

# contact

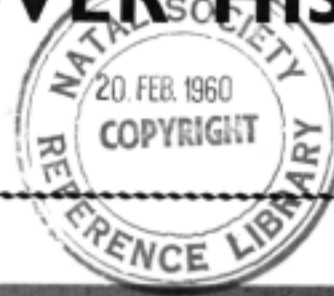
**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL REVIEW**

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper

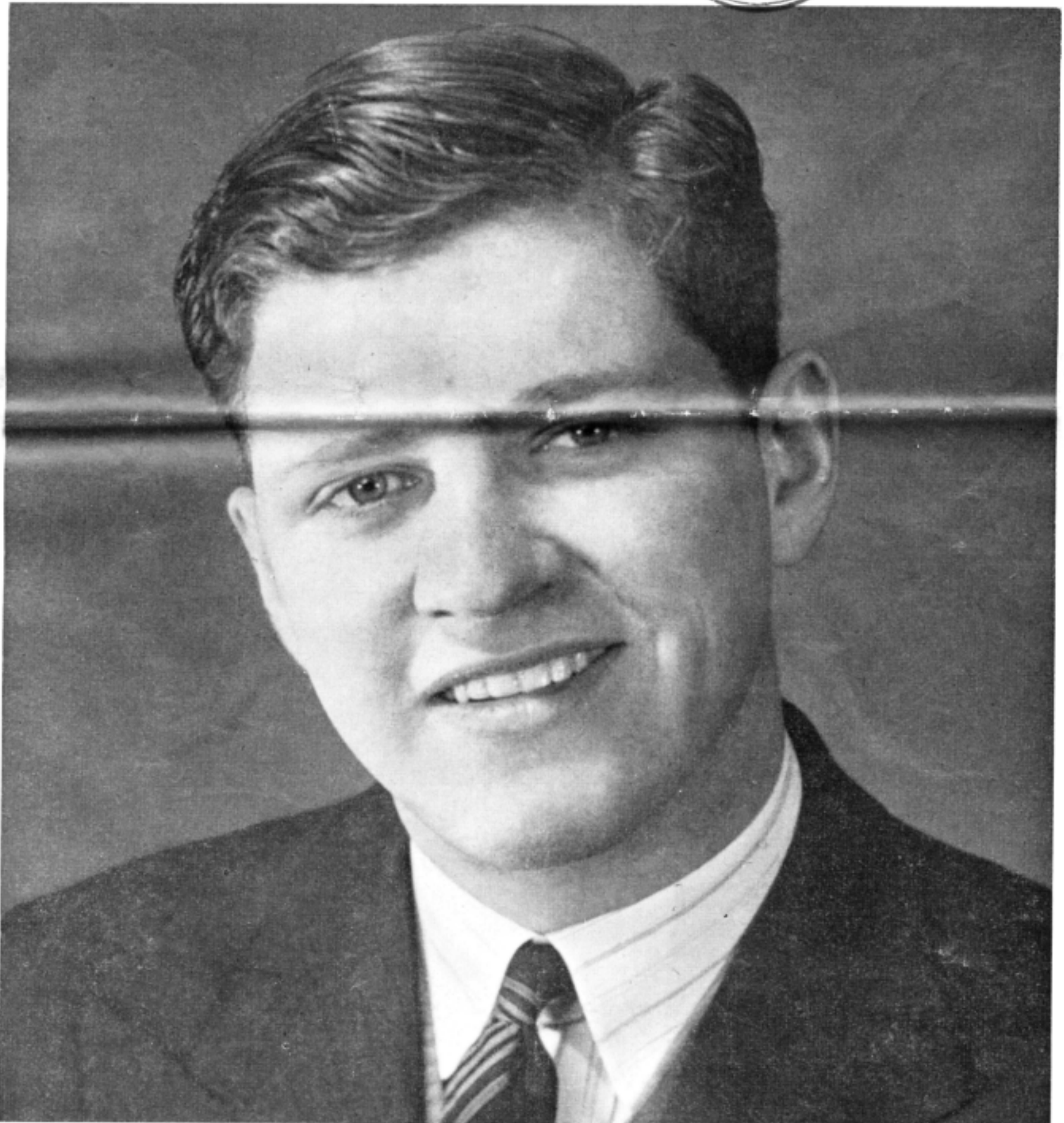
FORTNIGHT ENDING 20th FEBRUARY 1960

Vol. 3 No. 4

## **PATRICK VAN RENSBURG: SPECULATION OVER HIS RETURN**



— SEE PAGE 2



**PATRICK VAN RENSBURG — RETURNING AFTER ORGANIZING THE BOYCOTT MOVEMENT IN LONDON AND REPRESENTING THE LIBERAL PARTY AT THE TUNIS CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN FREEDOM**

— see page 2.

## They Work For Apartheid

Bantu National Organisation of South Africa

Memo—Drawn with strikes, slogans and provocative attitudes based on racial hatreds

President:  
Chief M. Van

Hon. President:  
Chief K. D. Mathanzima, P.A.

Treasurer:  
M. Dymoi

Organising Secretary:  
Sipo Goba  
Residence, Milner Road  
East London

Office:  
854 Miller Street  
Dunoon Village  
East London

32 Jobele Road  
New Brighton  
Port Elizabeth

H 4  
Nyanga Location  
Cape Town

### LETTER-HEAD

THIS is the official letter-head of a certain organisation.

We cannot say anything about the East London and Port Elizabeth offices of this organisation; but we know that H.4 Nyanga is a house occupied by a sergeant of police.

We wonder whether the Divisional Council of the Cape is aware of the fact that this house is also used as a branch office of a "political" organization.

The vice-president of this organization, Chief K. D. Mathanzima, is a well-known worker for apartheid.

—Editor.

## Coalbrook: Our Only Multi-racial Grave

From *Contact* Correspondent

ON 21st January, 1960, Basutoland gained semi-independence, and, on the same day lost 219 subjects — victims in the disastrous Coalbrook rockfall that day.

It is Coalbrook in retrospect that makes me realise that for an agonising ten days we were witnessing a drama showing the South Africa that could be; a South Africa which did not achieve multi-racial unity only in a multi-racial tragic calamity.

It was at the pithead at Coalbrook on the fateful afternoon of 22nd January that I saw the shape of things to come: Black and White kids, hands clasped fervently in prayer—all under one preacher, a Salvation Army Captain; anxious African women looking sad but hopeful as a steady trickle of rescue workers—Black and White—descended the mine shaft; a few yards from them sit White women. They too are wearing travelling rugs.

From behind their huddled backs who could say this was "Missus" and that "Annie"? These things I perceived only after I had spent a whole day and a whole night there, the only Black journalist amongst all those well-travelled, seasoned Fleet Street types.

On the discredit side, I must say I did overhear some very callous remarks being made—on both sides. Some of these are too shameful to repeat now. But in case you think I am too hasty in judgment, here is a story that went the rounds among the 30 or so journalists.

### "Ses Mense"

A White miner was asked by a White bystander: "Hoeveel mense is daar onder?" (How many people are down there?) He replied: "Daar is ses mense." (There are six people.) The bystander, not believing his ears, asked why the newspapers had said there were at least 420 trapped men. The miner quickly retorted: "Nee, die anders is net Kaffers." (No, the others are just Kaffers.)

Certainly this spirit did not

prevail among all the White miners, especially those I saw and spoke to. It was only after one had seen the heroic, unselfish rescue teams and the drill operators working at feverish pace, that faith in humanity was restored.

### Locked up

On the official side much still has to be answered. Certain allegations were made by some of the African miners at the colliery to a non-White weekly in Johannesburg. Most serious of these was an interview between a reporter from that paper and a miner from Coalbrook who claimed that he and three other men had been locked up in the colliery gaol after they had refused to return underground. This was after a warning minor rockfall some three hours before the major disaster which entombed the 400 victims. Such serious allegations cannot be ignored. The newspaper, I understand, still offers the mining company a choice to disprove or at least reply to these allegations.

These difficulties aside, my impressions are dominated by the almost superhuman limits to which rescue workers drove themselves in that vain bid to salvage their erstwhile colleagues.

I admire also the mayor of Cape Town who, almost immediately, started a disaster fund; and Pope John, who promptly sent a cheque for £500 as relief for families he may never see.

All these commendable efforts are made still more commendable in a country where individual values have long been lost in racial ideologies. It is, therefore, a great pity that all this should have been enacted over South Africa's only multi-racial grave.

### Patrick Van Rensburg's Return

## What Reception Awaits Boycott Organiser?

MR. PATRICK VAN RENSBURG, organizer of the Boycott Movement in England and Holland, delegate of the Liberal Party at the Tunis Conference at the end of January, is expected back at any moment to take up a teaching post in a Johannesburg public school for boys.

Although certain circles have criticised his boycott for being "ineffective", unprecedented steps against him are being considered by the Nationalist Government, and are being suggested by certain newspapers.

Mr. Eric Louw, departing from the recent practice of the Nationalist Government of not giving any information at all to the "English press", gave a long, unofficial interview to a representative of *The Argus* (Cape Town) on 9th February, in which he admitted that the Department of the Interior, at the time of Mr. van Rensburg's lecture tour of the Netherlands, had proposed that he be declared stateless.

Such a step has never been taken against any South African. It is the view of observers in the legal profession that there is no provision in the law which would enable a government to do this. An announcement that such a step is even contemplated, and referred by one department to another, is a shocking commentary, say these lawyers, on the contempt which our rulers feel for the law. Such a proposal was probably made in the sure knowledge that a law to cover such an act could, if necessary, be rushed through Parliament either before

or *ex post facto*. Parliament, of course, would obediently attach its rubber stamp to whatever our tyrannical Government had decided to do, even though in defiance and contempt of the common law and statute law.

Influential Nationalist circles in Cape Town disclosed to *Contact* that a lot of talk was going around the country about Mr. Van Rensburg's return, and that plans for assaulting him or otherwise victimising him, were being freely canvassed.

"Dawie" in *Die Burger* (the official political column in that paper) had to intervene in the argument, and warn Nationalists strongly against doing anything. If one hair of Mr. Van Rensburg's head were touched, said "Dawie", a tremendous accession of strength would flow to the Boycott Movement, and to the Liberal movement generally.

The matter has gone so far that a newspaper, *Suid-Afrikaanse Stem* (Afrikaans, independent of the Government) asked its readers about a month ago what they thought should be done with Mr. Van Rensburg. Three suggestions, made by the paper, were that he should be imprisoned, that he should be banned, or that he should be merely reasoned with to show him the folly of his ways.

It is almost incredible that a responsible newspaper can suggest a prison sentence for a man who is innocent of having broken any law. Such a proposal is almost certainly defamatory, and in any case amounts to incitement.

The fact, however, that such proposals can be made shows the degree to which White public opinion has become heated. It is interesting enough to note that although the newspaper made these suggestions, no letters in reply from readers had been published at the time of going to press.

In view of these reactions it is difficult to understand how anyone can maintain that Mr. Van Rensburg's activities in organizing the boycott, and in representing, as a true "White man of Africa", his country and his Party at Tunis, have been ineffective.

On the contrary, political observers feel that this young diplomat has struck perhaps the shrewdest blow at apartheid that has been struck in years. Not only has he done much to hurry the isolation of apartheid, but he has so far steered opposition to apartheid along non-violent and Gandhian lines.

## CAPE LIBERALS BACK BOYCOTT

THE overseas boycott, the Liberal franchise policy, a wages campaign and the proposed referendum on the republic were among the matters discussed by the Cape Division of the Liberal Party at its Sixth Congress, held in Cape Town on 7th February. Congress, which was attended by 103 delegates and observers, was opened by the National Chairman, Mr. Peter Brown.

After a discussion lasting

over two hours—with some 30 speakers participating—the majority of Congress endorsed the decision of the National Committee to support the overseas boycott. It also decided that the Cape Division should actively oppose the establishment of a republic on a referendum of white voters only. Another motion finding "no cause for celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Union" was passed unanimously.

At a meeting of the new Provincial Committee the following evening, Mr. Peter Hjul, a 30-year-old Cape Town journalist, was elected Cape Chairman of the Party. He succeeds Dr. O. D. Wolheim, who has been seriously ill and has been advised by his doctor to withdraw from Party activities for at least a year. The two Vice-Chairmen of the Cape Division are Mr. Jack Causton and Mr. Joseph Nkatlo.

