dutch Open champion, "Papwa" Sewsunker Sewgolum. Golfers from all parts of the Commonwealth took part and the challenge from "Papwa" was been thrown open to any member of the participating countries. "Papwa" has indicated his willingness to meet them anywhere at anytime.

In the meantime "Papwa" is going great on local courses in Natal. He has broken the course record at St. Michaels on the South Coast and pocketed £100. The previous record of 72 was held by Mr. Bassoon and "Papwa" carded in 67 to break it by 5 strokes. He very narrowly missed adding another £100 when, playing at Southbroom (on the South Coast), he carded in 69 (2 above the course record of 67 held by Gary Player).

Moreover "Papwa" turned in a convincing 69 at the Isipingo Golf Course to win the Diwali Trophy.

### Trust fund

Mr. Louis Nelson, vice-president of the Durban Indian Golf Club and acting chairman of the newly created "Papwa Trust Fund" stated in an interview that "Papwa" would shortly accept a recent course-record-breaking £500 challenge. Meanwhile he is getting ready for the South African non-white Open due to be held at the Cape in January next year.

"Papwa" the calm, easy-going, home-loving former caddie boy will go down on record as the man who has done most for non-white sport in South Africa. His success has apparently caused a change of heart towards the non-whites and the Durban City Council has promised to observe fairplay and justice in making available sporting amenities and facilities for all races.

It was only three months ago that into the hands of this caddie boy was thrust the responsibility of blazing a new trail for non-white sportsmen. Speculation was rife at that time as to whether this small, rather shy father of three, who had left these shores without big match experience, would measure up to his task. But there were three white sportsmen who believed the task possible

and they were confident he would "knock 'em over" overseas. One of them was Mr. Graham Wulf who employed "Papwa" as his caddie. One day his partner failed to turn up at the Beachwood Golf Course so he asked "Papwa" to partner him, and got a drubbing.

"I then began to groom him" Mr. Wulf told me, "for I never saw better material than in that fine, lean frame of a man."

Then followed a job at Mr. Wulf's establishment—a chemical firm. Partners Anderson and Lowe had already had the pleasure of meeting "Papwa" before and were glad to have him with them. His success is largely due to their sound advice, plus the enormous amount of working practice he got through with these three men.

Messrs. Wulf, Anderson and Lowe were good friends to "Papwa". They bought him all his equipment and did everything possible for him. They knew this trip overseas was needed for he had the skill to meet opposition of the highest order. They wanted him to cross the Mediterranean Sea and bring fame, not as an Indian, but as a South African.

"Papwa's" arrival in England electrified the newspaper world and his fame as an unorthodox left-hand-below-right grip got the golfing world talking. Then followed his practice rounds over the tough Gullane course in Scotland. Then he put in some really pretty impressive stuff over at Muirfield and astounded golfers Peter Thompson of Australia, Bobby Locke and Gary Player of S. Africa in the British Open a few weeks later when he qualified in rounds one and two.

By  
Rajendra Chetty

ZACHARIAH KEODIRELANG MATTHEWS

# What Manner Of Man Is He?

ALTHOUGH the University College of Fort Hare is being systematically dismantled by professional racialists under remote control from Pretoria, its name will be long remembered. And with it will ever be linked that of Professor Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, Treason Trialist, former acting principal, Fort Hare, author, politician and brilliant scholar, whose recent resignation from the staff has dramatically spotlighted the passing of an era. (SEE FRONT COVER)

Professor Matthews, as is well-known, was a month ago offered renewal of his appointment on condition he resigned from the African National Congress. He refused, and was forced to resign from his post.

That he was not dismissed before, was a grudging recognition by his enemies of his influence, as well as being an attempt to give the new institution respectability and to confuse its critics.

The vocabulary of heroics is somewhat tarnished today, but the life of Z. K. Matthews and his recent spectacular resignation can be described in no other terms. His sacrifice is both

personal and symbolic; he represents all those South Africans who have suffered for their political convictions — the teachers who were sacked or resigned over the Bantu Education Act, the workers and trade-unionists victimised, the deportees. His refusal to collaborate even temporarily has meant the loss of thousands of pounds; had he been dismissed he would have benefited to this extent from various pension schemes and gratuities. So at 57 one of Africa's greatest academicians is out of a job, with children still to be educated.

Born in Kimberley of Bec-

huana stock—his middle name means in Tswana "O God what have I done for you?"—he was educated at Lovedale a mile out of Alice, and at Fort Hare, a mile away on the other side of Alice. He was the first black South African to graduate in his own country. There followed Yale University in America, the London School of Economics. After becoming the first black South African to be headmaster of Adams College, near Durban, he was the second to be given a professorship, in Social Anthropology, at Fort Hare, where he was appointed a lecturer 25 years ago.

### Meeting place

Of his time at Fort Hare Anthony Sampson writes in *The Treason Cage*: "He was established in dignified surroundings at Fort Hare, with his wife, who taught music and was librarian at the college, and a family of five children. His house was a cosmopolitan meeting-place for foreign visitors. The fruits of respectability fell thick about him—a Royal Commission in East Africa, the Committee of the Institute of Race Relations, the Union Advisory Board on Native Education."

His many academic honours culminated in his appointment as Visiting Professor in 1952-53 at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, the leading institution of its kind in the world.

Although never a politician by choice or ambition, Professor Matthews has served terms on the National Executive of the African National Congress and as its Cape Leader. He has played an important part in its evolution to a new militancy and in building it into the country's second most powerful organisation. His personal conservatism has been tempered by an understanding of the stern task to be performed, and inspired by the teachings of Dr. Du Bois, founder of America's National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

### Great personality

A man whose immense stature, massive intellect and immediate impressiveness go with personal reserve and a complete lack of ostentation, it is ironical that only the end of his career at Fort Hare brought to many white South Africans the name of their compatriot who had long had an international reputation.

One feels that this will not be the last time that the name of Professor Matthews will make banner headlines on the front pages of our national dailies.

## CAMPAIGNS AGAINST ALEX BOARD

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Continued propaganda against the Alexandra Township Liaison Committee, appointed by the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board to serve as a link between residents and the board, has brought about the wholesale resignation of the nine-man African committee. The members took their resignation decision when one of them received an anonymous letter warning him to tell his colleagues that if they did not resign and leave Alexandra, "they would be killed before December 25."

Within a week, all nine members tendered their resignations.

Said one of them: "We are resigning because we do not want to take any chances. We know that such things can happen in Alexandra."

But long before the threatening letter, a strong campaign had been under way to undermine the committee. Behind this campaign was the Anti-Peri-Urban Areas Committee, in association with the "Movement for the Reconquest of Africa."

This movement was an offshoot of the "Democracy of Content" organisation, led by Vincent Swart, a former lecturer in English at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Swart's organisation consists of six to twelve devoted followers. Although only a splinter group in the 1957 Alexandra bus boycott committee, they seized control at a vital stage and were instrumental in the rejection of the original offer to settle the boycott.

### Basic premise

A basic premise of the organisation is that the "consciousness of the people" in any struggle must rise to a certain level before any effective action can be taken. When this level is reached, the "natural leader-

ship" has to seize the opportunity of "directing" the masses.

There is also talk of "Africa for the Africans" with racialistic overtones.

The Anti-Peri-Urban Areas Committee has been active for some time, organising meetings over weekends and distributing circulars. At the meetings, calls were made for a total boycott of liaison committee members. This was repeated in the widely-distributed circulars, which read: "We have no recourse now except to institute a boycott of every member of this arbitrarily-appointed committee in every respect. Most of them are businessmen. We must make it a point of political consciousness not to buy from them. Other traders have refused to sell to them—no food, no credit—in order to starve them out. We must get rid of them."

Allied with this was a call for complete rejection of the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board which took over control of the township from the semi-elected Alexandra Health Committee.

Aware of the need for consultation with the township's residents and of their resentment at losing their right to partly elect their governing committee, the board had appointed the Liaison Committee three months ago.

## OUR CONTEMPORARIES

# Review of Periodicals IV

## THE OBSERVER

IN the field of our contemporaries one periodical towers above all others in all lands. This is the London Sunday paper, *The Observer*.

One of the world's great newspapers, its liveliness has caught the imagination of the younger intellectuals in Britain. Under its editor, Mr. David Astor, its circulation has nearly trebled. Its corps of foreign correspondents is the best in the world. In India, Cyril Dunn (well known in Africa), and in Africa, George Clay, first editor of *Contact*, represent the *Observer* Foreign News Service. In the London office Anthony Sampson and Colin Legum hold important posts—they, too, are not unknown in South Africa.

If there is one characteristic of *The Observer* that stands out above all others it is courage. Political courage was shown when it took the unpopular line at Suez. Its truthful and strong castigation of British-French aggression lost it many friends and advertisers. Courage of another kind was shown when the text of Mr. Khrushchev's speech on Stalin to the Twentieth Congress reached the West. The whole text was published in one issue of the paper, leaving almost no space for other features. A few readers were infuriated, but most would now say that the decision was a correct one. More recently the Devlin Report got the same treatment, and took up about half of one whole issue.

*The Observer* represents all that is best in the rich, powerful West. Conscious of the acute

problems ahead of the human race in the fields of poverty and race relations, it spares no efforts to increase understanding by East and West of each other.

*The Observer* is closely associated with Michael Scott and the Africa Bureau. Africa is indeed fortunate in having such friends. The address is: 22, Tudor Street, London E.C. 4, England. A copy costs 5d. Postage on a copy is 5½d.

## AFRIKA; Monthly review of politics, business and culture in the New Africa. (German)

ONLY five issues of *Afrika* have so far appeared. We welcome this newcomer. Large and glossy, containing 36 pages, nearly all of editorial matter, well-illustrated and mapped, this journal speaks with authority.

On South Africa there appears an impartial assessment of the impact of the Bantustan policy and the advent of the Progressives. There has been some public sympathy with *baasskap* in Germany in the past, and it is refreshing to note its complete absence here.

George Padmore's death is mentioned, and his career is spoken of with appreciation. His time in the communist camp is mentioned, with this comment: "He left it, after he had discovered behind the facade of the myth of social solutions, the merciless dictatorship of a totalitarian party."

*Afrika* is a notable addition to the swelling flood of African periodicals, now rising in every

part of the world.

Editor-in-chief is Dr. Lothar Lohrlich, of Cologne. It costs DM 2.20 (or about 4s.) for one copy. Remittances should be sent to: Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank Munich, Germany, quoting "Konto 405812". The editorial address is: Afrika, Köln 5, Postfach 162, Spichernstrasse 55, Germany.

## PEACE NEWS; The international Pacifist weekly.

ONCE banned in South Africa but now freely allowed in, this lively illustrated weekly finds much space for the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*.

In two recent random issues, for instance, (23 and 30 October there appear the following: Report (illustrated) on the front page, on the Cape Town University bus boycott, taken from *Contact*; Ghana protest against the French atom bomb; Fenner Brockway on Kenya; support for South Africa boycott; "Alan Paton urges—boycott S.A. test team"; Durban group areas threat; "Arms and the Gandhians" (full page); and a feature, illustrated, on the struggle by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) against colour bars in Miami.

All this for only 1s., for *Peace News* costs only 6d., or £1. 10s. a year. There is also a special airmail edition on India paper for £1 18s. a year (S. African rate). The address: 5 Caledonian Road, London N. 1, England.

## PRÉSENCE AFRICAINE

THE latest issue of *Présence Africaine* is just to hand. This periodical is published very second month in Paris, and is sub-titled "cultural review of the black world".

The new issue is a special number, devoted entirely to the second congress of Negro

## NO LOOKING BACKWARD

GIVE us o God the power to go on,  
To carry our share of thy burden through to the end,  
To live all the years of our life  
Faithful to the highest we have seen,  
With no pandering to the second best,  
No leniency to our lower selves,  
No looking backward,  
No cowardice. Give us the power to give ourselves,  
To break the bread of our lives to starving humanity,  
In humble self-subjection to serve others,  
As thou, o God, dost serve thy world.

JOHN HOYLAND

Writers and Artists held in Rome between 26 March and 1 April this year, and contains papers the theme of which is "The unity of the Negro-African cultures". It is nearly all written in French.

It would be impossible to convey the content of this issue in a few paragraphs, but a glance at the table of contents shows the diversity of papers presented, and at the same time illustrates the concern of African intellectuals for the place of man in society, and more noticeably, the place of the Leader, whether political or intellectual, among his people.

Political development has played, and is still playing, an important part in the cultural life of Africa, and political issues underlie the discussion in nearly all the papers, with continued stress laid upon the relationship between the imperialists and the colonial peoples, in effect between Europeans and Africans.

The papers of Sékou Touré and J. Rabémananjara give a clear exposition of the question from the African point of view.

Touré speaks mainly of the role of the political leader, and sees him, if he is democratically chosen, as the representative and defender of the cultural values of the people who chose him. He goes on to argue for two goals: the elimination among the élite of cultural values which are essentially European, and their replacement by values essentially African. And also the integration of the present African élite (educated mostly in

European institutions into the new "communaucratic" Africa.