## Sports Body says "No" to Segregated Matches

THE South African Table Tennis Board has received notification from the International Table Tennis Federation that it has been unable, because of the situation in South Africa, to give permission to the Associations of England, Wales and Scotland to accept the invitation from the all-White South African Table Tennis Union to tour South Africa during the coming summer.

"It should be mentioned," said Mr. C. M. Bassa, President of the South African Table Tennis Board, "that the three Associations concerned, when making enquiries of the I.T.T.F. about the possibilities of accepting the invitation, made it clear that they would wish to play against the Board and that no arrange-

ments should be made which would cause harm to the Board or its interests.

"But," he continued, "all sportsmen in South Africa who cherish the true ideals of sportsmanship will welcome this powerful blow against racialism in sport. It will undoubtedly serve as a great inspiration to

those organisations in the various codes of sport who are fighting for the right of all South Africans to participate in international sport.

"The English, Welsh and Scottish Associations are to be complimented for their refusal to accept apartheid conditions on the tour and the support they have given to the stand the Board has always taken that true sport knows no barriers of race, colour or creed. The primary object of my Board is to ensure that all South Africans enjoy international sport and I reiterate the warning my Board has always given to white South African sportsmen to throw over the colour bar and avoid the increasing threat of isolation in the world of sport."



## Macmillan's Speech to the Union Parliament

# First Draft Written Late Last Year

WHEN Mr. Macmillan knew that a visit to South Africa would crown his African tour, he called Sir John Maud over for consultations. This was about Christmas, 1959. Together they wrote out the first draft of the speech.

It is clear now that at that time a decision was made to make this speech the climax of the tour, for otherwise it is difficult to explain Mr. Macmillan's silence, in other African speeches, on the subject of African nationalism and the need to accept it as a fact.

According to *Die Burger* other cabinet ministers were

consulted in London. Almost certainly the new Colonial Secretary was one of those consulted.

Rumour had it that the draft was shown to President Eisenhower for his information, and that he gave it his blessing.

The precious draft came down Africa with Mr. Macmillan and was several times

polished and revised in the light of African reality.

It was last revised the Sunday before the speech.

It is understood that Dr. Verwoerd was told that the speech would deal with apartheid, but it is known that he had not seen the text before it was delivered.

## "Our Policy is Non-racial"

"The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it takes different forms. But it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through this Continent.

"And whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact and our national policies must take account of it."

"This experience of our own explains why it has been our aim, in the countries for which we have borne responsibility, not only to raise the material standards of life but to create a society which respects the rights of individuals—a society in which men are given the opportunity to grow to their full stature, and that must in our view include the opportunity of an increasing share in political power and responsibility; a society finally in which individual merit, and individual merit alone, is the criterion for man's advancement, whether political or economic.

"Finally, in countries inhabited by several different races, it has been our aim to find means by which the community can become more of a community and fellowship fostered between its various parts."

"As a fellow member of the Commonwealth we always try, and I think we have succeeded, to give South Africa our support and encouragement, but I hope you won't mind my saying frankly that there are some aspects of your policies which make it impossible for us to do this without being false to our own deep convictions about the political destinies of free men to which in our own territories we are trying to give effect."

"This problem, sir, is by no means confined to Africa. Nor is it always a problem of a European minority. In Malaya, for instance, though there are Indian and European minorities, Malays and Chinese make up the great bulk of the population, and the Chinese are not much fewer in numbers than the Malays. Yet these two peoples must learn to live together in harmony and unity,

and the strength and future of Malaya as a nation will depend on the different contributions which the two races can make.

"The attitude of the United Kingdom Government towards this problem was clearly expressed by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, speaking at the United Nations General Assembly on the 17th of September, 1959.

"These were his words:

"In those territories where different races or tribes live side by side, the task is to ensure that all the people may enjoy security and freedom and the chance to contribute as individuals to the progress and well-being of these countries. We (that is the British) reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another. OUR POLICY, THEREFORE, IS NON-RACIAL; it offers a future in which Africans, Europeans, Asians, the peoples of the Pacific and others with whom we are concerned, will all play their full part as citizens in the countries where they live, and in which feelings of race will be submerged in loyalty to new nations."

## Inspiration for Boycotts

—"Die Burger"

### Johannesburg Stock Exchange

"A nervous retreat developed in gold shares and financials to-day (8th February). There was a wider realization that Mr. Macmillan's speech had spotlighted the Union's growing political isolation from the Western world."

### Nationalist Reactions

"... formal notice of a state of emergency in our relations with the West and in Africa..." (*Die Burger*)

"Did Mr. Macmillan, in his speech last Wednesday, perhaps rely on the belief that he had the right to criticise the Union's policy because the Union is a member of the Commonwealth?" (*Mr. Eric Louw, Foreign Minister*)

"What must we do to remain standing?" (*Die Burger*)

"All boycott movements in trade and sport have obtained fresh inspiration. We must prepare for the fact that the

wind of disapproving propaganda will become a hurricane during the next few months." (*Die Burger*)

"We have been thrown to the wolves"—general comment among M.P.'s according to *Die Burger*.

"If we do not in this crisis move nearer to each other, and I do not mean just Afrikaans- and English-speaking people, but also Brown and Black

people who know the score, then the bell is really tolling for us." (*Die Burger*)

"It was for this time in our history that our fathers and forefathers tried to prepare us." (*Die Burger*)

Mr. Tom Mboya welcomed the speech and called for deeds as well as words—as did Mr. Duma Nokwe of the local A.N.C., with a specific reference to the U.N. vote.

### "Worth Gold to us"!

The most pathetic reaction to Mr. Macmillan's tour was that of *Landstem*, large-circulation sex-cum-cheese-cake weekly. Written before the speech, but dated 6th February, or three days after *Landstem's* headlines screamed (in Afrikaans) "Thank you Mac! Your visit is worth gold to us!" In the article appears a comparison of South

America, to its disadvantage, with South African democracy: "Here democracy works, and here is freedom and criticism as it ought to be... Everyone admits that the publicity which South Africa is now getting (as a result of the visit) could not have been bought for millions of pounds if the Union had decided to advertise in the outside world."

## What Verwoerd Didn't Tell Him



Mr. Harold Macmillan met Liberal Party members Mrs. Margaret Ballinger and Mr. Patrick Duncan at a Cape Town garden party given by the U.K. High Commissioner, Sir John Maud. He is shown above in conversation with Mr. Duncan.

## INFLUENCE FOR GOOD

—"Contact" Telegram

All the staff at *Contact* were busy packing the last issue for dispatch while the speech was being made. Immediately after it ended the Editor sent off the following telegram to Mr. Macmillan:

"MACMILLAN C/O VERWOERD GROOTE SCHUUR CAPE TOWN. I HAVE JUST LISTENED WITH DEEP EMOTION AND GRATITUDE TO YOUR HISTORIC SPEECH STOP YOU SPOKE FOR THE HUMAN RACE AND FOR ALL THE BEST IN BRITISH AND SOUTH AFRICAN TRADITIONS AND HISTORY STOP I AM CONVINCED THAT YOUR SPEECH WILL OVER MANY YEARS EXERT A PROFOUND INFLUENCE FOR GOOD IN THIS COUNTRY TORN AS IT IS BY NATURAL AND SYNTHETIC DIVISIONS."

## SIGN THIS PETITION

THE South African Sports Association, an organisation dedicated to the removal of racialism in sport, has launched a Petition protesting against the exclusion of Maoris and non-white South Africans from the proposed tour of South Africa by a New Zealand rugby team.

*CONTACT* AND ITS READERS HAVE BEEN ASKED TO HELP WITH THIS PETITION, WHICH IS PRINTED BELOW. PLEASE SIGN IT YOURSELF, GET THREE OTHERS TO SIGN AND THEN POST IT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS ASSOCIATION WHOSE ADDRESS IS GIVEN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PETITION.

Those who wish to obtain more signatures should give their names and addresses in the space indicated. Petition forms will be sent to them by the Association.

This is your chance to fight racialism in sport. It is an urgent appeal. Sign the Petition NOW.

PROTEST

AGAINST RACIALISM IN RUGBY

I/We the undersigned protest against the racial exclusion of Maoris and non-white South Africans from the proposed All-Blacks Rugby Tour which betrays the ideals of sportsmanship.

We appeal to the Rugby Unions and players concerned to abandon the tour forthwith and ask the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. W. Nash, to intervene in defence of fairplay and justice.

.....  
.....  
.....

If you are willing to assist the Petition please mark here.....

.....  
.....

Post to: South African Sports Association,  
P.O. Box 2129, Port Elizabeth.

NO. ABSTAIN. ABSENT. NO.

# Union's U.N. Vote Was "Solidly Negative"

NEW YORK: The Union of South Africa is increasingly being isolated at the United Nations. This conclusion refers not only to the three yearly U.N. issues directly affecting South Africa — apartheid, the treatment of Indians, and South West Africa — but to issues affecting other parts of the continent. During the 14th session of the General Assembly, held from September to December 1959, some 40 resolutions relating to Africa were discussed and votes were taken on most of them. How did South Africa vote? With what countries and blocs and against what countries and blocs?

Among the many resolutions directly related to Africa debated during the 14th session, 12 can be isolated as of major importance. They are as follows:

- (1) Calling attention to the possibility of referring to the International Court of Justice the dispute concerning the application of South Africa's mandate for South West Africa.
- (2) Expressing deep regret and concern that South Africa has not yet responded to appeals of the U.N. that it reconsider its governmental policies of apartheid.
- (3) Drawing the attention of South Africa to the repeated appeals of the U.N. for it to enter into negotiations with India and Pakistan over the treatment of persons of Indian origin within its borders.

### Information Centres

- (4) Requesting the U.N. Secretary-General to start discussions leading to the establishment of U.N. information centres in some of the larger Trust Territories.
- (5) Requesting the Administering Authorities of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi to

by  
**Dr. Homer A. Jack**

- propose target dates for their independence and the Authorities of other Trust Territories to propose intermediate target dates.
- (6) Deciding to form a special U.N. committee to study the principles which should guide U.N. members in determining whether an obligation exists to transmit information on Non-Self-Governing Territories. (This is the continuation of an effort to urge Portugal to submit regular information to the U.N. on Angola and Mozambique which she has refused to do since her admission to membership in the U.N.)
- (7) Urging Administrative Powers to transmit voluntarily information on political developments in their Non-Self-Governing Territories. (The U.N. charter does not suggest the transmission of political information.)
- (8) Indicating that the General Assembly is competent to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory has

attained self-government. (This was an amendment to a resolution noting that transmission of information to the U.N. on the Non-Self-Governing Territories of Alaska and Hawaii by the U.S. should cease because its citizens had freely chosen their new constitutional status.)

- (9) Requesting the U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to investigate the possible effects of the European Economic Community on the development of these territories toward self-government.

### Nuclear Tests

- (10) Expressing grave concern over the intention of France to conduct nuclear tests and requesting her to refrain from such tests.
- (11) Urging the holding of pourparlers with a view to arriving at a peaceful solution of the Algerian war on the basis of the right of self-determination, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the U.N. (This resolution was defeated in the plenary session for the lack of a two-thirds vote.)
- (12) Recommending that a U.N. commission be immediately dispatched to the Trust Territory of the French Cameroons to assist the government and people to accede to independence in an atmosphere of peace.

South Africa's record on these 12 issues is shown in the table along with the vote of a few representative states. South Africa's vote was solidly negative. Her diplomats voted negatively on nine resolutions, were deliberately absent during the votes on two resolutions (apartheid and treatment of Indians), and abstained in the vote on U.N. information centres (No. 4 above). No other of the 82 members of the U.N. had such a negative record on these 12 issues.

How does South Africa's voting record on these issues compare with that of her neighbours — the nine independent African states? Except for rare non-political absences, these states voted affirmatively on all 12 issues. Three states

**The Author**

## Clergyman, Writer and Friend of Africa



In the summer of 1952, Dr. Homer A. Jack (aged 43) — an American writer and Unitarian clergyman — spent six weeks in South Africa tracing the life of Mahatma Gandhi's stay here from 1892 to 1914. Dr. Jack's stay in South Africa coincided with the beginning of the Gandhian defiance campaign against apartheid laws. He saw some of the protests, became acquainted with leaders of the campaign, and described what he saw for publications in Asia, Europe and North America.

On returning to America, Dr. Jack helped establish the first American organization concerned with Africa — the American Committee on Africa.

In April 1955 he was given leave from his Chicago parish to attend the Asian-African Conference in Bandung as a journalist. He spent five months conferring with the leaders of the new Asia, and also reporting on the slaying of Indian protesters by the Portuguese inside Goa in August, 1955.

Dr. Jack returned to Africa in 1957 to report the Ghana Independence celebrations. There he met a number of African nationalist leaders. Returning to Evanston, Illinois, Dr. Jack found his home increasingly used as a mecca for travelling Africans and friends of Africans: Prof. Z. K. Matthews, Peter Abrahams, Tom Mboya, Fenner Brockway, Trevor Huddleston, and many others.

In December, 1958, Dr. Jack was a member of a delegation of four Americans from the American Committee on Africa to the All-African Peoples Conference in Ghana. After observing it for newspapers in

this conference, and report-India, he visited Dr. Aibert Schweitzer in Lambarene.

When, in the spring of 1959, the American Committee on Africa invited Dr. Jack to join its staff, he could not resist the temptation. He resigned from his church, after being its pastor for 11 years, to become associate director of the American Committee. He is primarily in charge of publications and is editor of the Committee's magazine, *Africa Today*. This is the oldest magazine on Africa to be published in the United States. For almost ten years Dr. Jack has written about Asian and African problems for magazines and newspapers throughout the world.

Dr. Jack lives in a suburb of New York with his wife and two children, aged 12 and 14. In Chicago, he was active in race relations organizations, being full-time secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination from 1943 to 1948. In that capacity he helped in controlling race riots due to housing segregation in that second-largest American city.

(Ethiopia, Ghana and Liberia) did abstain on the French Cameroons resolution.

### Easy Time

These states usually had an easy time to obtain victory in the 14th session. They could generally count on their nine votes, 16 Asian states (out of 20), all nine Soviet states, 3 Latin-American states (Mexico, Venezuela, Cuba) and Yugoslavia. This is a total of 39 votes. Thus they needed no more than 16 additional votes to pass a resolution even if there were no abstentions (and only 7 additional votes with the average number of abstentions). On these issues, the African bloc could often, but not always,

count on the support of 20 nations. They are listed as follows with an arbitrarily weighted percentage of the probability they would vote with the African bloc: Bolivia (86%), Uruguay (75%), Panama (66%), Ecuador (64%), Argentina (58%), Greece (58%), Ireland (58%), Iceland (57%), Haiti (56%), Guatemala (50%), El Salvador (44%), Costa Rica (40%), Paraguay (40%), Israel (33%), Austria (33%), Chile (27%), China (25%), Columbia (10%), Brazil (8%) and Sweden (8%). Denmark, Peru and the U.S. could vote with either bloc.

Such is the politics towards Africa of the United Nations in the 14th session. During the 15th, opening on 20th September, at least four new African nations will become members: Cameroons, Togoland, Somalia, and Nigeria. South Africa will surely be more isolated with each successive session, unless she changes her policy toward Africa issues externally — not to mention her internal African policies.

## Church Group's Sharp Reply to Louw

IN October, Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs of the Union of South Africa, while heading his country's delegation at the United Nations, attacked the American organisation Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa. The call to prayer for the Church and people of South Africa issued by ECSA was, he said, the nearest thing to blasphemy he had seen.

According to the *Cape Times*, he referred particularly to the prayers for the leaders of South Africa and for those suffering from unjust laws.

Mr. Louw classified ECSA with "a network of organizations mainly responsible for an anti-South African campaign in the United States and certain European countries". He went on to say ECSA was working in co-operation with the "leftist wing of the Liberal Party in South Africa" and with the African National Congress, which he described as "a subversive organization several of whose leaders are listed communists".

In a sharp reply to this attack ECSA says: "We want to make it clear that as a church organization we have no political allegiances. Our contacts in South Africa are with the Church of the Province of South Africa and with educational and charitable organizations, not with any political groups.

"Our policies are not based on political, but on moral and theological grounds. We are opposed to Communism because it is Godless and materialistic. We are opposed to segregation in the United States and to apartheid in South Africa because we believe that they are contrary to the Christian doctrine of the unity of all men in Christ.

"We think that laws which discriminate between people because of the colour of their skin are unjust and that people suffer where such laws exist.

"We are sorry if Mr. Louw regards being anti-apartheid as being anti-South African. We cannot agree. We are sincerely endeavouring, as our name implies, to work and pray for South Africa, for our Church there, for all the people, and for the realization of Christian justice. We pray for God's guidance that all our activities will be so directed."

## How Five States Voted

The votes of five U.N. members on 12 African issues

|               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|
| South Africa  | N | - | - | a | N | N | N | N | N | N  | N  | N  |
| Britain       | N | N | a | a | N | a | N | N | N | N  | N  | N  |
| United States | Y | Y | Y | a | N | Y | N | N | Y | N  | a  | N  |
| Paraguay      | a | Y | Y | Y | Y | a | Y | - | - | a  | N  | a  |
| Ghana         | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y | - | Y | Y  | Y  | a  |

Y — yes  
N — no  
a — abstain  
- — absent



## Should Liberals be Republicans?

# OUR READERS REPLY TO DR. ROUX

### "Convinces Me"

SIR.—"On the whole, Edward Roux convinces me."

That piece of *Fair Comment*—the first of the year—bodes ill for our 1960 reading.

Mr. Edward Roux commences his article (9th January) with his definition of republicanism which is not pro-anything—just anti-monarchism. He immediately gives his reason by equating the monarchy with snobbery.

Mr. Roux's only pro-republican offering is that thereby one of the far too many enemies of Afrikaner nationalism will be eliminated to the relief of an overburdened inferiority complex.

Whether this happier state is more likely of fulfilment than is the termination of snobbery by the abolition of the monarchy, is questionable.

P. M. HARKER  
Muizenberg

### No Anachronism

SIR.—Edward Roux states that he regards the monarchy as "an anachronism and something we should well be rid of". (*Contact* 9th January.)

I disagree with this wholeheartedly. The monarchy has a vital symbolic meaning and importance which no modern president or prime minister can have. In another sense, too, the monarchy is symbolic: the monarch (I am thinking particularly of twentieth-century monarchs in Britain) represents and illuminates the highest values of mankind; values of religion, morality and culture. The monarchy reflects the essential spiritual values of man.

Can anyone seriously imagine Governor-General (or President) Swart fulfilling these immense tasks? Mr. Swart was, and is, a politician and his disregard for human dignity was amply displayed during his term as Minister of Justice.

Like Edward Roux, I regard

myself as a Liberal, but if the Liberal Party shows any leanings towards the Nationalists on this issue, I shall seriously reconsider my position. A clearly defined statement is, I feel, needed from the Party on this matter.

DUDLEY ISAACSON  
Uitenhage

### Republicans Are Seldom Liberals

SIR.—Mr. Edward Roux asks whether Liberals should be republicans. If he means South African Liberals, the answer is positively "no"; if for no other reason than because republicanism is one of the principal planks in the platform of their opponents.

Intrinsically, there is no reason why liberals should not be republicans, either in this country or any other. The fact is that republicans are seldom liberals.

An inferiority complex the Afrikaner undoubtedly has, but to excuse apartheid on that ground is going too far. Such arguments mean nothing less than that the British in South Africa are the indirect cause of the Group Areas Acts, the monstrous Senate, and all the other paraphernalia of apartheid. Surely the nationalists now possess power enough to take their revenge on the British without causing suffering to the Africans, still less to the Coloured people?

Mr. Roux is not up to date with his republicanism. The word "republic" once meant a democratic government or something like it. For more than 100 years, dictatorships have flourished in some 20 countries in South and Central America under the cloak of republican constitutions. Since 1917, three cruel tyrants have dominated the Union of Soviet Socialist "republics" and from the end of World War II, autocrats of one sort or another

have ruled the East German, Polish, Bulgarian, Yugoslavian, Albanian and other "republics" in Eastern Europe. Who knows that without the Commonwealth connection, South Africa might not have been numbered in that unhappy band!

Those Afrikaners who suffer from an inferior complex should look at the Dominion of Canada, with its large French population, who occupy a position analogous in many ways to their own. Yet Canada is a proud nation which is able to withstand the pressures of her formidable neighbour, and does not hanker in the least after republicanism. Perhaps she sees too much of it across the border.

If Mr. Roux is a sincere Liberal, as I am sure he is, he should know that there is nothing that any of the present members of the Commonwealth can gain by becoming republics, South Africa least of all, since there is the shadow of the Police State just round the corner.

"ROYALIST"  
Somerset West

### Jingoism Dying

SIR.—Edward Roux has done us a great service by his clear analysis and unprovocative way of expressing his feelings in his article "Should Liberals be Republicans?"

Nationalisms breed counter-nationalisms. In the 14 years I have lived in Durban, I have often seen a dying jingoism given new life by aggressive Afrikaner nationalism and have realised that the converse stimulation of Afrikaner nationalism by that very jingoism of which Edward Roux writes, is real and tragic.

We all know how the same kind of vicious circle of nationalism and counter-nationalism arises between Black and White, and Edward Roux's article gives us a timely reminder that our problems of break-

## CHOICE SHOULD BE MADE BY ALL SOUTH AFRICANS

Should Liberals be Republicans? "Yes", wrote Edward Roux in a provocative article in *Contact* (9th January). "Yes" and "No", say our readers in replies given topically, and even urgently, by Dr. Verwoerd's proposed "Whites only" referendum.

For the Liberal Party the issue has taken second place to the desire for a just, non-racial democracy.

Its policy on the republic appears on page 21 of the party handbook:

"The Liberal party holds that a republic shall not come into being unless it is the express desire of a

majority of all adult persons, regardless of race or colour, voting together in a referendum.

"The Liberal Party is opposed to all authoritarian forms of government, particularly the republican government as envisaged by the 1942 draft constitution of the Nationalist Party."

A republic backed by a bare majority of a minority group is in direct conflict with the above policy. For or against is irrelevant. Liberals can only oppose a referendum which deprives most South Africans of the right to choose.

ing through these two vicious circles are ultimately connected.

In seeking to build opposition to the Nationalist policies of apartheid, one has often felt that many people here in Natal oppose the government for wrong reasons—because it consists of Afrikaners who are not "loyal to the Crown", and so on—while they support its really evil acts like the Group Areas Act and influx control.

But I am glad to be able to report that there is now a real shift of emphasis. Jingoism is dying and genuine sympathy for non-Whites in their struggle against White supremacists of both language groups is growing.

Thus we are beginning to see the end of one of the tragedies which have beset the liberal cause in South Africa, namely that liberalism has become tainted in Afrikaner eyes partly because its doctrines have nearly always been brought to the country by "Britishers", many of whom have so ill-digested them as to suppose that the British monarchy is essential to liberty.

C. K. HILL  
Durban

### "Mighty Obstacle"

SIR.—Dr. Verwoerd has announced his plan for a republic. Suddenly it has become a burning issue: What is my attitude as a human being and liberal.

Indeed, monarchism is an anachronism, as Mr. Edward Roux points out in his article: "Should Liberals be Republicans?" I believe that I should be a republican. I, for one, cannot be liberal if I denied the descendants of the Voortrekkers their release from foreign rule and influence.

From 1910 onwards that subjection to a foreign power has been gradually diminished although the handiwork of the late General Smuts and followers retarded the progress of liberation. The war of 1899 is yet another example of a war waged in vain.

I believe that a republic would have but little impact on the White citizens. A greater stress may be used towards the prevalence of the Afrikaans language to the detriment of English. Apart from sentimentalism it would not greatly matter. When I go abroad English would still serve me best.

What is disturbing is that

notwithstanding Mr. Roux's psychological explanation there remains a strong superiority complex inherent in all but a few white persons to those with a different pigmentation. This is a mighty obstacle and could be the cause of a bloody civil war similar to the one waged in the United States of America during the last century and the one now fought in Algeria with fits and starts from 1830 onwards.