He sees this change as a spiritual journey towards the ideal of the new African man, capable of taking his place in the world beside the imperialists of old, not however through imitation, but by participating in an "African personality."

Rabémananjara discusses the same question, but lays more emphasis on the debt of Africa to the imperialists, who not only gave her a *lingua franca*, but united the various peoples of Africa in their ideal of independence and pan-africanism.

We find Touré's thesis again in the South African context, in Ezekiel Mphahlele's paper on "Black Culture in a Multi-racial Society."

In other papers we are given a glimpse of Negro-Brazilian writing, of vernacular literature in Africa, of religion in Africa, both Christian and African.

This excellent special issue of *Présence Africaine* contains more than 400 pages and costs 1200 francs.

Annual ordinary subscription: 2,300 fr. (23 new francs) to: *Présence Africaine*, 42 rue Descartes, Paris (5e) France.

## THE DRC MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

INFORMATION on the relationship between the DRC and the non-white peoples forms an important part of the contents of this newsletter, obtainable on request from:

119, De Korte Street, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

## CZECHS SNUB ANC BOYCOTT

JOHANNESBURG: While reports stream in of growing overseas support for the African National Congress call for an economic boycott of South African goods, the government of the "people's democracy" of Czechoslovakia has sent an official delegation with the duty of furthering trade with the Union.

The ANC had asked the international community to implement the boycott as a means of protesting against the *apartheid* policy of the Nationalists. The boycott is viewed as "support and solidarity for the freedom-loving peoples of South Africa."

Organisations in countries ranging from the United Kingdom to Ghana and Kenya are already responding to this call. But Czechoslovakia, a member state of the Soviet bloc, wants to expand its £1½ million a year export trade to the Union and also wants to buy more South African goods.

The seven-man trade mission, led by the director-general of the Czech ministry of foreign trade, is the first one ever sent to the Union. During its three-

weeks' stay in the Union, it visited the major towns and met businessmen, industrialists and bankers.

Questioned about Czechoslovakia's desire to increase trade despite the Congress boycott appeal, a member of the mission was frank and open. "We have few raw materials in Czechoslovakia" he said, "and we have to import almost all such materials and many foodstuffs as well."

He added: "Our aim is a two-way flow of goods."

Czechoslovakia wants to increase the sale of industrial and mining plant equipment, jewellery, textiles, beer and motorcars. The trade mission hopes to buy greater quantities of South African wool, citrus fruit, hides and skins and chrome ores.

## WELCOME DIWALI FESTIVAL TREAT



Members of the Port Elizabeth Yuvak Mandal Indian Youth Society distributed buns and milk to more than 1000 African and Coloured school children recently. The gesture followed the celebration of Diwali, the Indian New Year. The Youth Society members were accompanied by Mr. G. A. Gillet, Secretary to the Mayor's School Feeding Fund. The Society plans to make this an annual affair. This picture shows some of the members handing the buns to pupils of the Salem Moravian School, Schauder Township. Left to right are Mr. R. Gillet, Mr. D. Daya, Mr. C. Raga and Mr. S. Parshotam.

## RACE RELATIONS EXPOSES SCANDALS

## New Platteland Serfdom

SERF-LIKE conditions under which Africans work on the farms of South Africa are dealt with in a recent memorandum produced by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. (RR 153/59) The memorandum points out that the influx control system virtually closed the towns to African farm workers, tying them down to rural work, whatever the conditions of work may be. "This leads to abuses such as serious underpayment, inadequate rations and housing, wasteful use of labour, and so on", says the memorandum.

Dealing with people known as "labour tenants and squatters," the memorandum continues:

"The Institute has noted that Chapter IV of the Native Trust and Land Amendment Act is now being applied, and that Labour Tenants' Control Boards have been set up to determine the number of families of labour tenants that may be employed on each farm within their areas of jurisdiction.

"According to the (then) Minister of Native Affairs, speaking in the Assembly, 11 July 1958, those labour tenants who are considered to be surplus to requirements are being assisted by labour bureaux to re-settle on other farms where workers are needed. Squatters requiring employment are being assisted to obtain work as full-time farm workers.

"It is clear that the implementation of Chapter IV of this Act is inevitably causing the uprooting and serious dislocation of the lives of many African families. Particularly difficulties are likely to be experienced by aged and infirm persons, and by families who own stock."

The pressure on Government by the white farmers, its voting backbone, to supply labour, is well-known. The power to uproot these

**Most readers have seen convicts working on South African farms. Contact offers a prize of £5 5s. 0d. for the best photograph to illustrate the use by farmers of prison labour. Glossy prints should be submitted, and the closing date is 31 December, 1959. The decision of the editorial board shall be final.**

people will certainly be used to direct labour to where the employing classes need it, and thus to take away from Africans, in one more respect, the freedom to sell their labour where it is best-paid.

The above deals with "free" men — i.e. those Africans who live in the "white" farming areas and work for a white master, either for cash or for the use of plots of land.

Much more sinister is the use of unfree labour—i.e. of people convicted in the courts, or pressed by threats into entering into contracts with white farmers whom they do not know and have not chosen to work for.

One of the worst measures taken to supply farmers with labour and thereby to depress the level of agricultural wages is the farm prisons scheme.

In very many areas farmers have been allowed to build privately-built prisons. These prisons are filled with prisoners — always, of course, non-white prisoners. The prisoners are hired out to farmers at 9d. a day.

The system is attaining vast proportions, and it is safe to say that, with the possible exception of communist slave-labour systems, no more intensive use of convict labour exists in the world.

The Institute, in the memorandum, urges that the use of prison labour by private employers should be discontinued.

### Three schemes

Further ways in which farmers co-operate with the prisons department are disclosed by the memorandum, which says:

"There are three schemes whereby a farmer may recruit prison labour. Firstly, he may interview Africans who are serving sentences in lieu of payment of fines, and, should he find a man who is willing to enter his employment at current rates of pay, may apply for suspension of the sentence on condition that the prisoner remains in his employment for the unexpired portion of his sentence or until he has earned enough to pay the fine. Secondly, a prisoner serving a sentence of three months or less may, if he is willing, be released on probation and enter into an approved contract to work for a farmer for the unexpired portion of his sentence at a wage of not less than 9d. a day. And thirdly, a first offender serving a sentence of from one to two years may be invited after completion of half of his sentence to work for a farmer for the remaining portion of locally-prevailing wage rates.

### Malpractices

"It is appreciated that the Prisons authorities make every effort to ensure that their conditions are observed; but malpractices do occur. For example:

(a) A farmer, G. S. Lourens, of the Standerton District, was during May 1959 found guilty of assaulting convict labourers, and was sentenced to a fine of £50 (or four months' imprisonment), a further two months' imprisonment being conditionally suspended for three years. (*Rand Daily Mail* report, 28 May 1959).

(b) A *habeas corpus* application was made by Rachel Madeira, during June 1959, for the return of her husband Gabriel from the farm of C. F. Grobler in the Trichardt District. She stated that Gabriel had been retained on the farm beyond the date when his sentence expired to make up for a period when he was ill. Gabriel was in hospital at the time when his application came before the Supreme Court, Pretoria: it was alleged that he was assaulted on the farm after he had

### Methodists Slate Unjust Laws

THE annual conference of the Methodist Church of South Africa was held recently at Kimberley. In a statement on public and political issues in the Union, the following view was expressed:

It is with increasing concern that we note the continued application of the policy of enforced separate development (apartheid). The Extension of University Education Act, the creation of so-called Bantu "homelands", the elimination of the Natives' representatives from the House of Assembly, and the Senate and the continued implementation of the Group Areas Act, with all the suffering, havoc and confusion involved, are part of a pattern which we regard as inimical to the highest interests of South Africa and its peoples. Even though some benefits may result, this does not blind us to the inherent wrong of forcing upon an unwilling people policies which are often in complete conflict with their legitimate aspirations. We shall continue to press for the repeal of all discriminatory legislation which results in the withholding of fundamental rights and freedoms.

visited a police station to request that he be discharged. (*Star* reports, 24 and 25 June 1959).

(Two other cases are quoted.)

Perhaps the worst scheme is one which was so scandalous that it was suspended, temporarily, a few months ago. It involved pressing into labour contracts men and boys under arrest for petty offences. The implications are fearful: firstly it involved the authorities compounding the offence—i.e. that instead of the police handing alleged wrongdoers over to the judicial authorities, they allowed them to escape punishment on condition they took service with a white farmer.

Secondly it degrades the police from being officers defending law and order into kidnappers and blackbirders. Thirdly, it allies the police with one class, the employing class, and makes them into enemies of the working-class.

In all likelihood the scheme will be revived, as soon as the criticism has died down.

### Petty offenders

According to the memorandum "of 14,154 petty offenders brought by the police to the District Labour Bureau in Johannesburg during 1958, 2,337 were placed in employment on farms. During the first three months of 1959, 1,025 men out of 4,180 brought to the Labour Bureau accepted such employment."

"There have been fair numbers of allegations of ill-treatment of these men while they were on the farms." The memorandum quotes ten *habeas corpus* applications and gives references.

"A serious case of ill-treatment of petty offenders was reported in the Press during August and September, 1958. Thirty-two Africans had been sent from the labour bureau to the farm of C. L. S. Botha in the Heidelberg area, and, following alleged thrashings, they decided to leave and report back to the authorities. As they walked along the road a van overtook them, warning shots were fired, and they were rounded up and taken back to the farm, where they were cruelly beaten. Botha was later found guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and was sentenced to 4½ years' imprisonment and seven strokes with a cane. Two of his white and seven of his African staff received lesser sentences for participating in the assaults."

It is by no means suggested that all, or even any considerable proportion, of the petty offenders who accept to work on farms are ill-treated there. But what does become clear is that the system has been very inadequately controlled. A farmer, P. J. Potgieter, of the Heidelberg District, who had been "blacklisted" by the Department of Prisons, was permitted to employ petty offenders, as admitted by the Minister of Justice in the Senate, 11 May 1959.

### Inadequate control

The memorandum continues: "Quite apart from the inadequate control that has been exercised, however, the system has highly undesirable features.

"Firstly, it is undisputed that petty offenders who accept work on farms are kept at the labour bureau until the farmers come to collect them, and are given no opportunity of informing their relatives of their whereabouts, or of fetching their clothes and money. Officials state that if the relatives make inquiries they are given the addresses of the farms to which the men have been sent. But these relatives are often ignorant of the whole procedure, and at a loss to know where to inquire. Furthermore, the names of the men may have been taken down incorrectly by the officials, and it is likely then to be well-nigh impossible to trace them. There is no need to dwell on the anxiety that the relatives feel, or the practical difficulties that they experience when the breadwinners suddenly disappear.

### Men bewildered

"Secondly, it is highly probable that misunderstandings take place when bewildered, frightened men, who have often spent a night in gaol, are hauled before officials at the labour bureau. The interpreters provided may not always be fluent in the necessary languages. It is doubtful whether many of the men fully appreciate that the penalty for the type of offence they have committed is unlikely to exceed a fine of £1 or 7 day's imprisonment. It is open to doubt whether they understand that the period for which they are required to contract to work on a farm, if they wish to avoid prosecution, is not three months, as would appear at first sight, but is 90 working days (which may be considerably longer than three months, as Sundays, days when the worker is off sick, and days when work is impossible due to adverse weather conditions, are not included).

### Anti-African Slander

## COMPARED TO "WILD ANIMALS"

### LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

## REPLY TO SAM NUJOMA FROM WHITE MAN

Dear Sir,

I would like to reply to the letter of Sam Nujoma, especially his list of alleged grievances, wherein he gives a very distorted view of facts, in the following order:

He states that after 39 years of Administration of South West Africa, the Natives have no vote and have no representatives in the Councils of the State.

Mr. Sam Nujoma knows perfectly well that the overwhelming number of Natives in South West are quite unqualified to vote and will be incapable to do so for many years to come. They understand as much about the vote and governing a country as the wild animals in the Etosha Pan.

### WHITES PROVIDE

He also should know that, were it not for the White people who have established industries and businesses and thus given employment to the Natives in numerous ways, they would all starve and would revert to making war upon one another, and to cannibalism.

This is a facsimile of part of a letter to the editor of the Windhoek Advertiser which appeared on 18 August this year.

The rest of the letter is a lengthy defence of benefits brought to the Africans of South-West by the white people — and incidentally quotes with pride that wages in Windhoek are as much as £3-£8 per month for Africans.

The references to wild animals and cannibals shocked many people in the territory, and the attention of Contact was actually drawn to this letter by a reader from Ovamboland who could hardly write. Despite difficulties he wrote in and protested at the monstrous suggestions contained in this letter.

We are indebted to him for his vigilance.

# CONTACT

**T**HE Progressives have held their congress, and have achieved a triumphant public meeting in Johannesburg. Now they will have to settle down to the less exciting, but essential, routine of building their party.

Will their relations with the Liberal Party be good? This depends largely on themselves, for, from the side of the Liberals has come little but rejoicing, to see so many influential people begin the journey away from white supremacy. The Progressives, unless they go out of their way to attack the Liberals, are likely to continue to enjoy this goodwill.

It must immediately be said that Dr. Steytler, their leader, enjoys the liking and admiration of many thousands. The hour demands men who are strangers to fear; and Dr. Steytler, by one reply he gave in Johannesburg, has shown that he is one of them. When asked for a guarantee that there would never be a non-white majority in Parliament, he said: There will be a non-white majority.

That is realism. That is courage. His reply places him almost precisely where the Liberal Party stands, and all Liberals will applaud him for having said it.

It is unfortunately not possible to view as uncritically all that his party has done. For instance, the party has decided that it will adopt a qualified franchise: but it has not yet decided what the qualification is to be. A commission is to sit, taking "six months to a year" to report, before a decision will be reached. Until then the public will not know whether it is dealing with a party nearly as reactionary as the United Party, or nearly as democratic as the Liberals. It remains to be seen how many people will be willing to throw in their lot with a party which, for the first year of its life, is not able to say with greater precision than this just where it stands between white supremacy and democracy.

Again, parts of his party seem to be making decisions that do not harmonise with Dr. Steytler's magnanimity. A report from Natal speaks of a decision not to allow non-whites even to attend meetings until the franchise qualifications are decided. This is an astonishing decision, and contrasts unfavourably with the practice of the admittedly reactionary United Party, which, during its provincial election campaign, allowed non-whites to attend its meetings.

A further point which needs urgent review is the arrangement, mentioned on another page, for dealing with membership applications. No one is lightly going to risk being blackballed, and the arrangement described will ensure that few, at any rate among the non-whites, will apply.

It is in any case going to be difficult for the new party to recruit non-white members. It has been founded exclusively by whites: at the great Johannesburg public meeting no non-whites were seen in the audience or on the platform. Interracial suspicion is unfortunately so strong that it is always difficult for whites to join non-white movements or vice versa, and it is a pity that the Progressives have, by adopting a blackballing technique that lacks frankness, made it even more difficult for non-whites to join them.

Perhaps the tendency that needs most careful watching is the tendency to base policies on the concept of "civilised persons". The new policies are full of such references. This is unfortunate, as the word "civilised" has no defined meaning. A person may be more, or less, acculturated to western European customs. He may be more, or less, well behaved. Or he may be more, or less, educated; more, or less, rich. But the word civilised, which some people use to suggest some of the above concepts, has no definable relationship with any of them, and is never used by sociologists, or, indeed, by anyone whose speech has precision. Let the Progressives therefore beware of this word, and not have the unwisdom to base their policies on it.

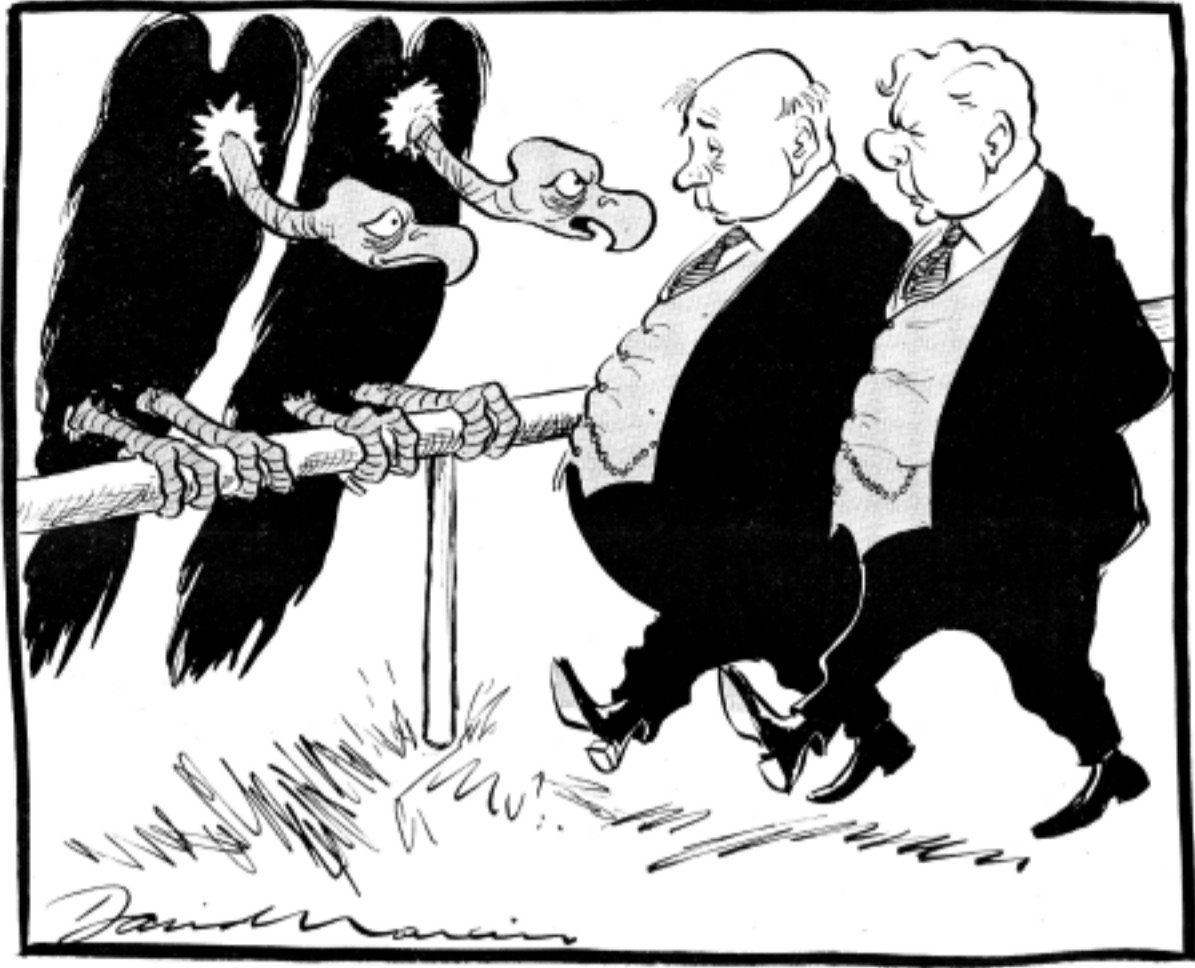
It is a pity that in so few weeks they have found it necessary to make so many slighting references to the Liberal Party. Even Dr. Steytler, in a reference that marred his otherwise fine Johannesburg speech, slated the Liberals for their policy of "surrender". That word was undeserved. If by it he meant that the Liberals are working for a non-white Parliamentary majority, he picked a curious moment for his attack. For, only a few minutes before, he had replied, as mentioned above, that Progressive policies, also, led on to a non-white Parliamentary majority.

His attack showed further that he does not understand the Liberal Party. He appears to think of Liberals as a group of whites, busy selling-out to black nationalism. But Liberals are not white. They are a racially-mixed party, building the non-racial nation that South Africa is destined to become. They are selling-out to nobody.

The Liberals have sincerely welcomed the advent of the Progressives. They have, after all, worked for many years for this very thing to happen, and for the tide to turn in white politics against the colour bar. The Liberals have thus no reason to fight the Progressives. But it is in the nature of politics that a party defends its stand. If the Progressives continue to snipe, then they are going to find themselves involved in a running fight with the Liberals—a situation that only Dr. Verwoerd could really enjoy.

At this stage it is evident that there is room for both groups. The Progressives have the immediate advantage of having eleven MPs in Parliament with perhaps three years to run. They have, in addition, Mr. Oppenheimer's backing, with all that that means in terms of respectability and business support. They have important friends in the newspaper world. The Liberals have the longer-term advantage of representing the determination of the resurgent oppressed peoples to win justice—one of the only two sources in South Africa of political power. There is no reason here for any clash.

It is therefore to be hoped that, in the interest of our democratic future, Dr. Steytler will call off his party's attacks, and that he will respond with wisdom and generosity to the welcome which the Liberals have extended to his party.



"What do you mean the British Government can have Mrs. Mafekeng? This is a fine time to become humanitarian!"

## APARTHEID IS CRAZY ECONOMICS (3)

**S**TUPIDITY is *not* a bar to a high degree of efficiency in a great many walks of life. If it were, most of us would go hungry. In all sorts of jobs, from office boy to company director, from clergyman to crook, from counter-hand to university professor, workers will be heard wondering at the stupidity of a particular colleague, who is nevertheless able to carry out the work expected of him.

The clever man is not clever by virtue of his own doing. The cleverness (or stupidity) potential is inherited. Nature endows us with a range of possible cleverness, and environmental influences determine where within that range a person "settles".

Environmental influences also determine a person's productivity. Indeed we could turn the wording about here and say that



environment gives us a range of possible productivity, and our natural cleverness level determines where within that range we "settle". This is immediately obvious if we take a simple historical comparison as an example. A highly intelligent worker of 1859 using a shovel could not in a week move anything approaching the amount of earth a much more stupid man could move today, with modern earth-moving equipment. The modern "stupid" is thus much more effective as a mover of earth, i.e., as a pro-

ducer of output, as a producer of goods or services. Again, today's run-of-the-mill physicians can with today's drugs cure diseases before which the 19th century medical genius was helpless. Today's somewhat dull physician is thereby a better physician than the clever one of 1859. We could go on multiplying such examples in sphere after sphere of activity.

Nor can we profitably separate all today's "stupid" and all today's "brightness" into two groups. Separated, each group will produce less. The stupid need the clever to guide them, to organise production for them, to pull them out of difficulties. The clever need the stupid to save them having to waste their cleverness on routine clerking, machine-tending, manual labour, etc. Thus the high output of the essentially dependent on the assistance of the stupid workers — just as the output of the skilled is dependent on the assistance of the unskilled. Each is essential: neither can be dispensed with. Split them and you reduce total output.

Any artificial segregation of people reduces productivity. Thus take the Africans and shove them into segregated reserves and "African only" areas and you reduce not only their productivity potential but also that of the white skilled workers. This would be true even if we accepted the argument (which so many uneducated whites do

believe) that the Africans have a lower level of intelligence than the white South African.

It is perhaps a bit upsetting to white pride to admit, but it is nevertheless important to realise, that in South Africa today, with modern equipment, modern industrial organisation and modern technologies, the ill-educated, under-paid, ill-nourished, badly-housed and contumaciously-treated dark-skinned South Africans are able to produce more goods and services than were the 19th century farmers, artisans, transport workers, etc., whose names are found in our local history books. White Grandpa may have been an excellent transport rider and, between bouts of malaria, may have cut quite a dashing figure, but compared with today's non-white bus-driver or lorry driver he was a mighty poor economic unit.

The implications of this importance of environment in determining productivity are



immense. It means that nearly all the "economic" arguments based on the "stupidity", the "ignorance", the "lack of education" of the Africans are ephemeral in so far as they have any weight at all. Tomorrow's



PETER BROWN takes the...

... LONG VIEW

## Mafekeng Case: World Anger Reaches New Pitch



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

AS I write, Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng is reported to have reached some "unknown destination" in Basutoland. Good luck to her! I hope she continues to evade the clutching tentacles of the Special Branch.

There have been frequent banishments in South Africa in recent years but too often they have taken place so silently that few people, apart from officials and relatives and friends of the unfortunate victims, have known anything about them. Occasionally a case has come to light which has made front-page news but none has provoked such a violent reaction, in South Africa and beyond, as has the case of Mrs. Mafekeng. Quite rightly too.

Mrs. Mafekeng is the mother of a large family from most of whom her banishment would have separated her. She was to have been sent to an area some seven hundred miles from her home and in one of the least attractive parts of the country. Having been an active worker in the service of her people for many years she was to have been placed in a position where her only avenue of employment would have been as a domestic servant.

A few days after Mrs. Mafekeng's banishment had been announced, Mr. C. Mnyandu, a member of the ANC in Durban, was ordered into exile in the Sibasa area of the Northern Transvaal at ten hours' notice. He barely had time to visit his

family at Umbumbulu, near Durban, to say good-bye to them, and to get back in time to catch the train on which he had been ordered to leave.

*Mrs. Mafekeng's story has rightly reverberated around the world. Mr. Mnyandu's may not, but it should. So should every other story of every other banishment. They remind South Africa and the world of just what kind of regime holds office here.*

Neither Mrs. Mafekeng nor Mr. Mnyandu has been found guilty of any crime. In Mr. Mnyandu's case, fact, he had, a short while previously been found *not* guilty, in a Durban magistrate's court, of incitement to violence during the Cato Manor upheavals. No reason has yet been given for Mr. Mnyandu's banishment.