The denial of human rights to, and further curbing of freedom towards our Black brothers within the coming republic is, to me, more disturbing than the creation of a "Republic of South Africa" in or outside the Commonwealth. I hope sincerely that I may be wrong, but when I remember the restrictive legislation of recent dates, my hope seems to be vain.

T. KLOPPENBURG  
Durban

## Strength of the Commonwealth

"The strength of our Commonwealth lies largely in the fact that it is a free association of free and independent sovereign states each responsible for ordering its own affairs, but co-operating in the pursuit of common aims and purposes in world affairs.

"Moreover, these differences may be transitory. In time they may be resolved. Our duty is to see them in perspective against the background of our long association. Of this, at any rate, I am certain.

"Those of us who by the grace or favour of the electorate are temporarily in charge of affairs in your country and in mine—fleeting transient phantoms on the stage of history—we have no right to sweep aside on this account the friendship that exists between our countries.

"That is the legacy of history. It is not ours alone to deal with as we wish. To adapt a famous phrase, it belongs to those who are living; but it belongs to those who are dead, and to those yet unborn."

—Harold Macmillan  
In his address to both houses of the Union Parliament.

## Nat. Republic? No Thank You

THE Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party has issued this statement on the Republic:

In outlining the Nationalists' plan for a republic, Dr. Verwoerd has not defined its terms precisely, but he has made three basic statements of principle to be embodied in the constitution of the republic: it is to be "Christian", to be "democratic" and to be based on a parliament with absolute powers.

These terms, however, all connote something special in Nationalist ideology—something quite different from what they mean in western civilisation.

The "Christianity" is of a narrow form, not acknow-

ledging a set of values and absolute human rights superior to parliament, but rather of the type where the arbitrary dictates of parliament are regarded as an expression of God's will. Is it, furthermore, to be a restricted form of Christianity, rejecting other Christian bodies? What of the position of Jews, Muslims, agnostics and other non-Christian groups?

The "democracy" envisaged is one which allows three-quarters of the populace no political voice and no chance to better their own station in life through energy and ability. It appeals primarily to the self-interest of the white electorate in perpetuating racial strife

instead of seeking to use all the abilities of all the people of South Africa to the best advantage.

And finally parliament is to be absolute and not hampered by any interference by way of the courts enforcing recognition of a Bill of Rights such as is expressed in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

Such is the republic to be presented to a referendum.

The Liberal Party rejects it, not because it is a republic, but because it is of a nature contradictory to all that is best in western civilisation and will be imposed without consultation upon that portion of the population that will be subject to its arbitrary will.



# contact

## AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WEST

**"THE speech of the British Prime Minister has served formal notice on South Africa of a state of emergency in our relations with the West and in our situation in Africa" — thus an important editorial in *Die Burger*, the leading Nationalist daily.**

Perhaps the most important aspect of the speech is the change that it has made in the relations between Africa and the West. Up till now the greatest stumbling-block in the path to African freedom has been the settler communities, Dr. Verwoerd's "White man of Africa". Up till now these communities have had considerable support from Britain, Europe, and, to a lesser extent, America. Britain in particular has tried to hold the balance between these communities and the forces of equality.

That policy, we are certain, was a mistake. The demands of these communities were so outrageous, involving the claim of such gross inequality of income and political power and personal status, that to encourage them in any way was not only to do the African democrats a disservice: it was, in the long run, to endanger the very existence of the settlers.

The outrageousness of the settler claims can best be seen from the recent history of the Whites of Tanganyika, considered for years to be the most "liberal" of all the settlers. Though numbering only 21,000, against 8,500,000 Africans, they have, up till now, succeeded in getting as many seats in the Legislature as the Africans. This has been called "reasonable"! Now, of course, under the able leadership of Mr. Julius Nyerere, they are accepting with a good grace an African majority.

The other White communities have behaved with even less wisdom than the Tanganyika settlers. These communities can be placed on a ladder, with the least wise, the South African Whites, sharing the bottom rung with the Portuguese.

At long last Britain has begun to say to these settlers: Naturalise yourselves. You are not "Europeans". You are Africans. Make the best of things, as all immigrants have to.

At the same time Belgium, in the Congo, and France, in the Community and Algeria, are saying the same thing to their White Africans.

It is now only a matter of time before Africa becomes a normal continent, with the lands and their governments firmly in the hands of those members of the human race who belong. Fortunately

for the immigrant Whites and Asians, most new African states show clear signs of being non-racial. The anti-Asian troubles of Uganda are, we are confident, a side-effect of colonialism, and will not last long.

With normality will come normal diplomatic and trade relations. Africa will take its place between a normalised Asia, and Latin America. Europe, because of its situation, because of history, must play a major part in the modernisation of free Africa, and must become Africa's truest friend.

This is what we welcome. The outrage of colonialism and of settler demands is being ended. This outrage has always encouraged the peddlers of hatred and of the class war. It has allowed the U.S.S.R. to pose as "Africa's friend and liberator" despite the existence of captive peoples, Brown and White, in the soviet system. Guinea is perhaps already a victim of this sort of politics. If President de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan had delayed much longer their recognition of Africa's full dignity and status, there would have been other such failures.

We welcome the new look no less for our own country, South Africa. No community of White Africans is able to stand isolated from Africa and isolated from the West. Three million White South Africans might, if they lived in a compact territory, succeed in establishing, as against Black Africa, as much security as the Israelis have established against Arabism. But to do this will involve a third isolation with which there is no parallel in Israel: in addition to the two isolations mentioned above, the White middle class here will have to isolate itself from the South African working class, which happens to be Black. The Government of South Africa will have to isolate itself from three-quarters of the citizens of this country, who belong here, who have been here (despite Mr. Louw's myths) since time immemorial, and who are going to stay here. Many thinking White people already know that to try to do this is not only an outrage to the majority of our population: it is not in the long or medium term possible. It is utterly impossible, and the sooner our government learns this the safer and more prosperous will be our future.

In the meantime those who have not already learnt will have to be taught. It is for this reason that the economic boycott was begun. It is for this reason that Mr. Macmillan added his bit: from the press we learn that Britain will probably withdraw her support of apartheid at the United Nations.

Isolation will be relatively easy: African governments have already been asked by delegates to the Tunis conference to refuse overflying rights to South African-bound air traffic. A month's boycott this year may become a year's next time. Total sanctions on trade will become a possibility, until isolation is absolute. That is how the lesson will have to be taught to those whose heads have, up till now, been too thick to learn statesmanship from

history and from the facts of the modern world.

That democrats can talk like this now, instead of having to wait until 1963 or 1965, is a measure of how things are speeding up generally. It is also a measure of the profound grasp that Mr. Macmillan has of the whole grand sweep of modern times and of the needs of the moment.

His speech was a turning-point in African, and in South African, history.

## MAC'S BOYCOTT

**I**N the great "wind of change" speech Mr. Macmillan spoke against the March boycott of apartheid which the Liberal Party has done so much to support.

Our readers will know that this criticism was a disappointment. But there are two consolations. One lies in the very careful phrasing of the speech. The actual words were: "I and my colleagues deplore this proposed boycott and regard it as undesirable from every point of view. It can only have serious effects on Commonwealth relations, on trade, and lead to the ultimate detriment of others than those against whom it is aimed."

There is more than a suggestion here that, if the boycotters could guarantee that it would not harm "others than those against whom it is aimed", Mr. Macmillan would not have been so strongly against it.

The other is that the probable British abstention at the United Nations, when apartheid is next debated, is a far greater move to isolate the Union Government than the most successful month's consumer boycott could ever be.

The whole aim of the boycotters being to isolate apartheid, they no doubt feel that Mr. Macmillan's remarks on the boycott do little or nothing to destroy the devastating power of the speech.

## LONDON AND TUNIS

**B**Y the time this appears Mr. Patrick van Rensburg should be back in the country, after months of work in London with the Boycott Movement, and after attending, as a representative of the Liberal Party, the second meeting of the All-African Peoples Conference at Tunis.

We welcome him back warmly, with congratulations on having so brilliantly succeeded in what he set out to do.

Some observers believe that "the boycott may fail". We do not share this fear.

Mr. Louw has told the *Argus* that the Department of the Interior suggested to him that Mr. van Rensburg be declared a stateless person. To the best of our knowledge such an act would be illegal, though that would not deter a government like the present one from doing it. To his credit Mr. Louw did not act on the suggestion.

According to *Die Burger's* political columnist "Dawie" there is talk among

Nationalists of beating up Mr. van Rensburg on his return. "Dawie" strongly advised against it.

Such suggestions prove how seriously the Nationalists are taking the March boycott.

Although Mr. Macmillan condemned the boycott, it seems likely that without its evidence of deep-seated anti-apartheid feelings overseas, Mr. Macmillan would not have gone as far as he did in criticising his host's administration in the great Cape Town speech.

Thus, whether March shows a great slump in South African peaches or not, it is probably true to say that the boycott has already done more than the most optimistic of its planners hoped for.

Mr. van Rensburg's visit overseas was thus a resounding success, and he deserves the congratulations and thanks of all South African democrats.

## REPLY TO A DEFEAT

Dr. Verwoerd had not seen the text of Mr. Macmillan's speech when it was delivered.

We differ completely from Dr. Verwoerd and the diabolical régime of apartheid which he has imposed. But this must be said in fairness: by his reaction to the Macmillan speech he showed a sense of timing and of history.

Like Mussolini and other of his kind Dr. Verwoerd runs a doctrinal or ideological government. The worst thing that can happen to such a government is for an opposing idea to defeat the approved governmental idea. Mr. Macmillan, for reasons which lie deep in South African history, delivered his speech with great authority. He spoke for something in each Afrikaner heart as well as for the rest of the human race.

Speaking with this great authority Mr. Macmillan put forward an idea which opposed apartheid in everything and quoted scripture, the law, and morality in support of his idea. This was done in front of Parliament, the listening nation, and a waiting world. Dr. Verwoerd realised, while Mr. Macmillan was speaking, that the speech must be replied to, then and there.

This he did. He had to reply to a political atom bomb, carefully engineered over more than a month, and to reply he had to think on his feet. He had no time to consult his cabinet. And he had to do all this in English, a language emotionally and intellectually foreign to him.

All we can say is this: that by the way he replied he showed tremendous ability. And even this may be an understatement.

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







Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

# "Flash-point" of Violence

security which lies heavily on every family—but with immediate causes. And the immediate cause of this riot was a police liquor raid.

Cato Manor has always been a raw, tense place. It has been in a state of particular tension since June last year, when the first of a long series of Natal clashes between Africans and the police broke out there. It was a liquor raid which started everything in June. For weeks after that hardly a week-end went past without a clash of some sort. The three constant factors in almost every outbreak of violence in the slum during the last eight months have been Africans, the police and liquor. If liquor raids are the flash-point which repeatedly set a highly-charged situation alight isn't it time they stopped.

Liquor raids have become such a familiar part of the South African scene that they are almost taken for granted, even by their victims. What purpose do they serve? Presumably they are justified on the grounds that they are the only means of enforcing the liquor laws. The liquor laws say that an African may not drink "white" liquor. But no law ever invented has prevented anyone who really wanted to drink from drinking. So Africans brew their own liquor and the police raid in useless attempts to stop them. They fail to prevent Africans from brewing their own liquor and they fail to stop them buying "white" liquor. South African newspapers have just carried a report to the effect that a third of the legitimately produced liquor in South Africa finds its way into African hands.

It is clear that South Africa's partial and racially discriminatory prohibition is no more effective than was America's policy of total prohibition. It is also clear that, as American prohibition did, it brings in its train much worse evils than those it sets out to prevent.

Not only does our present system not work but it places an intolerable burden on the police, who are asked to enforce it, and an even more intolerable burden on the African people, for whose benefit and protection it is supposed to operate. It is doubtful if any single thing causes more friction between African people

and authority than liquor raids. Perhaps there are police officers who conduct their raids in a courteous and responsible manner. Certainly there are many who don't. Stories of doors kicked in, clothes tipped out and furniture turned over are too common. But even if every single raid was carried out in an exemplary manner the burden would still be intolerable. Raids mean that no African family's privacy is secure. No African family can go to sleep certain that they won't be turned out of bed in the small hours. No African family can look forward to a week-end of relaxation and rest. Always in the background lurks the spectre of the police raid,

disturbing the peace of mind of everyone, no matter how law-abiding. Is it surprising that relations between the police and African people are bad and grow worse? Is it surprising that the police, in African eyes, have more the status of an army of occupation than that of friends and protectors? Is it surprising that the most trivial-seeming incident often provokes the most terrible clash?