Two weeks after the order had been served on her the uproar which it had provoked drove the Chief Information Officer to the Department of Native Affairs to list Mrs. Mafekeng's "offences". While emphasising that it was against the "spirit" of the Native Administration Act to give any reason at all for banishments, he accused Mrs. Mafekeng of visiting countries behind the Iron Curtain and of active campaigning against some of the more vicious plans to extend *apartheid*.

These may constitute offences in the eyes of the Bantu Affairs Department but they are apparently not offences in the eyes of the law. How else can one explain the failure of the authorities to confront their victims with a specific charge? They have not done so and so Mrs. Mafekeng and others who are banished cannot defend themselves. They do not know of what it is they are held to have been guilty. Neither is there any question of their delaying their departure while they test the legality of the Govern-

ment's action against them.

The Prohibition of Interdicts Act provides that they must first be exiled before they can challenge whether they *should have been* or not! So, those who are banished must go and they must go, not only in ignorance of their offence but in ignorance of the length of their sentence. They do not know when they will return home or, indeed, whether they will ever return home at all.

Mr. Eric Louw has just come

back from UNO where, he has told us, hostility to South Africa is on the decline. Mr. Louw is deceiving himself and us. The reaction to the Mafekeng banishment shows that quite clearly. Nothing has done so much to turn the world's anger against South Africa as has this one action. Even the banning of Chief Lutuli did not carry the same impact.

The world is very angry, but will it do anything? Indications from Britain are that weighty words of condemnation of the

Union's racial policies are no longer regarded as sufficient by a growing number of people. South Africa is providing more and more of an embarrassment to the Commonwealth and to those who, officially anyway, must still pretend to be her friends. Unofficially the campaign to isolate South Africa culturally and economically is gaining more and more support.

Despite Mr. Louw reassuring patter, South Africa drifts increasingly into an isolation all her own. That is good. It is time that those who support white supremacy in South Africa and its attendant evils should begin to feel and not only hear about the weight of world hostility towards them.

Perhaps they will then start to question where they stand.

### Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

DR. OTTO DU PLESSIS, Cape Administrator, has pleaded for architecture to take from the past what is good, and not to be dominated by merely financial factors.

I strongly agree with him. I hope that South Africa will do something to develop its own style of big-city architecture with healthy roots in the past. It was possible for colonial Spanish, Dutch, and English towns to be beautiful in the eighteenth century. Why is it that our modern cities are nothing more than nightmares in concrete and steel?

The ugliest architecture is improved — or at least concealed — by trees. So let's firmly tell our city engineers that there will be trees, and they must make their plans round this fact. Otherwise we will have nothing but tangles of telephone and power wires to give us shade and shelter.

ON another page we record an interview with Dr. Leslie Rubin, who is off to Ghana as a result of *apartheid* here. A great and growing country attracts skills, intelligence, and capital. Under *apartheid* we are repelling them.

Dr. Rubin's going means that South Africa as a whole is poorer. But none will feel the loss more than the Africans. As clients and as constituents they have learned to know in Dr. Rubin a tough, fearless fighter, who has many Government scalps—among them Mr. Swart's—nailed up on his wall.

A tip to Monty: When you were winning at Alamein, the liberals in South Africa didn't pepper you with ignorant, unasked advice. If they had, you'd have known how to deal with them. That's the way they feel about you now.

You say it is not the job of the United Nations to "interfere in the internal affairs of another member country". That is doubtful—and the International Court is perhaps better qualified than you to express an opinion. What is certain is that it is not your job to do this until you know a bit more than the experiences of one day, and after-dinner chats with your friends, have given you.

FOR nearly a century Cape Town has had a racially integrated railway station. Now, when the new station is built, a second unnecessary "non-white" segregated station is to be built, at a cost of £300,000. The World Bank has already lent the South African Railways £50 million. Does it know that much of this capital is going into unnecessary, new, segregated facilities? There is this station, and there is also the new lunacy of a segregated air passenger service.

Please, Mr. Black, couldn't you use your scarce capital resources for building dams in starving Asia and Africa? Why should they help extend *apartheid*?

WHEN he spoke recently in London Mr. Oppenheimer said that over the last few years, the wages of Africans in South Africa had increased more rapidly than wages of the whites. It now is clear that Mr. Oppenheimer was wrong. In the November issue of *The Standard Bank Review*, at page 5, are shown authoritative figures. These show that, since 1953, white people's hourly rates of pay have increased by 11%, while Africans' hourly rates of pay have increased by only 1%—i.e. that they are practically the same as they were six years ago. And in the mean time all prices have risen, so that the same money cannot buy as much as it could—i.e. *the real wages of Africans have fallen*, while those of the whites have probably increased.

I welcome the forthcoming visit of the British Prime Minister and Lady Dorothy Macmillan. I hope that, unlike Monty, he has heard of Chief Lutuli, and that, unlike Monty, he will take steps to meet non-white leaders in the Union.

Unless Mr. Macmillan takes the initiative he will meet none of them, and the impression will be created that Britain has no interest in South Africa's non-whites. That would be unfortunate, as Britain has probably no warmer friends anywhere.

TWO dreadful suicides have happened lately at the Cape. In each case the person concerned had been threatened with the uprooting of his life through the application of the Group Areas Act. In each case the person was "coloured".

Must the machine grind relentlessly on, over the bodies of poor broken people like these? Has Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg, local Group Areas chief, no conscience?

The pathetic thing about Mr. Mitchell, one of the suicides, is that only a few months ago he held a happy twenty-first party for his son. A photograph was taken showing the father giving the son the traditional key. Traditional, yes, western Europe's traditions; guarded and kept by a man many of whose ancestors came from western Europe. We know that most of the white people in this country have some non-European ancestors. How in the name of God can they go on persecuting their own kith and kin, whose only crime is that they were born on the "wrong" side of an imaginary fence?

## SOUTH AFRICAN LOOKING - GLASS

First, there's the room you can see through the glass—that's just the same as our drawing room, only the things go the other way.  
—Through the Looking-Glass.

The dynamic Government policy of apartheid is very good indeed.—from letter to *Bantoe/Bantu* from F. N. Mpanza, Johannesburg.

The Bantu Education Department drives us nearer to the light of progress.—from letter to *Bantoe/Bantu* from Sam M. Muhlari, P.O. Shiluvane.

I thank the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for having been so kind to we black people.—from letter to *Bantoe/Bantu*, from Glisco G. Sekoailo, Johannesburg.

CONTACT

## "WE OUGHT TO HAVE AN INTEGRATED VIEW

# OF OUR CULTURE"

THE reason why I attend public lectures that are organised quite often in Johannesburg is not, unfortunately, because of any desire to be informed, educated, stimulated, or whatever it is that draws audiences to these dismal affairs.

It is rather the little chit-chat with friends, just before the chairman introduces the speaker, that makes these evenings memorable and worthwhile. The profundities that flow from the speaker's mouth can hardly equal in value the warm, congenial atmosphere which surrounds the small cluster of friends near the door or in the foyer while they speculate on the prospects of the evening's entertainment . . . just before the speaker mounts the rostrum.

One evening we had these few minutes for chatting about one thing or another while waiting for the visiting British author, Richard Church, to address us on the process of writing a novel. The Jewish young man sitting next to me was quite appropriately, discussing South African writing as a sort of preview.

Not that any of the would-be writers expected to acquire the ability to write that magnificent novel through listening to one man's lecture on how he does it. The truth is that people who want to write always desire to hear from established authors how they do it, vaguely hoping to stumble on some strange insight, some wonderful clue, that might provide a short cut to achieving authorship without the sheer menial toil that accompanies the process.

Anyway I am quite fed up with writers who offer benign advice to young hopefuls. They always end on this note: "You either have it or you don't!" A fine advice to hand out to a

young man or woman who still has agonising doubts as to whether he or she has it or not. I suppose this observation strikes

By Lewis Nkosi

these successful writers as terribly profound.

As I was saying before I was carried away by my feelings, this young man was saying something about South African writing. He turned to me and said, "Lewis, I think the best writing of this country is going to come from you people."

To put it mildly, this was a bit startling. I have become a little cautious of people who believe that Africans are special



LEWIS NKOSI

animals who have all sorts of innate rhythms and unusual capacities for doing things that nobody else can do. People seem to draw strange anthropological conclusions from any number of social facts. So naturally I pursued the subject further.

"What do you mean the best writing is going to come from us?" I enquired.

"Well take me for instance," he said. "What can I write about? I haven't had the kind of experience that you have. I

was brought up in a good home and was never exposed to the kind of things that you were exposed to. Sure, during the war we had our little organisation of Zionist youth and that sort of thing, but it isn't something deep enough to form a good base for writing."

This young man expressed for me the dichotomy in our culture, and it seems that this condition is going to persist until there is a drastic change in the basic social structure. It was perhaps unavoidable that one time or another during the development of this country we should suffer from this lack of a shared nationhood. Our writing so far, with the possible exception of Miss Gordimer's *A World of Strangers*, has not merely pointed at the imposition of an artificial morality upon us, but it has continuously and agonisingly examined and seemed to accept the premise that we are profoundly different and separate.

I realise that this was to be expected since we have never as a nation quite accepted the premise that we are here together and that we are stuck with each other. Those of us who say we accept integration as inevitable do not want to face up to its social consequences, whether or not we preach such a belief on political platforms. The things we share have, therefore, not been celebrated in our national literature. Our writing has lost its affirmative values through this open-mouthed wonder at our "profound separateness."

The result has been a spiritual penury such as no other country has experienced, not even the United States. The dichotomy of our culture represented by Houghton and Sophiatown is implicit even in our attitude to the theatre. When a "township play" is put on, the Houghton establishment turns up to see it because it expects to see an exposé of the lurid, seamy, bitchy, vital side of life which the township has come to symbolise. When the characters in the play seem to behave like people; when they fight for the same human identity that any young lady from Houghton would fight for, as happened in Athol Fugard's *Nongogo*, Houghton is disappointed. Then it turns out that that is not what it was looking for. Houghton was merely questing for the old stereotyped image. The price you pay for not showing it is a solid flop! That is the price Athol Fugard paid.

I am one of those who think that the pallor of life in the genteel white suburbs like Houghton can do with a little township vitality. If you doubt this, get Lemmy Special to play his pennywhistle at some of the parties they organise in Park Town and Houghton. I've seen it happen. The house is turned upside down. But the same is true of Sophiatown, although many people who romanticise "township life" do not seem to suspect this. In spite of all its vitality, the township is impoverished because of its lack of contact with the other side.

For instance, the township is wasteful of much life, of its energy, because of its lack of the Houghton kind of discipline. The enthusiasm for life and the (Continued at foot of next col.)

## World Backs Segal Ban Protest

LEADING intellectuals and democratic organisations in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, responding to the appeal of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, have asked the South African Government to rescind the ban imposed upon Ronald Segal, the Editor of *Africa South*. The Congress Executive Bureau protested to Dr. Verwoerd, that Mr. Segal was being "victimised for exercising a basic democratic right—criticism of Government policies" in his journal, and has called for a large-scale campaign on Segal's behalf. Statements supporting the Congress move have been made by individuals, organisations and the press in Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, France, Britain, India, Argentina, and Mexico. The Manchester Guardian strongly supported the position taken by the Congress, saying "the protest is well founded". The Guardian noted that Mr. Segal had been penalised under the "Suppression of Communism Act", although he "is not and never has been a communist, and has strongly criticised communist policy in his journal."

## CHAMBER IS AGAINST COURTESY CAMPAIGN

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: "Private and Confidential. Not for Publication." The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce uses these phrases in a circular which tells its many members that it has reservations about Mr. E. D. Bodley's African People's Courtesy Campaign.

Readers of *Contact* will remember how the enterprising Mr. Bodley has shaken Johannesburg's business world by campaigning for the courteous treatment of black customers in "white" shops.

Now comes circular No. 22, of 1959, from the Chamber of Commerce to its members:

"The Chamber has received a number of enquiries from members as to whether they should take part in this campaign.

"The final decision in matters of this kind must obviously rest with members, but there are one or two general considerations which the Chamber feels should be taken into account."

What are these "general considerations?"

"Firstly, probably most firms already endeavour to ensure courteous treatment to cus-

tomers of all races by briefing the members of their staffs, and these firms may prefer to continue to accord such treatment in a practical manner, without the use of external manifestations such as badges and window stickers."

The circular says that these badges and stickers "may lend themselves to differing interpretations in the minds of customers of various groups." This, to my mind, is a polite way of saying that supporters of *apartheid* will view the scheme with disfavour and that this could be bad for business.

The second "general consideration": "... there may be some practical and legal difficulties involved in regard to such matters as the use of restrooms and lifts by customers of all races."

## Nat. Paper Attacks Airport Apartheid

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The time has come for Mr. Ben Schoeman, Minister of Transport, to do something about the treatment of non-whites at Jan Smuts airport, says the influential columnist of *Die Vaderland*.

On October 19, the columnist complained that he was not happy about the way that visiting non-whites had been treated at the airport.

The tone of his column conflicts sharply with the Australian statements on Senator Hayward,

abounding energy is fine, but it achieves nothing until it is disciplined and directed into creative channels.

In short the persistence of the schism in our national life is responsible for the over-glamorisation of the township, which, in turn, is responsible for making people believe that the township is going to produce the real, vital culture of this country.

I don't agree with this assumption. I think the township is going to add an important dimension of vitality and an arresting sense of the world to our culture. But it will need the techniques of Houghton.

We ought to have an integrated view of our culture.

who repeatedly claimed that the West African M.P., Mr. Johnson, had not been slighted at the airport when he left on a Commonwealth Parliamentary tour of Australia.

The columnist says that Jan Smuts is a "show window" of the Union — and is "international" territory. "At this airport to the outside world, (we) cannot afford to make mistakes that can do our name harm overseas," he writes.

Three cases are specifically mentioned in the column: the manner in which a Japanese business man was forced by officials to eat in the non-white restaurant; the case of Mr. Johnson; and the treatment of the Chinese Consul-General.

"To refuse a cultured Japanese entry to a European restaurant, is an unforgivable mistake," is but one sentence in the column that must have shaken Nationalists.

"At no other airport in the world is *apartheid* enforced", he adds.

## CONTACT!

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## NEW LEGISLATURE FOR B.P.

# But Whites Are Over-Represented

THE 275,000 square-mile Bechuanaland Protectorate, with its 300,000 inhabitants, is to get its own legislature, soon. This huge dry land, nearly, *but not quite*, surrounded by the Union and South-West, has played a part already in the history of Southern Africa.

This new development, by transferring a considerable amount of power to the largely African inhabitants, will influence events in the whole region no less than will the new Basutoland constitution.

A report by a committee of the Joint Advisory Council which was published on 2 November makes recommendations for the formation of a Legislative Council and an Executive Council.

The background to the report is as follows: in 1920 two advisory councils representing respectively the white and African inhabitants were established in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

In 1950 a Joint Advisory Council was established consisting of eight members of the African Advisory Council elected by that Council, the eight members of the European Advisory Council and seven government officials.

In 1958 the Joint Advisory Council passed a resolution "that the time had come when a Legislative Council should be formed and empowered to assist in the Government of the Territory."

## Law-making powers

The report recommends that the present Joint Advisory Council should be reorganised as a Legislative Council. It would have law-making powers, subject to the assent of the High Commissioner. It is recommended that the present membership should be increased to 35 to allow for 21 elected mem-

bers, 4 nominated members and 10 official members; that the African and white communities should be represented on the Council in equal numbers, as at present, and that one seat should be provided for the small Asian community.

The report recommends that the white members of the proposed council should be elected



by a secret ballot system similar to that employed for many years in the election of members of the European Advisory Council, and that the franchise for whites should be similar to that now in force for them. The report also recommends that the Asian member of the proposed council should be elected by the Asian inhabitants of the territory.

The committee considered that the time was not yet ripe for African members of the Council to be elected directly by the inhabitants of the territory and they recommend that the African elected members of the Legislature should be chosen by the existing African Advisory

Council, a body consisting of eight Chiefs and 31 ordinary members representing all the tribes. The ordinary members of the African Advisory Council are at present appointed in accordance with traditional tribal procedures, but the report recommends that the Tribal Councils now being established should in future elect the ordinary members of the African Advisory Council and that the establishment of these councils should be developed as rapidly as possible.

In addition the committee have recommended that an Executive Council should be created to advise the Resident Commissioner and High Commissioner in the discharge of the executive functions of Government, and they recommend that four leading unofficial members of the Legislative Council should be appointed to this body. Of these four members, two would be white and two would be African. Other members of the Executive Council would be officials who would form a majority.

It is virtually certain that the British Government will accept the recommendations.

## Short of democracy

In several respects these proposals come far short of democracy. The High Commissioner, for instance, has power to override the new legislature and executive. But, in practice, it will be very difficult for him to do so. Again, the tiny white community (2,500) has been given representation far beyond its size and true importance. This again is not as bad as it looks, as, with British policy moving steadily nearer the African viewpoint, it will not be possible for the settler communities of the Protectorate to challenge the African majority on any point of substance. Again, the whole concept is based on the same distasteful distinctions as is the present multi-racial constitution in Tanganyika.

In other respects, however, what is to be given represents a welcome advance. It is increasingly genuinely elective, and is thus in sharp distinction to the Bantu Authorities system. And it will provide a framework in which democratic movements can grow and flourish.

What is remarkable, and to be admired, is that in Southern Africa such proposals have been made jointly by Africans and whites. Such a degree of co-operation, in this region, demonstrates, by contrast, how much damage and destruction has already been caused by *apartheid* in the neighbouring areas.

## Our local correspondent writes:

Politically Bechuanaland must be one of the quietest places in Africa. The only body to place a memorandum before the Committee was the Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party which has a few members in Serowe. There appear to be no other political parties and Bechuanaland must have been one of the few unrepresented countries at the Accra Conference. A more advanced constitution will presumably not be proposed until the Protectorate becomes more politically conscious.

## LOSS TO SOUTH AFRICA

# New Appointment For Sen. Rubin

IT WAS recently announced that Dr. the Hon. Leslie Rubin, Senator representing the Africans in the Cape, had written to the Governor-General resigning his seat in the Senate, and that he is soon to go to Ghana to take up an appointment there.

In an interview with *Contact*, Dr. Rubin gave some details of the new appointment. "I shall be a Senior Lecturer on the staff of the University College of Ghana, and shall be loaned by them to a new organisation—the Institute of African Law. This institute is backed by Ghana Government funds, and I shall be the director".

Dr. Rubin explained that there would be a large library, and a large staff of legal experts, both Ghanaian and from other African and Commonwealth countries. The Institute would not be a teaching institute, but would be devoted to pure research.

"At first", Dr. Rubin said, "the Institute will concentrate mainly on local Ghanaian problems, in the fields of land law and constitutional law. But fairly soon I hope that we will be able to be of use to other African countries. In East Africa for example there are tough problems of this nature, and I very much hope that we will be equipped in time to help them. I understand that I shall be expected to do a great deal of travelling."

I asked Dr. Rubin about his private arrangements, and he told me that he and his wife would move, taking with them

their younger son, Martin. Neville, the elder, will remain behind to complete his degree at Cape Town University. Dr. Rubin told me that he had had some surprising reactions from colleagues and their wives, some of them ostensibly liberally-minded. One woman commiserated with Mrs. Rubin on having to 'go and live in a location'. It had to be made plain to her that the good suburbs of Accra were like Johannesburg's northern suburbs. Both she and Dr. Rubin look forward to sharing in the exciting business of building in Ghana into a modern progressive state.

In reply to a question about South Africa, Dr. Rubin said that he was going to miss it a great deal. As to the future, he said that he was optimistic in the long term, for he could not believe that *apartheid* could possibly prevail. Against it were working economic forces, the increasing awareness of its shortcomings among the Afrikaners themselves, world opinion, and pressures here.

"But in the short term I am not optimistic" he said. "Until the white man can face up to the fact that *apartheid* has to go, all we can look forward to is more outbreaks such as Cato Manor and Paarl."

# Kanjedza Commission Boycotted

From *Contact* Correspondent

SALISBURY: The squalid and chaotic story of Kanjedza prison camp has come to a sad and highly unsatisfactory ending. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into conditions at the camp fails to reveal the real facts of the case and there can have been few reports whose conclusions were less logically drawn from their contents.

This commission which was first announced in London was appointed by the Federal Government after a Salisbury broadsheet *Dissent* had been quoted in the House of Commons alleging that Nyasaland detainees had been ill-treated at Kanjedza during the early days of the emergency.

The detainees refused to give evidence before what they called a "phoney commission". Only one man agreed to give evidence on oath and his evidence was immediately declared 'unreliable' by the commissioners.

Two other people came before the commission. One asked whether the commissioners had come from London. On being told that the commission had been appointed in Salisbury, the man refused to give evidence. The other man told the commissioners that he had just come to see what they looked like. He refused to give evidence.

The commission in its report admits minor cases of assault but completely exonerates the authorities from charges of cruelty.

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## FEDERAL LAWS

# R.C. PRELATES PROTEST

LUSAKA: The Roman Catholic bishops of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have issued a joint statement of the federation experiment.

In their statement the bishops protest "against the disparity which exists between the ideal of partnership so greatly publicised and the practice of it in all three territories, a disparity which regrettably seems to stem from statutory law based on race distinction, and cannot too greatly insist on the necessity of according to all men, irrespective of race, the rights due to them as human persons and citizens.

They view "with much concern the legislation recently en-

acted for the preservation of public order and hope that it may not be regarded as a permanent feature of the law administered in this country."

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, in his reply to the statement says that the Government is "not unmindful of the emotional opposition to the Federation amongst certain sections of the African people, and of the need to allay their fears and apprehensions about the future.

"The Federal Government" he adds "considers that it has exercised responsibility for the subjects entrusted to it in the best interests of the multi-racial community, and done everything possible within its sphere of responsibility to promote the spirit of partnership."

Sam Sly

# HOW TO SELL YOUR COUNTRY

MY BELOVED COUNTRY. By the Hon. Thomas Boydell (Nasionale Boekhandel) 21s.

I put down Mr. Boydell's book with a sense of relief. The uneasiness I have felt about his much-publicised speaking tours abroad is quite dispelled. Here is no convinced apologist, undoing all the SA Information Service's blunders with subtle, meaningful arguments to men in high places, or with homespun oratory to the uncommitted masses. Instead picture an endless series of Rotarians' luncheons, meetings of middle-aged American ladies, and, until the Church stopped him, but most important, compulsory school lectures in Australia.

The speaker is a garrulous, likeable, retired politician with an embarrassing weakness in the form of an insatiable craving for public recognition and admiration.

Some years ago the craving was momentarily sated by his appearing in the lion's cage when Messrs. Pagel's Circus came to Cape Town, after days of the sort of press ballyhoo that is his greatest delight. In 1954 he hit on the defence of *apartheid* in a hostile world as a way of putting on the same act before bigger audiences. This gave him the added kick of writing a book about it afterwards, telling everyone what he had said and what nice things everyone said about him.



The book that has resulted is a loose account of Mr. Boydell's visits to America, West Africa, Europe and Australia, which tells where he went, what he said, and what his audiences thought of him. I can recall nothing of interest concerning where he went (except for a whole chapter on the late Bernarr MacFadden, in which his good opinion of Mr. Boydell is repeated several times.)

What he said only adds to my feeling of relief. There is no shrewd insight, no independent vision.

Only the same old load of mischief that the *apartheid* barkers have been selling all along. Mr. Boydell's "line" is the best yet. Some of it is so fast that you can hardly catch him, except that in this endlessly repetitious book every one of his tricks is performed at least twice, and you can see through them all in time. Here are a few of Mr. Boydell's best:

*Apartheid*: the English equivalent is "partition"; . . . certainly not a scheme for white domination . . . three-quarters of the Bantu have voluntarily accepted it.

*Racial legislation*: acts as a

shock absorber . . . tries to cushion the tension.

*Group Areas*: only legalises grouping that takes place in other countries voluntarily.

*Separate amenities, cafés, cine-*



BOYDELL

*may*: this discrimination invariably operates both ways.

*Churches*: all churches have separate places of worship . . . racial affinity induces spiritual affinity.

*Church Clause*: kept out those who went to demonstrate or be a nuisance.

*Passes*: To what extent passes are valued is reflected in the frequency with which they are either forged or sold . . . £5 to £20 is paid for a forged pass . . . Europeans must all possess Identity Cards.

*Bantu Education*: immediate control and administration of all the Native schools has been placed under complete Native control (sic).

*Communism*: the Natives lap up communism like mother's milk.

*Racial differences*: can never be bridged by a university degree or a school-leaving certificate . . . 50 to 60 years ago one never saw a Native wearing a pair of boots or a suit of clothes.

With the self-advertising motive and the dishonest arguments, his ignorance about the past and present destroys his claim to authority. It is a big mistake to say that the Griquas lived on the East Coast 300 years ago. It is a big mistake to complain that the Press found "the blacks in the wrong" in Nyasaland, or that the world would hail Sir de Villiers Graaff as a hero and our race policies would be condoned if he won an election. The facts don't count—Mr. Boydell is a good speaker and knows that blarney baffles brains.

The third strand is "what they thought of him."

One is supposed to assess this from the scores of thank-you letters quoted in the book. But

when a student at Adelaide University blew the gaff, Mr. Boydell had to admit (p. 136) that the thank-you letters, or some of them, were touted for.



One wonders why they are so similar. Does he actually suggest the points they might mention? Or show them other letters to give them ideas? It doesn't really matter, but it does complete the picture of the retired politician who lives only in the admiration of others. And the admiration must be recorded, put into this book, and kept for posterity, for we are told (twice, as usual) that the originals of the letters are already safe in the Government Archives.