I said at the start that I did not intend discussing the deeper causes of that explosion on the 24th, and I have not done so. But what I have discussed is the system which so often provides the spark which sets the explosion off. Each explosion

closes off more white minds and makes them less receptive to reasonable consideration of the problem of how we will all learn to live together. Yet how can such incidents be avoided? At present the growing inflexibility of apartheid sees them grow in number and violence. To get rid of apartheid is our long-term policy. To get rid of the present liquor laws is a short-term, immediate objective to which each of us can commit himself so that at least one of the present flash-points of conflict can be eliminated.



THE more vicious emotions awakened by the grim events of the night of 24th January, when nine policemen died at the hands of a mob in Cato Manor, Durban, are quietening down. Calls for vengeance and "to teach the... a lesson" are no longer as prominent in the correspondence columns of Durban newspapers as they were. Some of the letters published were bad enough, others, worse apparently, went into the editorial waste-paper basket. Those that were published revealed two things. First, that their writers had not the vaguest notion of the complexity of the forces at work that night; second that, while there had been savagery at Cato Manor, a corresponding savagery lurked not far below the surface of some of Durban's whitest skins.

Although many of the letters expressed views almost as shocking as the event on which they were commenting, one of the interesting results of the riot was the variety of scapegoats found to bear responsibility for it. The government and its laws, the United Party, the Liberal Party, the Congresses, the Durban City Council, the churches, even the new Progressive Party—each has been held to blame. Government repression, City Council apathy, even Liberal incitement have been produced as causes. The very multiplicity of the scapegoats shows one thing and that is that the answer to the question "Why did this terrible thing happen?" is not an easy one, and that the causes lie deep.

In this article, however, I do not want to deal with basic causes—the effect on people of a policy which imposes on them endless and increasing discrimination, the terrible conditions under which people have lived in Cato Manor for years, their wretched poverty, the in-

## Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

THERE are two things about London at present which make a visitor from Johannesburg feel at home. The one is the number of new buildings which are going up and the other is the sort of new buildings which are going up. In both cities, the architect's mandate seems to be, "Get as many cubic feet of building on to this stand as you possibly can. If you can make the result look fairly elegant, well and good, but don't you dare waste an inch of space on gracious living".

The architects and the property owners of London should be sent on a compulsory tour of Italy. Those of Johannesburg can have their education completed much more cheaply. They need only go to Pretoria.

Now why should Pretoria be the only South African city in which a modern building is not just an outsize packing case? Why should the Pretorians be getting more pleasant places to stroll about in, while everyone else is getting fewer and fewer? I don't know what the reason is, but I am sure it's not a good one.

THERE are many differences between Mr. Macmillan and General de Gaulle, but they have one thing in common. Both have often been dismissed as elderly anachronisms, and both have proved that in fact they have their feet very firmly planted in the world of the 1960's.

Since he came to power in 1958, De Gaulle's stature has grown steadily in the eyes of France and of the world. Now he has really arrived; he has been attacked by the S.A.B.C. The programme "World Affairs" last Friday evening was devoted entirely to a vicious attack on De Gaulle. He was accused of betraying France, of being the puppet of nameless financial interests and of a dozen lesser crimes. It was not difficult to guess where this line of propaganda came from. Apparently the revolt of the *colons* has stirred the pale soul of the S.A.B.C.

I hope that the fate of that revolt has been duly noted in Salisbury. The moral, Sir Roy, is that the spoiled children of the Empire had better learn to be thankful for what they get from their indulgent parents. The only people who can afford to stage Boston Tea Parties are those who do their own washing up.

CAN anyone suggest a reason why the United Party should continue to exist? It has apparently decided that it can no longer present any alternative policy to that of the Nationalists. It seeks merely to change the personnel which mans the

dismal, besieged trenches of white supremacy. No doubt Div. would make a pleasanter Prime Minister than Dr. Verwoerd, and even the galaxy of mediocrities who occupy the U.P. benches could perhaps supply a Minister of external Affairs with more *savoir faire* than Mr. Louw. But are the people of South Africa really expected to get excited about these prospects?

EVERY morning, at three minutes to seven the most extraordinary event takes place on Dr. Meyer's Afrikaans broadcasts.

A conversational voice, as of a rambling bore in a café with his mouth half full of boerewors, relates a story about To-day in History in the series "Historical Almanac".

The extraordinary thing is that all these stories relate to wars and murders between the Afrikaner Heroes on the one side, and the British knaves, and the African knaves on the other, thus keeping old sores open.

Minister Fouché (and you will not find *Contact* criticising him, not if he keeps on his present path of moderation) has abolished Minister Erasmus's ruritanian titles in the army—no doubt to heal old sores and to build Unity. What does he think of Dr. Meyer?

"DID Mr. Harold Macmillan," squealed Mr. Louw, "perhaps imagine that he had the right to criticise the Union's policy, because the Union is a member of the Commonwealth?"

He self-righteously pointed to the "fact" that Mr. Macmillan would not have criticised General de Gaulle's Algerian policy if he were visiting France.

There are two comments here. Firstly, several of the most fruitful of all modern visits have been marked by frank criticisms of the host country. Think of Vice-President Nixon in Moscow, and of Mr. Khrushchev in the States. Even Mr. Louw is able to appreciate the fact that neither super-power belongs to the power-bloc of the other.

The other comment is that, if Mr. Louw had read his *Contact* carefully, he would have noticed that both General de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan have the same African policy: democratic rights for all—and short shrift for those political dinosaurs, the white supremacist settlers.

And a man of Mr. Macmillan's intelligence and frankness would be unlikely to attack a man like General de Gaulle, for whose policies and person he has such an admiration.

## "Contact" Ban is Lifted

The ban on *Contact* in Nyasaland has been raised. The Chief Secretary, writing from Zomba, has said: "I am directed to refer again to your letter of the 18th October 1959 and to inform you that the ban upon issues of *Contact* in this territory has been lifted with effect from the 23rd January 1960, with the exception of the issue dated 22nd August 1959 (Vol. II, No. 17), upon which proscription is still maintained."

Vol. II, No. 17 was a special issue on the Devlin Report. —Editor.



## Mali Voter at the Polls



One man. One vote. A Mali Federation polling station.

# MALI'S ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

**N**EGOTIATIONS are now going on in Paris between the French government and representatives of the Mali Federation to determine the terms of Mali's independence. Mr. Cook has just returned from a trip to West Africa, and reports on what he saw there. Mr. Cook, who is an outstanding authority on African affairs, wrote a *Forum* profile of Léopold Senghor.—*Editor.*

One year ago Mali was only the name of an ancient west African empire. Legends had been built around its traditional rulers, the Keita dynasty. Writers of those times have described its fabulous wealth, its civilization, its love of justice, and the law-abiding nature of its people. In the words of a sixteenth-century visitor, the inhabitants of Mali were "the most civilized, the most intelligent, and the most respected of all the Blacks".

### A Federation

On January 17, 1959, several descendants of those early Malians decided to create a federation that might unify the states of the former French West Africa and lead them to independence within the framework of the French Community. To prove the depth of their roots and the loftiness of their hopes, they selected the name Mali.

They adopted a constitution which observes the democratic principle of the separation of powers. They chose French as their official language and "One People, One Aim, One Faith" as their motto, they affirmed in the introduction to the Constitution their "fidelity to the principle of the equality and solidarity of all the African people", and their "condemnation of all racism". They designed a flag of green, gold and red, with the figure of a black man whose arms are "raised heavenward".

Undeterred by the hostility of a large section of the French press and the early desertion of certain African States whose leaders had pledged allegiance to the young Federation, Sudan (Soudan Français) and Senegal

pushed ahead with their plans. A sweeping victory at the polls last March assured the Federalists of every seat in the legislature, thus convincing the political leaders that the people were with them. In fact, a kind of Mali mystique began to inspire the Senegalese and Sudanese masses, as the green, gold and red became increasingly evident even in the clothing of Mali's citizens. Many steps were taken to cement Mali's unity, to forge "the Malian soul". For example, cabinet posts were distributed more or less equally among Senegalese and Sudanese.

By 1st July, 1959, when he welcomed the delegates to the Constitutive Congress of the Party of African Federation (PFA) Senghor could say: "Thanks to God, thanks also to the realism of its leaders... Mali has been able to avoid the pitfalls and overcome the first obstacles. Mali is now recognized as a Federal State. It has even signed its first technical agreement—an agreement concerning the judiciary—with France."

### De Gaulle

These significant achievements might well have been nullified if a less clever and less influential statesman than De Gaulle had been President of the French Community. In late August it became known that Mali had decided, in accordance with article 78 of the French Constitution, to request a transfer of powers.

Thus, less than two months after the Constitutive Congress of the PFA, Mali was in effect asking for independence, the first step toward transforming the Community into a "French British-type Commonwealth".

## Basil Davidson Examines Salazar's Africa

# Dictator's Grip May Be Weakening

**T**EN OR TWELVE million Africans live under Portuguese rule—in Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola. Are they, too, part of the African awakening? This is difficult to answer in any detail. Few visitors of the kind who would want to answer it, or try to answer it, ever get into these territories. The dictatorial government of Salazar in Lisbon publishes little and largely worthless information about its oversea provinces.

By the trick of calling these colonies by another name, Salazar escapes the obligation of having to report on them to the United Nations.

On top of these difficulties there are others in the way of finding out what happens. The

nature of Portuguese rule is repressive. Most African men are subject either to forced labour or to "free labour" in circumstances that are anything but free. There are no trade unions. And there is not the ghost of any legal political life for Africans.

Portuguese rule is also dreadfully out-of-date. There is little education for Africans at the primary level. There is none at all—except for a few dozen lucky individuals—at the secondary level. Only a handful of Africans from these colonies have got away to Europe and managed to attend a university. Portuguese Africa, in consequence, has very few Africans who are well placed—or even placed at all—to tell the truth about their countries to the outside world.

### Awakening

But there are some—and it seems clear from what these say—as well as from stray bits of news that evade the censor or are smuggled out by democratic Portuguese (of whom there are quite a few among the Whites of these colonies)—that all three of these territories are now going through a period of awakening political consciousness. The signals one can pick up from there, faint and muffled though they sometimes are, bear a marked resemblance to the sort of signals that presaged last year's irresistible political upheavals in the Belgian Congo.

One reason for thinking that this resemblance is more than superficial lies in the fact that the Bakongo people of the western Congo—from whom much of the drive and pressure for political advance in the Congo has come—extend over the frontiers into northern Angola to the south of the river and into the enclave of Cabinda to the north of the river. The Bakongo and some of their neighbours, whose tribal land is divided by these frontiers, are a sure and rapid means of inter-communication. It is reasonable to link last year's reinforcement of Portuguese garrisons in Angola, transfer of airborne troops from Portugal, and widespread arrest of Africans—some of whose names are known in Europe—to the ferment in the Congo. It is of the greatest importance to South-West Africa that the large Ovambo people's territory lies in Angola as well as within the Mandate.

A parallel situation occurs in Mozambique. Here too there are peoples, such as the Yao, who lie astride the frontiers with Nyasaland and Tanganyika, in both of which countries the movement for equality of rights and for inde-

pendence is strong and confident. News of African successes in central and eastern Africa now flows into Mozambique and Angola through many channels that no efforts of the Portuguese will ever be able to choke. And it is just the same in the little lost colony of Portuguese Guinea, surrounded now by African peoples in the full flood of economic and political development and change.

How soon will this news begin to act on masses of Africans under Portuguese rule—as it has already begun to act on the tiny minority who have managed to acquire some education? And what will happen to Portuguese rule when it does?

Nobody can be sure. Yet two things are clear. The first is that there is no human or political or social reason why African peoples in these Portuguese territories—among whom are some, like the Ovimbundu of central Angola, who can look back on a long history of independent political organisation of their own—should not quickly understand what their neighbours of the Congo, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, and West Africa have understood; and act in much the same way, and for much the same ends.

The second thing that is clear is that the Portuguese dictatorship, if it is still in power when that happens, will be hard pressed to maintain its repressive power. It is weaker in every way than the Government of the Belgian Congo; and it faces growing opposition within its own ranks.