Granted, an exhibitionist can still be a patriot, and half-truths and distortions can come as second nature to a politician who may still have a real case. Yet Mr. Boydell, one learns, has no case. His view of South Africa is based on the conditions he found here in 1904, and on the white labour policy of the long-dead Labour Party he joined in 1909.

Though everything that has happened here, in Africa and in the world has since proved his view wrong, one cannot hope that he will change his habit of mind after nearly a lifetime. His viewpoint is that three million whites and eleven million non-whites can never form a common society. Like Verwoerd, he says: suppose white and black cannot live together, therefore white and black cannot live together.

Mr. Boydell has no case, and his lectures are absurd rather than pernicious. But he does harm to South Africa by feeding the complacency of whites here who eagerly infer from the press that Mr. Boydell is winning support for their claim to continued domination. Does he do no harm to his own conscience, which, he tells English audiences, is "his only sponsor"?

The Australian executive of the World Council of Churches, he tells us, found evidence in his speeches of "(i) half-truths, misrepresentations and inaccuracies (ii) arguments based on expediency rather than on truth (iii) out-of-date statistics."

Can Mr. Boydell's conscience, not his tongue this time, rebut such a charge? Can it allow his cause to be just if he admits that the cause can only be made acceptable by falsifying it?

## The plots thicken

THE BLACK UNICORN. By June Drummond (Gollancz) 14s.

IN 224 pages of complicated machinations, June Drummond makes her debut as a South African writer. Around the corpse of Max St. Cyr she has woven as tangled a yarn as ever came out of the Detection Club—involved, devious, confused and packed with all sorts of facial expressions

which become fraught with double meanings as the plot thickens, and thickens, and thickens.

If it were possible to simplify the story, it is a tale told by an old woman of the murder of her now adult charge, and of the attempts by his four surviving children to find out why and how he died. But that hardly does the plot justice.

Using a wide-screen cinerama technique, Miss Drummond has managed to focus on the whole of South Africa—the quest for truth taking in the four provinces, all the main towns of those provinces, and the main streets of those main towns. Her characters too are a thoroughly representative cross-section—politically and racially—and they all get tied up in multiple murder, robbery and cloak-and-dagger situations over a rare, and terribly symbolic, black pearl.

However, if the plot cannot be summarised, the principal characters can. They are:

*MAX*—an enigmatic Liberal who loves Africa and hates

*OLIVER*—an ex-Communist confidence trickster who is in love with

*CAROLINE*—Max's daughter and sister of

*PAUL PIETER* and *CONRAD*—Max's sons by

*ROSE*—his neurasthenic wife who is on the verge of an affair with

*GERVASE*—a shady neighbour and antique collector, who is anathema to

*NANNY*—the narrator, a woman of great age and formidable memory.

Both Laurens van der Post and Daphne Rooke, two well-known writers, have added credits to the jacket cover. To this reviewer, however, the merit lies not in the "steady piling up of suspense" claimed by the publishers (the situations are not at all spine-tingling) but rather in the fresh and enthusiastic way the author has written up the South African background. With discipline this enthusiasm, coupled with her writing skill, could make an important novelist of Miss Drummond. *The Black Unicorn*, despite its more obvious faults, is most promising for a first novel.

BERYL BLOOM

## New Wine

THE ROAD TO YSTERBERG. By Jack Cope (Heinemann) 18s. 6d.

THIS is a good story about a young wine-farmer in the Cape, Tim Brand, who hopes for fame as a maker of new types of wine, and who wants to tunnel into a mountain side on his land through a solid rock barrier to open an inner cave which will make a fine natural wine-cellar. For this work he illegally engages a black miner without a blasting certificate, who, it turns out, is also wanted by the police for political offences. Tim and his younger brother help the fugitive, with very sad results. Because of this, and perhaps because of his relations with a coloured woman, Miemie, with whom he grew up, he is refused a passport when he wants to go to England.

His reason for wanting to go belongs to another story, far less successful, about Miriam Greeff from the nearby village, who loves Tim (and he loves her) but she cannot submit to him or reconcile herself to the prospect of a life spent on a remote country farm. She dithers about, goes whoring

after strange gods, and comes home only to die. So Tim marries her sister who has adored him all along.

When this novel deals with country people and wine-farming in the Cape I find it far better than when it deals with South African students in Cape Town and in Europe. This is partly because I know far more about the latter topic, but chiefly because it is a far more intellectual topic. Jack Cope writes good descriptions of Cape landscape, and there are descriptive fragments in the London chapters as effective as those about the Ysterberg; also his attempt to suggest Afrikaans does significantly colour the language of the Ysterberg scenes. But he cannot create complex characters, and his handling of language is inadequate to express highly civilised personalities.

For example, Mr. Greeff is supposed to be a trained linguist, with a professional interest in how people express themselves, but all we ever see of this is his comic but easy joke about Tim's names for wines. Similarly in London Miriam is once described as "laughing and quipping to keep her end up with the ready-witted Londoners", but no word of the conversation can the author invent for us.

Tim, a simple man, is well portrayed. The contrast between him and the older people at Ysterberg, Mr. Greeff and Grandma Murray, is shown with wisdom and humour; his countryman's habits and temperament, and his dealings with the upstart lawyer and the police superintendent are convincingly described. The incidents involving Longwan the strong black miner are exciting. One sympathises deeply with Tim and his ambitions.

But the three young women do

(Continued on page 13)

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not come to life. They are all surrounded with outdated rhetoric and romanticism. What a bore Miriam is in her frequent talk about herself and her vague aspirations. How stilted her pretentious conversations with the young men.



COPE

In what kind of life a particular woman can be happy, and whether the things a young creature thinks she wants are what she really needs, are matters not only of sexuality, but of background, mental habits, temperament, training, opportunity, money and like influences, whose imaginative treatment is the very stuff of characterisation in fiction. That Tim would not have seen his Miriam clearly or analytically is likely enough; but while an inarticulate, idealising vision of a woman may satisfy Tim Brand, it does not satisfy me and should not satisfy Mr. Cope.

OLGA McDONALD MEIDNER

## Spades and Non-spades

CITY OF SPADES. By Colin MacInnes (Ace Books) 3s. 3d.

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

ABSOLUTE BEGINNERS. By Colin MacInnes (MacGibbon and Kee) 15s. 6d.

I would feel unqualified to judge whether Mr. Colin MacInnes was "one of the dozen best novelists writing in English today", even if I did believe in literary hit-parades. I just have not read that widely, and I doubt if Charles Causley, who pontificated thus in *The London Magazine*, has either. (Perhaps this was one of those British parochialisms that implied that our writers use the South African language, US writers American, etc.)

This was from one of the most extravagant of the many laudatory reviews that Mr. MacInnes's third book *City of Spades*, received; his fourth *Absolute Beginners* is currently reaping vast critical acclaim. It gives me almost as much pleasure to join the mbongos as it did to read his books.

It is often said that contemporary British novelists have abandoned the attempts of their great predecessors to encompass the whole of life and society in their novels. Instead, with a justified modesty, they isolate a segment of society, explore, analyse and attempt to communicate it. Mr. MacInnes selected for *City of Spades* the impact of black migrants on Britain and their relationships with the non-black natives. This is a secondary theme in *Absolute Beginners* where his main interest is in that modern phenomenon, "the teenage thing."

Despite serious structural weaknesses both books have a rare verve and vitality. If his characters are sometimes too "loveable" or too caricatured, his mastery of dialogue and his acute understanding and observations make one forgive these flaws.

There is a great deal of rollicking humour in *City of Spades*, now available in a cheap paper-back edition. The story is related in the first-person by the two chief pro-

tagonists, Montgomery Pew, on his own confession a "futile, persistent, middle-class" English Liberal, and Johnny MacDonald Fortune, in England from Lagos to study meteorology. Their adventures in pubs, dance-halls, gambling dens, court and beds all but spill out of the pages, so hectic is the pace. If the book has a moral it is that "race relations" are human relations, and that human relations can be fun. Trite as that sounds, Mr. MacInnes is one of the first to say it. It even holds true for South Africa.

*Absolute Beginners* has only one narrator, a free-booting pornography-peddling Londoner of eighteen years with a startling vocabulary. His happy-go-lucky attitude is coupled with a surprising maturity that accounts for his response to the race-riots in which he becomes involved. Among the yobbos, oafos, oldies, serfs, spades, chiclets, sperms, taxpayers, cats, there are even Marxists, of whom our hero/author says: "But I saw I was breaking one of my golden rules, which is not to argue with Marxist kiddies, because they know. And not only do they know, they're not responsible — which is the exact opposite to what they think they are. I mean, this is their thing, if I dig it correctly. You're in history, yes, because you're budding here and now, but you're outside it, also, because you're living in the Marxist future. And so when you look around, and see a hundred horrors, and not only musical, you're not responsible for them, because you're beyond them already, in the kingdom of K. Marx. But for me, I must say, all the horrors I see around me, especially the English ones, I feel responsible for, the lot, just as much as for the few nice things I dig."

PETER RODDA

Afrikaners: old and young

1

DIE MUGU. By Etienne Leroux (HAUM) 15s. 9d.

A young writer to watch is Etienne Leroux. A few years ago he erupted into the staid dam of Afrikaans prose with *Die Eerste Lewe van Colet* and *Hilaria*. Now he has affirmed the experimental brilliance and robust invention of his writing with *Die Mugu*—ducktail word for the square peg in a round hole which modern man certainly is.

A man, Gysbrecht, wins £50,000 in a lottery. Within a few hectic days his life is completely changed. He gets entangled with rebels against "normal", adult society, a gang of ducktails—disastrously, in the sense that he can never again accept or oppose life as it is.

Etienne Leroux is the only completely modern South African writer to embarrass the critics and the public without sounding the drum of colour. He has no opinions, he is only an observer. Not of South African man, of Man. Relentlessly he tracks his characters along the tiny spirals of their vanity or the futile flutters of escapism inside the hollow world-cage made by Man. Only to conclude: man is the eternal pointless victim, unable even to resist. Man is crucified, but he has no message.

Even the ducktail in his violent rejection is only passing through a larval stage. For the ducktail, too, becomes Chicken, becomes Mugu. "*Die lewe is presies 21 jaar*; dren, and is busy studying for a

doctor's degree. He is the representative of the ideal, indoctrinated, christian, educated and cultured coloured who accepts apartheid. He has a devout respect for his superior race promoter, Professor Louis Beeg, and is the tool to suppress the aspirations and logical reasoning of his son, Frankie, and John Orlep, who represent the coloured group desirous of "n ordentlike plek en nie 'n smerige hoekie nie" (page 23).

Contrary to Derk's belief in apartheid, he brings up his eldest daughter, Petro, as a white and she obtains a white identification card. Another son, Hayward, goes out with white women.

Situations such as these must be corrected and, in applying apartheid, only the christian indoctrinated coloured is prepared to suffer the degradation and deprivation. Petro ably performs this duty and even convinces her father that the vestige of antagonism in him towards the whites must be eradicated.

To create characters to suit one's purpose is an easy task; but to deal with real human beings in practical situations calls for more undiluted humanity.

The aim of this novel is propaganda for apartheid.

J.P.H.A.

3

WIMPIE EN WATWOU. By Leo van den Heever (Afrikaanse Pers Bpk.) 7s.

A NICE little book about a nice little boy and his dog—a well-bred collie to him, but a mongrel to others. It is meant to be read by children, one imagines of from 7-10 years of age. It is for Afrikaans children only and makes sense in South Africa alone.

For this book shows the amazing blind spots in the field of morals from which white South Africa suffers, shows them, and also, of course, helps to perpetuate them.

Look at this situation: Wimpie and Askoek (his African friend) are tussling over who is to ride a horse first. A figure appears.

"Askoek looks up. He goes nearly yellow with fright. 'Gosh, it's Baas Bill. I thought he was on holiday', he said". Then Askoek, who apparently knew a thing or two, ran away towards town.

Baas Bill called the little white boy over. They introduced themselves. "If that little kaffir (*daai kaffertjie*) wants to fight again," said Baas Bill, "you must give him a crack—or you mustn't fight." "I will try", promised Wimpie", (speaking to a total stranger about his playmate).

As a result of boxing tuition by Baas Bill, Wimpie is able next time he and Askoek have an argument to bash one of Askoek's eyes shut and to win the argument.

Such is the way of life put before white children of 7-10 years of age by the older generation.

And the fearful thing is that the book is meant well. There is no attempt to awaken hostility to Askoek or the other non-white servants.

The book is by a humane person. Has he, one wonders, ever tried to put himself in Askoek's shoes? One doubts whether the idea has ever crossed his mind. This is a measure of our task over the coming years.

P.D.

28 November 1959

die res is nabetraging, 'n opgepofte anti-klimaks'. Gysbrecht finds no escape in his £50,000; the gardener dreaming of a baobab will never plant one in Cape Town gardens; Juliana Doepels, the witch-like anarchist, will never find a virgin to celebrate her Black Mass of Damnation.

"Die mens is Mugu."

One feels that Mr. Leroux is haunted by his pessimistic conclusion. That his pace increases and his words whip whenever he comes face to face with his own negation. And one feels tempted to point out a possible reason.

*Die Mugu* contains passages of intense *joie de vivre*—especially in childhood reminiscences. The writer is an epicurean making his hero dream of fish at Prunier's, and declaring that the function of the writer is really to study the surface. Above all he is an observer. And is it not in the nature of observers to see mainly—however clearly—the surface of people or things, and then through non-participation to suffer from pessimism?

Man, as Etienne Leroux observes him, is an abstraction, a statistical nonentity clothed only in an average unloveable face. And one wonders whether he would uncover only pessimism were he to recognise Man as his fellow-man, with puny misery as well as love and hope on his face.

Perhaps to write without participating as well as observing, is to end up in a brilliantly-lit, spotless asylum.

JAN RABIE

2

KOPERKAN. By "Mikro" (Van Schaik) 14s. 3d.

THE title of the book is misleading, since the copper jug referred to plays a very significant part in the novel. Except for its colour, that is. According to the novelist, this resembles the colour of the Cape coloured section of the South African population.

From the novel it is clear that the writer is an apostle of the ideology of apartheid as a means to "racial harmony" in the Union of South Africa. He is an old-established Afrikaner novelist, who acquired with an early novel, *Toings*, a reputation as a faithful portrayer of Cape coloured people. Many readers hold it to be an insult to the people it deals with.

In this instance he limits himself to the relations between the whites and coloureds. The educated and cultured coloured is placed in perspective with the whites, who believe that both groups will benefit if apartheid is embraced by the coloured. The latter must be prepared to suffer all the insults, inconveniences and even outrages. To acclimatise this group to such unchristian treatment, christian principles of tolerance and love must be inculcated in them.

Better still if the whites can succeed in indoctrinating a section or even the whole of the coloured intelligentsia to accept and spread apartheid. Opposing coloured opinion must be swayed by showing what the white man has done during the past 300 years to uplift the coloured. And upstarts who dare to point out that the coloured must always be satisfied with the crumbs, must be branded as communists (page 23).

Against this background the story of the Booyesen and Touwa families is woven. Derk Booyesen is the principal of a high school for coloureds, the father of four chil-



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ANXIOUS EYES ON FRONTIER

# Chinese Threaten Indian Development

NEW DELHI: Ever since the Chinese communists took over Tibet and began their speculative probing southward, it has been natural to think of the Himalayas as a mighty wall protecting India against invasion. But for the Indians, now striving to rid themselves of poverty and hunger, these mountains and the wide foothill tract on the Indian side are much more than mere battlements.

If one thinks of the Indian sub-continent as a huge economic machine now under construction, then the Himalayan ranges form a kind of cylinder head for the whole Northern region—the economic and political heartland of India. In these foothills are sited some of the biggest projects on which India's hopes of material salvation are based. If they were hindered in completing them or deprived of them altogether, the millions who live on the vast level plains of the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, would find these hopes diminished. And the Third Plan, affecting the whole sub-continent and already recognised as inadequate for all India's swelling needs, would have to be reduced in scope.

From one end of the Himalayas to the other, the rivers that run down into the Indian plains are being taken under control and put to work on raising India's present pitiful standard of living. Of the many projects in this region, the four biggest alone account for an investment of more than £300 million, mainly from foreign aid sources.

Chief among these is the great Bhakra river-valley project, already far advanced. Centred upon the highest dam in the world, it is expected to produce by irrigation another million tons of food each year in the Punjab and Rajasthan. The power from its generators is intended to transform farming and industrial methods on the plains below, to electrify the main railway and to help to meet the growing demands of Delhi, the capital.

Next comes the Rajasthan Canal, designed as the world's longest irrigation waterway and as the main artery in the most dramatic of all India's schemes. It will take abundant water into a desert now so desolate that a smaller canal had first to be built for supplying water to the workers on the main canal.

Already two men who strayed away from the site and got lost in the sand, have died of thirst. Yet Indians hope to see this lifeless territory converted into their country's biggest granary and a new home for its landless multitudes.

Westward, in Northern Bihar, is the plan for taming the Kosi River as it emerges from the hills of Nepal. A barrage four miles long has been joined to embankments running for eighty miles on either side of a river which for centuries has continuously changed its course, lashing about like an angry tail and causing widespread devastation.

And, finally, there is the Damodar Valley scheme, designed to check flooding on the plains of Bengal, but also supplying power and industrial water to a long and immensely

from Cyril Dunn

profitable stretch of India's new Ruhr, a vast complex of new factories, steel plants and mines based on the richest deposits of coal, iron ore, copper and mica in the sub-continent.

All these projects depend on head-waters which might come under Chinese control and on works which could scarcely proceed if Chinese aggression made a battleground of the Himalayan foothills.

These giant schemes are not important to Indians solely because of the material benefits they must ultimately deliver. Their success is vital to Indian morale. The Bhakra Dam is well-nigh worshipped as the greatest single symbol of India's national resurgence; countless thousands of modern pilgrims go there regularly to stand and stare.

If the military necessity is now to disrupt these activities, the effect on morale might well be serious. The faith of the people in themselves has already been shaken, at Damodar and Bhakra, by staggering failures.

In each case the root of the trouble has plainly been human failure. Although disaster overtook Damodar almost a month ago, and Bhakra two months ago, inquiry has not yet fixed the blame with any precision. The danger in these failures will be evident. The energy and spirit with which Indians have faced them and the courage with which they have fought back at the risk of their lives, must in themselves help to restore Indian morale. It therefore becomes entirely accurate to apply the word "outrageous" to

Chinese communist activities along the Himalayan frontier. And—for communists surely a most peculiar pursuit—they menace the wellbeing of all those impoverished millions on the North Indian plains for whose sole benefit the Himalayan projects are designed.

## MR. NEHRU

And how do the Indians regard Mr. Nehru's handling of the crisis?

Today, in response to the latest act of Chinese aggression on the Himalayan frontier, articulate Indian opinion is taking a new and disturbing turn. When the Red Chinese first attacked India, the favoured objects of Indian anger were the Chinese. Later those Indians were criticised who had so recently been shouting that the Indians and the Chinese were immortal brothers, and finally, the Indian communists, forced as local communists always are by events such as these, into a position of open disloyalty.

But today, crestfallen and deeply alarmed, some Indians are turning to attack Mr. Nehru himself. Several newspapers are abusing him without restraint, and ridiculing his "civilised behaviour" towards the Chinese. One has a cartoon showing two bestial Chinese soldiers breaking in through a wall of Nehru's office while the Premier says to his secretary "Take down a strongly-worded, polite Note." In those papers, where Nehru and his policy might conceivably be defended, there is now ominous silence.

### Blame for dilemma

Many Indians now seem

anxious to deposit all the blame for their current dilemma upon "a one-man foreign policy". Yet six months ago they were obviously proud to have Mr. Nehru running their foreign affairs single-handed. It is true that he has dominated the life of India, and often seems to be running the whole show alone. But it has been difficult for an outsider to suppose—until now—that Indians in general have desired a different arrangement. The common people, at all events, seem rather to have thrust this isolated eminence upon him, because they are still too unsure of themselves to accept a leadership less personal. Moreover, if Mr. Nehru has taken too much of the responsibility, it is at least equally true that many of his lieutenants have gladly taken too little.

If some Indians are now bent on pulling him down, one hopes

they have assessed the danger there may be in diminishing Mr. Nehru's stature in the world and more especially at home. The chances are that by so doing they might serve the obscure purposes of Red China.

It is, after all, notoriously the fact that India has no obvious successor to Mr. Nehru. Were he to go, or even more so were he obliged to hover continuously on the brink of going, India's present uncertainty and self-doubt would surely increase. Needless to question the wisdom of a leader for whom inarticulate millions feel a deep emotional attachment, and upon whom they utterly rely, may well bring about exactly the kind of internal instability the communist aggressors like to see in any country within the scope of their imperial enterprise.

## Red Carpet In UK And US For Touré



WASHINGTON: Washington, which at least geographically is a city of the South, and which can boast its fair share of racial prejudice, has been laying out a red carpet for an African Negro, Sekou Touré. Mr. Touré is 37 years old, and President of Guinea. He led his people to vote themselves out of the French Union hardly more than a year ago. He has come to Washington, an official State guest, as confident and uncompromising as his predecessor here, Mr. Khrushchev.

He has had some hard things to say, which, only a few years ago, would have had him dismissed as a fellow-traveller and a natural enemy of the United States. It is a measure of how greatly things have changed here that he has been met with sincere sympathy and even some enthusiasm.

His appearance helps. He looks a ruler. He is handsome enough for the heroic suffering roles that Hollywood now accords to coloured actors. He dresses in a somewhat flamboyant French manner. His wife is photogenic. He speaks, in French, with a passionate intensity.

He has had the full treatment; met by the Vice-President, a State dinner off gold plate with the President, a speech to the National Press Club, dinner with the Secretary of State, wreath-laying, monument viewing, police escorts, a salute of guns and his country's flag on the Washington lamp standards.

He has made the purpose of his visit quite clear. He wants

the US to help in hurrying the last traces of colonialism out of Africa. He describes colonialism as the worst of the evils that have afflicted mankind. This is not the fashionable view here, and the determined neutralism shown by most African leaders still discourages many Americans.

It is not yet known whether Mr. Touré has asked for financial aid. Very grandly he has admitted that he would welcome genuine non-political investment. The State Department has let it be known that, whether he asks for financial aid or not, it will be offered to him. They have even persuaded the South to abate its ancient convictions. Mr. Touré, at his own request, went to North Carolina. This is part of the deep and segregated South, although it is admittedly the most liberal and progressive part of it. Governor Hodges gave a banquet for the Guinea President in Raleigh and asked local Negroes as well as white, to it. Such a thing has never happened before, and no one has so far protested.



These pictures show (top right) Mr. and Mrs. Touré, in London, with Mr. Harold and Lady Dorothy Macmillan. The one (above) shows Mr. Touré with President Eisenhower, in Washington.

## SOUTH AFRICA'S JAZZMAN



"He is an acknowledged piano genius, adored by both non-white and white jazzmen."

## DOLLAR BRAND: MASTER OF PIANO

LONG, sensitive fingers plunked aggressively on the piano: his rounded shoulders stooped low over the key-board . . . a far-away gleam in his eyes . . . Seasoned jazzmen, who for long had dominated the scene, stood by in hushed admiration. Dollar Brand, erstwhile infant prodigy and *enfant terrible* of the piano, was giving his own version of "Abide with me".

Who is Dollar Brand? One may well ask, for in spite of the fact that Dollar was playing serious classical music on the piano in his Kensington, Cape Town, home when many of us were content to play with clay-oxen, he is still unknown to the man-in-the-street.

A man who can, in the middle of as jazzy a song as "I got it bad", or "It might as well be Spring", include the opening bars of a favourite church hymn in his solo, is not far from being a bit of a musical freak, according to local standards.

But Dollar is no freak. He is *The Jazzman* in South Africa. He is an acknowledged piano genius, adored by both non-white and white jazzmen. Right now he is in Johannesburg preparing what is believed to be the cream of jazz in the country for a Cape tour.

Dollar was born some 25 years ago "somewhere in Cape Town, but I don't myself know where", and when he was seven he was playing for the upper-crust of the coloured community in some of the posher Cape Town suburbs. A keen church-goer at that time, Dollar was a kid who knew hundreds of church hymns from memory. Add to this the fact that his is

CONTACT

## By Vezi Musi

said to be the widest jazz repertoire in the country . . .

Add to this also the fact that there are very few people in the country with as accurate a technical knowledge of music as Dollar, and you have in your hands the best thing ever to have happened to the local jazz scene.

Playing to admiring dowagers in Cape Town, or playing alone to an empty, dusty warehouse—it's all the same to Dollar. He is always brooding, and thinking up new sounds. The other day he came up with an extraordinary idea.

"Look", he says. "We accept that there are seven basic notes in music. Is there not another one different in sound from all?" That is zany. But to other players, this is the real Dollar; always experimenting and coming up with newer ideas.

It was church or classical music that he played until the age of 15 when he attended the Trafalgar High School in Cape Town where he matriculated. After school he would hang around the local community hall where the local musicians

assembled. This was the scene of many a knife-battle in those days, and though the very best men played there, it was not the kind of place that serious parents encouraged their children to frequent.

Then it happened. One Saturday night there was an important concert and the leading band in the township was scheduled to play. The band-leader was beside himself with worry and disappointment—the pianist on whom everything depended had failed to turn up, and after a long search was nowhere to be found in his known hang-outs.

## "Just sit there"

Somebody spotted the tall, non-smoking lad with the dreamy look in his eyes. "C'mere sonny," he drawled, "and sit up on that piano. We know you can't play, but just sit there—the audience won't smell a rat."

Who said he couldn't play?