### Disunity Ending

Portuguese hold on these countries has never been more than sketchy. It has owed its prolonged power to the traditional disunity of the peoples whom it has dominated. That disunity seems now to be coming to an end.

More and more—picking up scraps of information from various sources and piecing them together—one has the impression that a longing for freedom is beginning to cut across traditional boundaries of hostility and suspicion among these Africans.

Last but not least, there is the growing weakness of the Salazarist dictatorship—still dangerous enough to cause havoc and despair, but gradually sapped at the roots. It seems unlikely that Portuguese colonialism could survive the disappearance of the dictatorship—or even that a majority of the Portuguese people would want it to. The long isolation and degradation of "Portuguese Africa" may at last be approaching its end.

Fireworks predicted for the September meeting of the Executive Council of the Communauté failed to materialize. De Gaulle had doubtless realized that Mali represented the irresistible "wave of the future" in Africa, the last best hope for the survival of Franco-African friendship.

Addressing 2,000 people in the Federal Assembly at Dakar on 13th December, De Gaulle said: "In a few days France, Mali and the States that it comprises will start negotiating to modify the status of their relationships... In other words this state of Mali is going to take on what is called independent status and what I prefer to call that of international sovereignty."

He reminded his listeners that this new status would entail responsibilities: the construction of a nation, contributions to progress in a technical era, co-operation with the freedom-loving nations of the world. To meet these new responsibilities, France offers Mali "her loyal and friendly assistance". He invoked their long association, which had resulted in their sharing the same language and the same ideal. He received a rousing ovation.

### Not Fully Cleared

The road leading to Mali's independence or "international sovereignty", has not yet been fully cleared. Possible roadblocks still lie ahead, for on 18th January negotiations began to determine which powers are to be retained by France and which transferred to Mali. As a result of these discussions it may be necessary to amend the French Constitution. Nevertheless, in the light of De Gaulle's Dakar pronouncements, these obstacles seem temporary and hardly likely to serve as pretexts for detours.

Already the repercussions of Mali's new status have spread as far as Madagascar and the French Congo, with other African States weighing the advisability of following suit. As yet it is difficult to say how many of these nations will join the new Federation. But in view of Mali's unbelievably rapid emergence from dream to reality, one should not lightly dismiss Senghor's vision of "a single federation extending—why not?—from Dakar to Brazzaville".



## Modern Africa in a Hurry

# Kenya's Tom Mboya

## He Personifies "A Political Fact"

THE London conference on Kenya has become the London conference on Tom Mboya. Dominating the African delegation, he, for the moment at least, personifies Kenya African nationalism, the force Mr. Macmillan told South Africa "is a political fact. We must accept it as a fact . . ."

At the same time Tom Mboya is doing a great deal of forward thinking about the continent as a whole. It is common knowledge that he has been publicly and bitterly attacked by Dr. Nkrumah over the Trade Unions issue (*Contact*, 26th December). It is also widely known that he and Julius Nyerere (to be Tanganyika's first Prime Minister this year) have been seeing a great deal of each other.

It is possible that Mr. Nyerere feels that Africa is rapidly reaching the end of the usefulness of the "politics of protest", as has happened in his own territory of Tanganyika. If this is so, then, for Africa as well as for Tanganyika, the stage has been set for *Uhuru na Kazi* (freedom and work) in place of the simpler cry of *Uhuru*.

### Non-racial Future

Mr. Mboya shows signs that he is at one with Mr. Nyerere on this issue as well as on issues more internal to Kenya. If it should happen that Kenya were to follow the clear non-racial lead of Tanganyika, then the "immigrant minorities" of Whites and Asians could look forward to a future of co-operation, in place of the fears that they now have.

Up till now, for reasons which are probably good, Mr. Mboya's policies have been less con-

ciliatory to the immigrant minorities than Mr. Nyerere's. Will he change?

Much depends on the sort of man he is. Let us have a look at his career so far . . .

The 30-year-old, secondary-school-educated son of an illiterate plantation foreman, Mboya finds himself as Kenya's first truly modern African leader of international standards since the Mau Mau revolution. His opponents in the government and among the White settlers shelter behind a network of "emergency" laws and regulations which were first passed to fight Mau Mau and are only just being brought to an end.

A new kind of African leadership is called for which is committed to a non-violent approach, but which can keep sufficient pressures on the Kenya government until the African nationalist goals of democracy and independence are reached. Tom Mboya, living in his own two-roomed house in an African "location", with his solid trades union background, an idol of the masses and a tough negotiator, is such a leader.

His opponents have learnt to respect his stubborn bargaining over the conference table, and the politically conscious Africans of Nairobi have packed his meetings and backed his People's Convention Party.

Recently he has gained considerable independence for the African section of the I.C.F.T.U. at the Brussels conference in December 1959. He won this concession from the Free World Trade Unions organisation despite the opposition of the British Trades Unionists. Mboya got the American unions' support.

### From Luo Tribe

Thomas Joseph Mboya is from the Luo tribe. He was born on 15th August 1930 on a sisal plantation in the country reserved for Kenya's White settlers on the eastern shores of Lake Victoria. His father was then a plantation labourer earning £1 a month. He could not read but was determined to give his son as good an education as he could and Tom Mboya claims he used to walk 16 miles a day to and from school.

He complains that he spent too little time reading and studying in his youth, and also later, when he did a year's course at Ruskin College, Oxford, in 1955.

Tom Mboya is stockily built with a round, chubby face that can as easily reflect bored, almost hostile indifference, as it can light up in a welcoming smile revealing perfect teeth and a gap in the centre of the lower jaw. Two teeth have been missing since they were painfully removed in accordance with tribal custom in early childhood. Though he is putting on weight, he still moves with the grace of a one-time champion ballroom dancer and an expert footballer. His friends see him almost as a symbol of the modern African. The change from purely rural, tribal surroundings to urban life was completed over ten years ago.

### Leaky Mud Hut

His childhood was passed in a leaky mud hut. In the city he went through a fast-car-driving, woman-chasing phase, like a student without a proper course of study. To-day he has little time for amusement except for an occasional visit to the cinema, and his work gives him little more than five or six hours sleep a night.

As a thoroughly modern African, Mboya is often compared with Jomo Kenyatta. Even those who consider Kenyatta guiltless of any connection with Mau Mau have noted that he passionately defended some irrational beliefs of the Kikuyu tribe. He justified female circumcision in his book "Facing Mount Kenya", but Mboya has no respect for any of the traditions of tribalism.

He has never contemplated the use of violence in Kenya. Though he took on the post of Treasurer in the Kenya African

## With U.S. Labour Leader



Trade unionist Tom Mboya with the top man in the business — America's George Meany, Head of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Union in 1953, after the arrest of Kenyatta and practically all other outstanding African leaders, he was continually opposed to the violent wing of K.A.U.

### Followed by Police

He was followed by the police and spied on. His briefcase was stolen several times but even in those jumpy days of 1953 no single shred of evidence was found against him. Tom Mboya summed up his attitude at the time: "I did not myself support the violence of the Mau Mau, nor did I approve it, nor did I approve the government's methods of meeting violence with violence."

Before Mau Mau, Mboya was considered to be little more than a promising trades unionist, but as the terrorism dwindled away he was left as the only really competent African politician who had maintained a clean personal reputation while still criticising the government.

When the Colonial Secretary decided in 1957 that it was time to have African elected members in the Legislative Council, Tom Mboya was faced with one of the most difficult decisions of his career. If he entered politics he realised that he would have little time for

the practical problems of trades unionism, which had been his first interest.

His excellence in the trades union field had been shown from the earliest days when, as a young sanitary inspector, he organised Nairobi local government workers into a union, to the time he settled one of Mombasa's most violent dock-strikes in 1955.

Mboya's fear has always been that other African nationalists will arise who will demand a quicker pace of change than he does. He is determined to leave no gap for any rival who can press harder than he for "undiluted democracy". He wants Kenya to jump even Tanganyika's rapid transition period to "responsible government" with a majority of elected members and ministers in the Legislative Council.

Mboya's oratory and personality assure mass support and his international reputation is unquestioned. He has already gained the willing ear of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod. It is now sure that he will largely voice African opinion at the constitutional talks. The trend of events in Africa is set in his favour.

Adapted from a "Forum" profile by Alan Rake.

## S.A. Cricketer Will Play For Champion Club

CRICKETER Basil D'Oliveira, captain of the victorious South African team which toured East Africa in 1958, surprised sportsmen last week when he accepted an offer to play professionally for the Middleton Club, the Central Lancashire League champions for the past two seasons in England.

Three years ago he received a similar offer from the Enfield Cricket Club in the Lancashire League. Delay in receiving the mail cost him the post, which was given to Conrad Hunte of the West Indies.

Twenty-eight and recently married, this brilliant all-rounder, who was hailed overseas as an easy choice for a non-racial South African eleven, will join his new club at Middleton on 15th April.

He started cricket in the streets of Cape Town, played competitive cricket at the age of 16 and has some 76 centuries to his credit.

In an interview in Durban Basil D'Oliveira said he would do everything possible to plough back into the game as much as he had got out of it.



"I'd love to go to the Alf Gover School in London to take up coaching," he said, "for I want to come back to South Africa to coach our own boys. We have plenty of talent and all that is needed is some professional advice and guidance and I propose to do just that."

Mr. D'Oliveira tried to get the South African Board of Control interested but has so far not had any response from them.

## INTO 'WORLD ARENA'

THE Senate, Nigeria's Upper House, reassembled in Lagos on 25th January and began to debate the Independence Motion, which had earlier been passed by the House of Representatives.

A Minister of State, Dr. E. A. Esin, who moved the motion, said it was an important step forward in the achievement of self-determination. He told the senators that the price of freedom was eternal vigilance, and called for unstinted loyalty to the Federal and the Regional Governments. Seconding the motion, another Minister of

State, Senator Dr. M. A. Maje-kodunmi, called on Nigerians to rededicate themselves to the service of Nigeria, the African race and to humanity in general. He said that Nigeria as a national entity about to enter the world arena for the first time, would not do so empty-handed. He continued, "We enter the British Commonwealth of Nations not as sleeping partners; we intend to enrich with a peculiarly African flavour, the high ideals which alone can ensure the survival of the Commonwealth."





## SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



### Big idea

The London publishing house of Sheed & Ward has a small, largely Catholic list and is not one of those big, glamorous, noisy outfits that are publishing more and more, worse and worse books. I now hear that Sheed & Ward have big ideas, but I did not hear it from Ronald Segal, whose new big idea they have grabbed and will give to the world next week.



It is a 100-page fantasy called *The Tokolosh*, to appear first here and in England as an attractive paper-back, with pictures by David Marais. Though Sheed & Ward also have an American house, of which Clare Booth Luce is a director, there are no American plans for *The Tokolosh* yet.

### Big profits

This week there is the London book-trade cocktail party to launch it, then Fleet Street columnists will give cries of welcome ("Bookman's Diary" in the reborn *John o' London's Weekly* for sure, "Cassandra" perhaps—a chance for him to do penance for his anti-boycott outrage), then reviews, and *The Tokolosh* is out on its own.

I think it's going to be a knock-out. I think it is a book that could have big profits, and in other things besides money. Since *Cry, the Beloved Country* there has been no picture of us that has got across to millions, and on paper, radio, film, television, stage, *Cry* has done this. *Cry* has been called a "monument to liberalism", which *The Tokolosh* is not, being a most unmonumental *bombe surprise* of laughter, sentiment, violence, tenderness, horror, squibs and soft answers. Perhaps in 1960 a confection is as good disguise for one's weapons as a monument was for Paton in dreadful 1947.

It is a rare confection, as two people at least who have already sat up half the night reading it can say. One is me, the other a Nationalist newspaper editor, who was captivated by Segal's portrait of the Prime Minister in the story. Needless to say, the characters are entirely fictitious and any resemblance, etc. Read it if you don't believe me.