Well, he sat, and asked ever so innocently what number was to be played. Then he came in with a solid introductory phrase which set the band into the groove all night long.

It was a memorable night for all. This youngster had executed his solo-work with the perfection of a maestro. But when, at the end of the session, they looked for this sensational new "find", there was no trace of him. Modest Dollar had slunk away as unobtrusively as he had made an appearance.

That was Dollar: a man with a great capacity for work. Now

## MACHOBANE MASS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

## New Methods To Fight Hunger And End Poverty

LERIBE, Basutoland: The Machobane Mass Agricultural College is revolutionising farming techniques in northern Basutoland while the Government watches its progress with a mixture of scepticism and envy. Mr. James J. Machobane believes that it is his mission in life to end poverty and hunger among the Basuto. His agricultural college is really a privately-run extension service, and its Sesuto name, "mantsa-tlala" means literally "banishers of starvation".

Basutoland depends heavily on farming, but backward and careless techniques, severe soil erosion and insecurity of land tenure have always restricted crop yields.

Department of Agriculture officials are impressed with the dedication and careful farming of Mr. Machobane's followers. They remain very dubious about the value of the system he teaches and are running extensive experimental comparisons with more orthodox methods.

The Machobane system involves, in particular, a scheme of intercropping—planting crops between rows of other crops—in a sequence so that one plant is always going into the ground as another is ripening.

Mr. Machobane claims that this enables the Basuto farmer to produce a surplus for sale and guard against the possibility of frost, drought, or pest destroying his only crop and

causing famine. And he argues that by keeping the ground covered, his scheme checks erosion. Agricultural officials feel that his scheme will deplete plant nutrients, and can only function with an excessive use of fertilizers.

Simple teaching methods and a gift of showmanship give Mr. Machobane his success among the Basuto. "He has the most extraordinary knack of lending a religious fervour to agriculture", commented Mr. Peter Hughes, Commissioner of Local Government, in Maseru recently.

His first group of twelve students has gone into the country to teach the system. They are known as "disciples". Each year more students come to his headquarters at Nqechane, and by now he has more than 1,000 followers in the Leribe and Buthabuthe districts.

They harvested a large potato crop this year, but their profits suffered from large crops in the Union and the ANC boycott.

Mr. Machobane is 44 years old and was born, of Zulu parents, in the Frankfort district of the Free State. He grew

up in Basutoland and was educated through secondary school at the Morija Training Institute of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society. He is married and has seven children.

After working as a clerk, he came to this district in 1944. Chief Lelingoana permitted him to settle to do research in business, social anthropology and agriculture.

He lived during this time on the royalties from two Sesuto novels he had written, and, after developing his system, he started the agricultural college in 1957. In addition to intercropping, he teaches use of fertilizers, maternity care, citizenship, soil conservation and sanitation.

The Government has given him considerable financial aid and organisational help for his college and affiliated co-operatives.

Mr. Machobane hopes that his scheme will spread throughout Basutoland and then possibly elsewhere in Africa. He has no immediate political ambitions, but might enter politics "in a few years' time", he says, "to counteract racial bitterness."

he sits and plays the whole day long. With deep-set concentration he plays anything from Paganini to Parker with ease and equanimity.

And so to our jazz mecca in Johannesburg the offices of the Union of S.A. Artists, in Dorkay House, Eloff Street where Dollar has been a new force. Almost every other player there has doubled his hours of practice. For Dollar has brought with him ideas.

Girls like Tandi Mpambani—saved from the very verge of musical extinction by a timely "King Kong"—Abigail Kubeka, Thoko Mgcina, to mention only a few, have benefited already—directly and otherwise—from Dollar.

He has a weird sense of humour—as weird as he looks. "Is your mother still alive?" he was asked. "No", he replied. "We never had a mother. We couldn't afford one". And with that he giggled in his own peculiar manner, as though he had

quoted the leading joke of the year.

He plays solely for the love of playing. That is why he never refuses an engagement. That he should be paid fees is purely incidental. His wife, a piano-teacher, is someone very dear to him.

Right now he is experimenting, doing a series of works to be called "Township On A Saturday Evening". In this he is using the "poetry in jazz" idiom, writing poetry and setting it to jazz music. This is the craze among the top-flight American jazzmen, and somehow Dollar has mastered it.

"The trouble is, I can't get anybody else interested in it. You see, our boys shun classics, don't care for poetry: That's why we are so behind in musical conception . . ."

That is Dollar. And those who don't dig Dollar are as far behind the times as he is ahead of them.

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## Reply to Hommel

**SIR,**  
I am an ex-colonial Civil servant, who spent 27 years in the Gold Coast. Your comment on Maurice Hommel's articles on Ghana in "Fair Comment" in *Contact* of October 17 is fair. I think I know why he was disgruntled after reading his three articles in the *Star*.

After Ghana achieved independence, Mr. George Padmore, the foreign Secretary of African affairs, told the world that Ghana was THE land of freedom and encouraged all allegedly oppressed non-Europeans to come to Ghana and get good jobs. They rolled in, particularly teachers, and Padmore got them jobs.

The Ghanaian teachers soon found all the best jobs held by foreigners like Hommel, and promotion blocked for years. Then the balloon went up and things became rather too hot for Padmore's imported strangers.

Hence Hommel's articles shriek the cry of a man with a grievance as he seems to have been manoeuvred out of a plum job. In consequence, he became sour and blamed the Government of Ghana for his personal misfortune, with some little justice, it must be admitted.

There are some amusing blobs in his articles. He says that Nkrumah never flies but a few lines previously says that Nkrumah has his own plane, which is true. He accuses Nkrumah of sneaking away regularly to a place just outside Accra called Half Assini, which however, is nearly 400 miles away along such bad roads that a journey there would take several days.

His criticisms are a damnation of our old Colonial governments, which built up the Gold Coast and trained the people for self-government. The Ghana Government found a solid foundation laid by us. Unlike the Sudan, the Ghanaians had the sense to continue building on

this foundation and to retain highly skilled European officers to continue the development we initiated.

In the poorer Northern Region, so damned by Mr. Hommel, for many years we initiated and developed agriculture, veterinary, medical forestry, education, water supplies, etc. and since then, the Ghana Government has greatly extended the road system, hospitals and schools, while continuing the other activities.

It is a fact that Ghanaians have no experience of democracy as the Colonial Government was a paternal dictatorship. When the Governor deported such agitators as Wallace Johnson, it was not news then but now, when the rather crude Krobo Edusei deported "Mr. Snagsby" of the *London Growler*, it is headlines everywhere.

I have my correspondents in Ghana, mostly Africans, who write to me regularly. Some are C.P.P., others Opposition, but all are at least tolerant of the new regime and respect Dr. Nkrumah.

**J. C. STEWART**  
Magoebaskloof

## Islam and Christianity

**SIR,**  
Through your paper I would like to reply to Rev. Joost De Blank who was reported by the *Sunday Tribune* correspondent (*Sunday Tribune* November 1) as saying that *Islam is the greatest threat to this country because Islam preaches the Brotherhood of mankind*. He is further reported in the *Sunday Tribune* as saying that the followers of Islam and the Muslims claim: "We serve man of Colour, Christianity only for White man."

What is shocking is that Dr. De Blank condemns apartheid on one hand and Islam which preaches equality on the other! Let it be remembered that the Muslims have been kept to-

gether for the past fourteen hundred years by the language of the Quran—Arabic.

As regards to Dr. De Blank saying that the Muslims claim that "Christianity is for the Whites only", one begins to doubt, for on July 6 1959, the following article written by a non-Muslim, Mr. A. Lloyd appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail* under the heading: "Islam Means Peace:"

Christians need not fear Islam and the translation of the Koran into Zulu and the Afrikaans. Islam means "peace". Belief and practice can do much to reduce the ills of this world. Brotherhood is real. Go to any mosque and see how believers stand side by side, worshipping one God with one mind. The Pilgrimage completes the "oneness" of mankind.

In South Africa, Christ's message "Love thy neighbour as thy self", has become meaningless. How many Africans can worship with Whites in a church?"

Please do not think, Dr. De Blank that Islam is a threat but it is a solution to the problems of South Africa and the whole world. The Quran was sent down for the whole of mankind to study and live according to its teachings.

Muslims and Christians must work hand in hand to wipe out communism.

**ISMAIL PATEL**  
Durban

## Nyasaland Stooges

**SIR,**  
Nyasas, beware of stooges, quislings and sellouts.

A search is taking place for a non-Congress African willing to co-operate with the Federal Government and Britain but sufficiently respected by his fellow-Africans to rise to leadership in government. But there is a general belief that such stooges would compromise with Government if they could be assured that Dr. Banda would be locked up for a reasonable length of time and would not be allowed to make a new bid for political power.

Nyasas, you must reject such people and stand by and support the Chiefs in demanding the release of Dr. Banda and all others until Nyasaland is granted independence outside the Central African Federation.

**R. W. MKORONGO**  
P.O. Moroka

## Book Review

**SIR,**  
The review you publish of Gavin Maxwell's book *The Ten Pains Of Death* gives a very misleading impression of Catholicism. The writer infers that the Catholic church in Sicily is defending immorality and opposing reform.

I am not in a position to say whether specific charges made against individuals in Sicily are true or false, but I can affirm categorically that the Catholic church always condemns any form of immorality and encourages moral and social reform.

We have to be careful to

differentiate between individual members of the church and the church itself. The individual, who has free will, can fail to live up to the church's teaching at any time or in any place, but the church itself cannot fail to continue fulfilling its mandate from God to teach the truth, for God Himself has guaranteed that His Church will never fail in its mission of salvation to mankind.

**V. G. DAVIES**  
Camps Bay, Cape Town

## Mr. Bishop

**SIR,**  
It is a great pity that Mr. Bishop seeks to cloud the issue with his cries of religious persecution. He does not answer the question on how Africans are treated in the territories where Catholic Governments hold power.

As for the Cape Liberals and the franchise, I would refer him to the leader of the Cape Liberal Division Dr. Wollheim, who has stated his opposition to an unqualified vote for Africans.

Mr. Bishop follows the usual pattern of right-wingers by attempting to hang a communist label on anybody opposed to his views.

Perhaps Mr. Bishop should study the history of Europe between the world wars, when the attempt to stifle liberal thought ended in the gas chambers.

**L. ROBINS**  
Johannesburg

**SIR,**  
The reason why the Liberal Party should have no truck with communist front organisations is that although some of their aims seem to be similar, in fact they are almost diametrically opposite.

First, one must remember that communists will do and say anything that furthers their aims. In their eyes any lie that will serve their purposes is held to be justified.

What communists say should always be compared with the actual state of affairs in communist lands. The Freedom Charter for example sounds fine in South Africa but many of the things it advocates are unheard of behind the Iron Curtain.

In South Africa, communists campaign against inroads on civil liberties, but communist countries are the most ruthless police states the world has ever known.

In South Africa, communists pretend to be democrats, but communist countries are ruled by one-party dictatorships.

In South Africa, communists champion freedom of the press and free speech, but such things are unheard of in communist countries.

In South Africa, communists campaign against forced labour, but in communist countries forced labourers are used in their millions.

Communists everywhere profess deep concern for the poor, but nothing infuriates them more than non-communist lands where the people are comfortably off.

The Liberal Party and *Contact* stand for good-will and co-operation among all men: communists pay lip service to these ideas but actually they are working for class war and class hatred.

I do not deny that there are genuine idealists among communists, but they are the first to be liquidated when a communist regime comes into being.

*Genuine Liberals who think there is no harm in alliance with communist front organisations are dewy-eyed political innocents walking straight into a trap.*

**ANDREW J. J. MURRAY**  
Cape Town

*NB. The writer is not Professor A. H. Murray, of Cape Town University.—Editor*

## Apartheid is crazy economics

(Continued from page 8)

"ignorant" African with tomorrow's equipment will be more efficient as an economic unit than today's "educated" white worker. As an indication of the rate at which changes are occurring in techniques we can note that in 1937 South Africa had 6,000 farm tractors and today has 100,000.

Segregation on grounds of different levels of skill thus becomes obviously nonsensical. We do not segregate our white retired workers—who produced with old techniques—from white current workers. This "economic" argument for racial segregation fails to hold water.

Again, even were the argument of different levels of intelligence pertinent, it would be an argument for integration. It is now a standard town-planning criterion overseas that each community should be composed of members of many economic levels and that towns should not

be planned with purely unskilled worker areas, semi-skilled worker areas, skilled worker areas.

In the past the high rate of immigration into the United States from non-English speaking Europe gave rise to "little Turkeys", "little Hollands", "little Italies", etc., in the American cities as the new arrivals sought the sociability and security of their home languages and customs. While American statesmen, educationists and social philosophers recognised the value of these congregations to the immigrants themselves, they made every effort to ensure that the American-born offspring of these people would not perpetuate these social enclaves. There resulted an ardent Americanism of the next generation. The same policy could be used in this country to develop an ardent South Africanism.

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