### Unpublished

In a valuable little pamphlet called *Approaches to African Literature* (Ibadan University Press), Janheinz Jahn mentions that R. R. R. Dhlomo wrote a novel in Zulu about the 1949 Durban riots which, it does not surprise me, has never been published. Bibliographies of our leading Bantu-language authors should be under two heads: Books and Manuscripts. In the absence of an African reading habit, scarcely a book appears but is aimed at the schools; successfully if unexceptionable and therefore probably worthless. Isn't English translation the answer for the unpublished adult novel? The world is hypnotized by our bizarre goings-on: a favourable state of affairs for the African writer who has work worth translating.

### Edgeways

At the second conference of negro writers, held in Rome last Easter (Randolph Vigne writes about the first on p. 12), a paper by Ezekiel Mphahlele was read in his absence. In the growing discussion on *négritude* in literature and art a black voice from South Africa has at last got a word in edgeways. He follows it in the February *Fighting Talk* by defending the "merging of cultures" in this country and in himself. Gerard Sekoto and he talked with the "African personality" kids in Paris last November, and got them to admit that "while we try to re-establish our past, such a function can only find proper focus if it is going to help us know ourselves in the context of present-day cultural activity."

"Zeke" found Gerard Sekoto flourishing and showing "an irrepressible gaiety", his Paris work "exuding a wonderful spirit of freedom". (Last year someone told me of finding two splendid Sekoto pictures in a house in Rustenburg location, and getting both for a fiver.)



## REVIEWS

### Hardly Repaid

COLLECTED POEMS VOL. III. By Roy Campbell (The Bodley Head) 18s. 6d.

ROY CAMPBELL was one of South Africa's errant sons, and did not return except briefly to be honoured by the University of Natal. He settled for that part of Europe that resembles this country most, and perhaps found consolation in the Spanish sun for what he had left behind. He pulled his roots from Africa and sought to nourish them in the dazzle of Mediterranean Europe.

Vol. III of his *Collected Poems* consists of translations from poets of that region, and in them we

can perhaps appreciate the extent to which he was indebted to their originals in his own practice of the art of poetry, for he was an unscrupulous borrower and took as by right ideas and images from poets he read. In this volume he attempts to repay the debt by putting some of those poets into English.

These poets form part of the tradition in which he immersed himself; having rejected the pretensions of fashionable literary society in brilliant satire, just as he had rejected fashionable Natal, he found himself a stranger to the continent he had moved to, and left to make his life in the border zone between Europe and Africa. And there he found a faith and philosophy which was to colour the whole of his life and be the inspiration of his finest serious poetry, the ancient embattled catholicism of Spain. It brought forth his masterpiece, "Mithraic Emblems" (in Vol I) and his finest and most delicate translations, those from St. John of the Cross.

Of these a selection is given in this book, but much is missing from an earlier publication which contained them all. To take them as a standard against which to judge the other translations in the book before us is perhaps unfair, because for St. John, Campbell had a respect which one could not expect him to show for poets whose work did not hold the essence that Campbell found in St. John, that burning mysticism to which perhaps in his heart he aspired.

He deals with the other poets high-handedly, with little deference shown towards that which in the original made poetry of great subtlety; the relationship between thought and form, metre and rhythm. This he destroys by insisting on the use of a metre which is characteristic of Campbell. In the St. John translations he allows the form of the original to decide that of his version. In the renderings from Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Horace, Lorca and others he dictates the form himself with no consideration for the mood of the original. The result is that many of the poems become just bad Campbell, nothing more; Baudelaire can hardly survive in the metre of "The Georgiad".

The hope that this book would provide an introduction to the poetry of the Mediterranean is disappointed; the few poems that live in their English garb do not compensate for those that have been bludgeoned to death by Campbell's iambs, and his debt is hardly repaid.

The volume has a foreword by Dame Edith Sitwell. She writes: "Roy Campbell is one of the very few great poets of our time." His third volume scarcely justifies this claim, but bearing in mind the contents of the previous two she may not be wrong.

TIMOTHY HOLMES

### England from India

A PASSAGE TO ENGLAND. By Nirad Chaudhuri (Macmillan) 32s.

WHEN people in Europe think of travel books, what they very frequently have in mind are reports on the countries of Africa and the Orient by Europeans. But it may well be that some of the most interesting travel-books to come in the next decades will be reports on Europe by writers from the Orient and Africa. Certainly, one of the most

stimulating books published in recent months is an example of this new genre; and one anticipates that it will be the forerunner of many more. The book I have in mind is *A Passage to England* by Nirad Chaudhuri.

Mr. Chaudhuri is a Bengali who left India for the first time at the age of fifty-seven, to pay a short visit to Europe—chiefly to England, but also to France and Italy. "What my senses were dealing with and striving hard to grasp," he writes of his stay in England, "was the reality I would call Timeless England, which I was seeing for the first time, and which I was led inevitably to set against the Timeless India in which I had been steeped all my life." In detail and in sum his book is an assertion—and a

### REVIEWED FOR THE CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

by

DAN JACOBSON

happy assertion—of the differences which still continue to exist between two peoples Mr. Chaudhuri has had an opportunity of knowing; and the book is a reminder too that what is richest in a culture may well be what is most local, particular and even idiosyncratic within it. "The more I think about the matter," Mr. Chaudhuri remarks, in a significant passage in the book, "the more convinced do I feel that nations acquire a sort of monumentality in their passage through history... There is a permanent and basic India which is breaking all the changes it is going through into conformity with its essential nature... England has acquired the same monumentality and cannot be made unrecognisable as her historic self by any transformations that have already taken place or will take place in the future..."

From this quotation it can be seen that there is a sense in which *A Passage to England* can be said to be almost as much about India as it is about England. But because Mr. Chaudhuri is an astonishingly erudite man, with a knowledge of English history, art, and literature which would put most educated Englishmen to shame, he sees England not only in comparison with India, but also in comparison with the idea of England he had formed from his reading. He thus brought a triple-vision to his task of writing about the country; and inevitably the first question we ask is whether or not England managed to stand up to the scrutiny. Was Mr. Chaudhuri disappointed?

Far from it. Indeed Mr. Chaudhuri is the latest sufferer from a disease which has claimed many distinguished and honourable victims in the past: the disease of Anglonophilia, or "Anglomania", as he himself more bluntly describes it. Mr. Chaudhuri's reverence for English literature, and his profound respect for the English past, did not blunt his perceptions: on the contrary, he was able to enjoy a pleasure which was simultaneously one of recognition and discovery. He was relieved and gratified to find that what the English books had told him about England was true; he was thrilled to find that over and above this truth, there was another that only his eyes and ears and a sense of touch could experience. The best things in the book are, I should say, those which describe particular aspects

of the English towns and countryside, English waterways, even the quality of the light in England, and the speculations about English art and literature to which these descriptions lead.

About many of Mr. Chaudhuri's more general social and cultural observations, I am not, I must confess, altogether happy: if I say that his report on English life is rose-coloured, this is not because I believe his admiration and respect to be unwarranted, nor because I think any single one of his observations to be untrue; but because he does not make sufficient mention of the moral and psychological costs to the English of the attitudes and habits which he admires. I would be the first to agree that as things go in this world, the English are managing extraordinarily well; but what they enjoy they do nevertheless pay for in a great variety of ways, which Mr. Chaudhuri does not remark upon. Above all, I would say that Mr. Chaudhuri weakens immensely the force of his own observation by implicitly refusing to admit industrial England into his notion of "Timeless England". If one writes of the rivers of England, the country houses, the cathedrals, the concerts, the university towns, one should surely write too about the physical and social consequences of the country's industrialisation; but only in his essay on London does Mr. Chaudhuri do so directly. (And the gravity and sensibility—not to say the sensibleness—with which he treats the topic in that chapter makes one regret even more keenly that he didn't write about it elsewhere in the book.) Because the truth is that industrial England by now is as much a part of "Timeless England" as anything else in the

[contd. p. 11, col. 1.]

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

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

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

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.



# THE OLD FOLKS AT HOME

AFRICA FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF AMERICAN NEGRO SCHOLARS.

Edited by John A. Davis (Présence Africaine, Paris) 418 pp.

country: it is bone-deep in its history literature, landscape, architecture, in its culture as a whole. And the case is made more interesting by the fact that England is one of the few countries about which this can be said; and that it yet remains, as Mr. Chaudhuri points out in other contexts, so distinctively and unchangeably English.

However, I would not like to conclude on a critical note. Mr. Chaudhuri's book is the work of a man whose loyalty to his own country is unshaken by his love for another; in its freshness, its vivacity, its absence of rancour, and its erudition, his book reflects great credit not only on Mr. Chaudhuri himself but also on India and England alike.

## A Human Level

AN INTRODUCTION TO VIOLENCE. By Michael Cornish (Cassell)

THIS is one of those novels the advent of which has not been heralded by advance fanfares of publicity, more's the pity. While it is perhaps not a very great novel, it is certainly extremely well written.

After being subjected to a spate of mediocre books about Africa, especially during the past few years, this book has a tonic effect. There is no attempt to blackwash the whites or white-wash the blacks, or vice versa. The problems remain at a human level at all times, and if it is from this point of view alone, then we should look forward with keen anticipation to Michael Cornish's second novel.

This is primarily the story of Alistair Deeds who comes to join a battalion in Kenya at the height of Mau Mau activity. His sheltered life in England did not prepare him for a life of hard drinking, outward bravado and occasional killing that serves as release-mechanism for the fear of boredom of endless patrols under conditions of tremendous personal hardship. It is only death in its most appalling form that enables Deeds to come to terms with his conscience, the country and its people.

But this is not the story of Alistair Deeds only. This is as much the story of Moxon who hides his fear by using the reputation of being tough to chase the women when he has a weekend free in Nairobi. It is the story of Fielding, who, in spite of his love for Kenya, returns to England and the wife for whom he has no love, because he feels obliged to do so, and of Sergeant Ngoma, the spirit of Africa, bent but not broken. It is here, in the delineation of his characters, that Cornish shows us not only his facile pen but also the sharp insight he has into human motives and weaknesses. All the varied characters that are helping to shape the new Africa are re-presented here, drawn with sympathy. In spite of this, Cornish is at all times so far removed, so dispassionate, that the impact of the book is all the more real. Even when the reader will disagree with the sentiments of some of the characters this disagreement will be tempered with a sneaking respect for the point of view.

KENNETH PARKER

AFRICA has always been here, and now suddenly everyone is looking for it. The holes in the jigsaw that seemed as if they could never be filled by the impossible pieces have gone and yet the meaning of the picture is more secret than the puzzle ever was. What we want to know, in fact, is what Africa is like. Jigsaw puzzling with politics, economics and geography is valuable, but the greater puzzle is still to be attempted.

There are clues in *Africa Seen by American Negroes*, which I read with delight until I found that my pleasure was in learning things the book did not intend to teach. It is like one of those crinkled Victorian pictures that, turned this way and that, show a castle, a spaniel and a vase of flowers. I saw first what I was unconsciously looking for, the American negro. His views of Africa one looks for the second time. The third view is of Africa itself, and though as secret as ever, there are clues that will be welcome when more comes to light.

The book is published by, or is an issue of, *Présence Africaine*. Some of its contributors were at the historic First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists held in Paris in 1956, when an American counterpart to the Society for African Culture was founded. A year later, M. Alioune Diop asked the new society to provide two issues of *Présence Africaine*: on the American Negro's views of Africa and of his problems in America. This, the first part of the task, is well performed.

An executive director of AMSAC, Dr. John A. Davis, of the City College of New York, introduces the work he has edited with a summary of the contributions, one of which he challenges at some length. Being by Professor E. Franklin Frazier, its low assessment of the "Potential American Negro Contribution to African Social Development" will not surprise those who have read his *Black Bourgeoisie*. It should be mentioned at this point since the degree of truth in it affects the value of the whole book. Frazier finds that economically and politically his people and not the Africans are the poor relations, and they are poorest of all in what Africa most needs. American negroes "living in a world of make-believe" have "nothing to contribute to the intellectual development of Africa". Frazier's chill pessimism is contradicted by the ideas in the book, which usually transcend the "provincial and spurious values of the new negro middle class" that he bewails. His words, nevertheless, are a reminder that these writers probably reflect the American negro view of Africa about as faithfully as Van der Post does the Afrikaner one or Paton the British South African.

Like so much that *Présence Africaine* has published, *Africa Seen by American Negroes* is an incredibly rich book. It is so filled with the most varied and profound learning about Africa, that no idea of its scope can be conveyed without producing the somewhat breathless inventory of

Other contributors try to help the ignorant to appreciate African art and sculpture by stating the new aesthetic principles to be accepted. This is hard work, and superb refreshment follows it in Miss Pearl Primus's happy, moving essay on African dance. In the dance is the African individuality



Mlle. Alioune Diop with Picasso's poster for the First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, Paris, 1956.

the contents which now follows. If I must apologise for this, I must also point out that there may be a value in my simply recording what there is to be found in this book for those searching for Africa from so many directions.

The first part of the book deals with African societies, mostly in the negro heartlands of West Africa. An able sociologist, Dr. St. Clair Drake defines "pragmatic pluralism", an evaluative scheme for the elites of backward areas, but a creative pluralism remote from any based on ethnic differences. Nationalism and the Nigerian elite are scrutinized and, with brilliance, indigenous African religions are examined. Professor Hansberry destroys the myth of the "fetish" and establishes an African religion and cosmology that are part of an African world-outlook originating here and inspiring an African way of life.

Survivals of African art, language and traditions in America are shown by Professor Lorenzo D. Turner as proofs of the cultural achievements of early African societies. These proofs are interesting but unnecessary. One can imagine how MM. Senghor and Césaire would deplore this search in Africa for the ingredients of a people's culture as mixed in the European recipe. *Négritude*, or the black African genius, is essentially different from the European, not richer or poorer. Some of the writing in this book shows the strain of the irrelevant comparison with Europe. The answer to the question, "Why have Africans never produced a Shakespeare?" is, as Mr. Thomas Hodgkin reported it of M. Senghor, "Why should they?" The fruits of Africa are very different.

The fruits of *négritude* give value to the second part of the book—on art, dance and literature. Professor Porter of the art faculty at Howard University shows how "the world is beginning to look to Africa for new signs of cultural vitality".

and Africa's relation to the dance is a factor in that corruptible term, the African personality. One is refreshed by Miss Primus also because she does not have to defend the dance.

The forty pages on African poetry and imaginative prose writing give clear directions to the student of this new terrain. Samuel W. Allen writes about our poetry in terms of the "unfolding design of Africa".

French writing in West Africa and the Caribbean is the richest and it in turn owes a great debt to René Maran, the author of *Batonala*, as Dr. Mercer Cook reminds us. Senghor said of Maran that he "freed writers from fear of their *négritude*".

Our writers, whether in the languages of Europe or of Africa, whether of the continent or of slave descent outside it, are men of destiny in the new Africa.

Du Bois's words in 1903, often quoted (three times in this book) and increasing in their relevance, have a particular meaning for literature: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."

The last part takes up almost half of the book. Its subjects are summarized in the title "American negro relations with Africa": NAACP interest, the work of negro universities, US investment and trade, public health, Liberia, African Studies programmes, American scholarly interest and the writings of American negroes about Africa (listed).

Many negro attitudes are shown, like the apologetic ("the United States is walking a tight-rope in Africa") and the self-justifying. Testimony is given of *The Crisis's* influence, and the NAACP's work for African support among generations of negroes whose only wish was to forget Africa. The "magic distilled" by Lincoln University for Drs. Azikwe and Nkrumah is

gloried in (*pace* Frazier) by Dr. Bond, president of AMSAC, ex-President of Lincoln and a writer of good prose. There is deep pride in the scholarly study of Africa, which, "at the university level antedates the popularity and feasibility of so-called area programmes". There is equal pride in the work of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and in the work for Africa of *The Journal of Negro History*. It is in this part of the book that Africa is hardest to find, but where the calibre of American men of Africa can be judged and judged highly.

Without "attitudes", there is also the realism of the economist who shows that US economic relations with Africa are the reverse of what they should be, for "in the long run the wisest economic policy in Africa is that which helps the African people". To arrest the tragic waste of human life in West Africa, a health expert suggests a five-point plan of education and prevention that is cheaper and better than "elaborate programmes of facility building". Finally, the list of African books by American negroes is a treasure of Africanist bibliography.

Perhaps you can see the dim lines of the first two pictures the book contains. The third—Africa—is as hidden as ever. Is this the book's fault? It is nearly all about West Africa; and, except for Miss Primus and Dr. Bond, it is too cerebral. Furthermore, it avoids the real clash that caused it to be written, which is between faith in Western culture and in the old African metaphysic, and between the effects of a struggle for equality and of a struggle for independence. One must say as well that of all the spiritual wounds inflicted by the lighter races on the darker, the longest to heal must be those inflicted on the slaves and their descendants. This may arouse an eagerness, even plainiveness, about Africa, which is shared by some white Africanophiles here and in Europe. Its distortions can be overlooked in the general good of this valuable book. But it hides Africa from us as thoroughly as other European attitudes, ranging from aloof detachment to contempt, can do.

If the book is limited regionally, this teaches a lesson about black African life and personality, which is that it is not of East, West, Central or South. South Africa is seldom mentioned (and, of its rulers, always with detestation), yet, with differences, the book is about South Africa too. So, while Africa is hidden, this outline of its consistency can be seen.

Some of us, especially intellectuals in the old French territories, are aware of the concept of *négritude* that is devoid of "and proud of it" undertones. These American writers on literature and religion have the feeling of it too. Perhaps the personality of the continent and its people is not known to all the others in the book, yet its presence is there in much that they have written about.

RANDOLPH VIGNE



# CORRESPONDENCE

## Value of Contact

SIR.—It is generous of you to ask your readers: "What do you think of Contact?" But to cut out the coupon would mean spoiling the very important article on the other side, which I am reluctant to do.

I pass my copies on to an African friend in Basutoland, who passes them on to his friends.

This is my answer to your question. This is what I think of Contact. The articles may vary in value, but each in its way is too important not to be read in full.

Besides my copies I pass on those from other readers, and the letters I receive from the Africans, who cannot afford the subscription, are ample proof of the value of our liberal paper.

SUZANNE STEPHEN  
Discovery, Transvaal

## At Work Camp

SIR.—Camping and work are alike, anathema to me; the only manual labour I voluntarily undertake is the beating up of stray political poltroons.

However I was bullied into attending a work camp, and with the additional persuasion of the Contact article (9th January) I capitulated; the result was a pleasant surprise. The unselfconscious non-racial nature of the camp's make-up combined with the exhilarating camaraderie of the campers and Swaziland's balmy weather to make a memorable few days.

I urge anyone with time to spare in February to try the Camp in Basutoland; if the experience is unsavoury there is always the remedy resorted to by the three glamour-girls who contracted out after one night in protest against our primitive camping equipment.

Lest my parents discover my capacity for work and exact agonising reprisals I am forced to sign myself (albeit proudly)

PINK AFRICAN  
(Temporarily sunburnt a rather mottled brown)  
Durban

## Support for Boycott

SIR.—There has been a lot of criticism recently of boycotts in general, and of the British Labour Party's proposed boycott in particular.

The suggestion that such a boycott will seriously harm the people whom it aims to assist is debatable, but even supposing this suggestion to be true, it should be understood that the alternatives which Africans face are: to boycott, with the possible attendant hardships, in order to bring about a rapid improvement of conditions; or to struggle on indefinitely as at present hoping for that unlikely miracle—a massive change of heart amongst the Whites.

It is undisputable that non-Whites in our country are subject to laws and conditions which transgress basic human rights. The all-White electorate is satisfied with such a state of affairs, so that Africans can expect no voluntary assistance from it in their struggle, and White acquiescence to any

CONTACT

change will only come about under pressure. The only means which Africans have of exerting such pressure is by means of boycotts or strikes. The former are at the moment legal, the latter not.

A glance at the history of racial legislation since Union makes it clear that patience, restraint and moderation on the part of the African, far from having the deserved effect of a progressive removal of discriminatory laws, has in fact had precisely the opposite. Restrictive laws have steadily increased until to-day non-Whites have fewer basic human rights than at any time since Van Riebeeck landed.

To talk vaguely therefore of leaving matters in the hands of "those working for a just and practical solution"—as the Pretoria News so tritely puts it—is not enough. The lot of the African in his own country is such that nothing but a rapid and substantial improvement in conditions can avoid the serious trouble between White and Black. The boycott, whatever its real or imagined drawbacks, is a means of obtaining such an improvement.

It is for those who agree that a rapid change in racial laws is desirable, but who are critical of boycotts, to come forward with a realistic alternative. If they are unable to do so they should withdraw their opposition.

(Mrs.) A. HAIN  
Pretoria

## Bantu Authorities

SIR.—In the Transkei there is misconduct on the part of certain chiefs.

By writing to you I am trying to expose them and their ill-treatment of the African people.

We must get together and speak out to the people and show them how to gain their freedom.

Bantu Authorities is a fraud which brings poverty rather than prosperity through the system of levies.

Since I arrived here, after having been banished during the bus boycott, I have seen many bad things being done.

Thank you.  
ZWELIMILE NTLOKONDALA  
(Chief)  
P.O. Idutywa

## Reader in Paraguay

SIR.—It was a wonderful experience to pick up a copy of your periodical of the 4th April, 1959. Here in the middle of Paraguay it is quite difficult to get good or reliable news of South Africa.

Questions of world importance, race relations and the true brotherhood of mankind interest us very much. Here in the backwoods of Paraguay our 700 people have a very free existence. We seem far away from the centres of world tension and yet we strive to bear the lot of the peoples of other lands in our thoughts and hearts.

We are a colony of many nationalities, chiefly English, German, Dutch, American and Paraguayans, who seek to live together after the spirit and

example of the first Christians in Jerusalem. We live and work and share together.

Because of our common interest in matters of world-wide import, I wish to know whether you could let us have your paper gratis—or if that is not possible perhaps you could send us some back numbers—for us their information would remain contemporary for quite a while.

Believe me, we would be very glad for anything you could let us have.

From what I have read in this one number I can see that we would benefit greatly from the news you supply.

I am enclosing a greetings card from the hospital we run here to wish you the best for 1960.

ROBERT HEADLAND  
Society of Brothers  
Primavera, Alto Paraguay  
We are pleased to put you on our free mailing list.  
—Editor.

## Tragic Fact

SIR.—The destruction of 378,000 gallons of milk while children are dying of starvation is a tragic fact; not a "slick point" as the Editor of Contact so cynically implies.

The Editor asks me how I account for the fact that the country enjoying the highest standard of living in Asia is capitalist Japan. Well, it appears that the Koreans taken to Japan before the war are not as impressed with "capitalist Japan's" high standard of living as Contact's Editor is, as they have elected to be repatriated to Northern Korea, in preference to American dominated South Korea. In any case, I seriously doubt if Japan does enjoy the highest standard of living in Asia. (Japan's unemployed number 600,000 remember, and the number is growing.) I would say that the Israelis, Uzbeks and Kazakhs live better than the average Japanese. The rest of Asia's poverty is due largely to the fact that it has been systematically looted by the nations that shout the loudest about the advantages of "free, private enterprise".

America enjoys a high standard of living because of the economic stranglehold it has, and still does, exert over large parts of the world. In fact, American economic penetration and "aid" is synonymous with low living standards.

Admittedly, American farmers "deliver the goods", probably quicker than Russian farmers. The problem of the American farmers is to dispose of the goods, once delivered, for like our local farmers they are faced with the problem of surplus food.

And now that I have answered the Editor's questions to the best of my ability, I would like him to explain why the American scientists have failed to deliver the goods in the way the Russian scientists do.

MELVILLE FLETCHER  
Durban

## P.M.'s SONG IN THE BATH

Eeny meeny miney Louw  
Catch a Bantoe by the toe;  
If he hollers

Promise that Umtata will  
one day be as big as  
Johannesburg.

But don't let him go.  
Eeny meeny miney Louw.

Eeny MEANY miney Mac  
Promise me you won't come  
back

Even if I did invite you  
I didn't ask for a speech  
like that which was most  
un-South African (I really  
must apologise to poor  
Eric)

and its utter perfidy  
Took me quite aback.  
Eeny MEANY miney mis-  
understanding Mac.

Eeny meeny miney Louw  
Back to U.N.O. you must go;  
When it hollers

Tell them, among other  
things, that even Mac is  
just a spiteful irrespons-  
ible communistic liberalistic  
sickly sentimentalistic  
JINGO.

—"MKHONTO"

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