

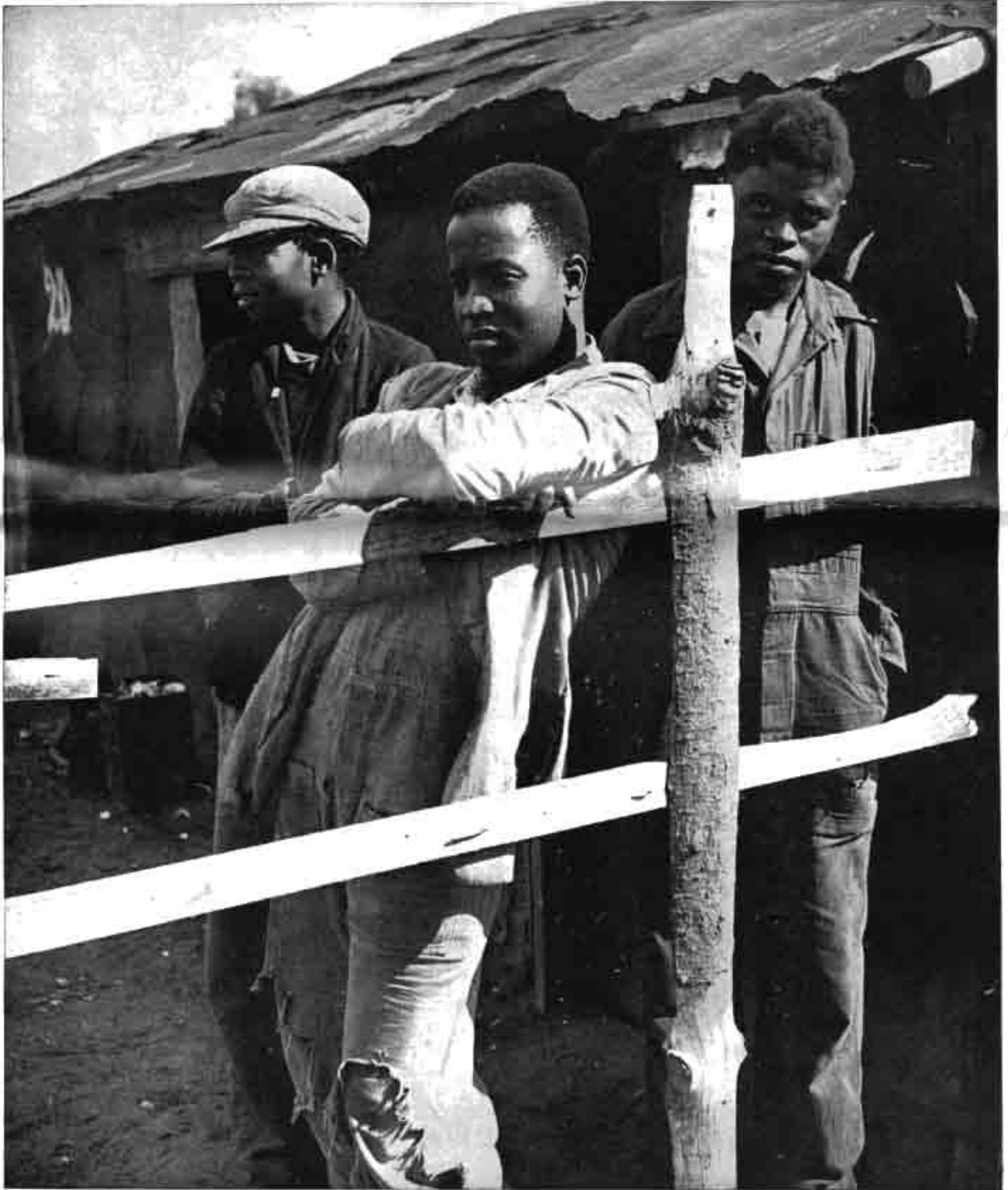
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THE ELECTION TEST: PAGE 3

C A F D A

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THE NEXT TEN YEARS IN SOUTH AFRICA

U.P. End: Regrouping: Liberal Rise

THE 1958 general election is over. What lies ahead? CONTACT asked three experienced political correspondents to give their forecast of what the next ten years might hold in store for South Africa. At the time of going to Press the election results were not yet known but CONTACT and all three guest political writers felt that it was safe to presume that the Nationalists would be returned to power.

Here are the forecasts — all are purely personal expressions of opinion — of Senator Jan Grobler, political correspondent of the Nationalist daily, *Die Transvaler*, Gert Coetsee, political correspondent of the weekly Nationalist-supporting paper, *Dagbreek*, and Stanley Uys, political correspondent of the *Sunday Times*:

Clash To Follow Labour Victory

BY JAN GROBLER

IT may seem strange for me to start my forecast by stating that a Labour Party Government will be in power in Great Britain after the next British general election but I do so because I think developments in South Africa will to a very great extent be influenced by the racial and colonial policies of the Government in power in Britain.

If the Labour Party should assume power its racial policy would be diametrically opposed to the policy of the National Government in South Africa and serious clashes are unavoidable. No South African Government, not even a United Party Government, would be able to subscribe to the racial policies of a British Labour administration.

A Crisis

I even contend that a very serious crisis would develop between a British Labour Government and the European population in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and such a clash might have widespread repercussions not only affecting the political and constitutional set-up in the Union but even in countries north of the Federation like Belgian Congo, Tanganyika, Kenya and the two Portuguese territories.

To come nearer home, I expect the first serious trouble between the next National Government and a Labour-controlled set-up in Britain in connection with the British Protectorates. I feel con-

vinced that if a Labour administration should endeavour to enforce its multi-racial policies (political, economical, and social) in the Protectorates the Strijdom administration is bound to oppose it.

Strijdom will never subscribe to a policy of total integration in a territory within the boundaries of South Africa like Basutoland.

A clash between the two Governments about the Protectorates might prove a very important development as far as the constitutional set-up in South Africa is concerned. I have always maintained that the republican issue will be decided more by developments overseas, especially in Britain, than in South Africa.

If a South African Government should in terms of the Act of Union decide to pass a resolution in the Union Parliament requesting Her Majesty to transfer the Protectorates to South Africa and Her Majesty should be so unwise as not to agree to such a resolution it is more than probable that South Africa will secede from the Crown and even from the Commonwealth.

It is the declared policy of the National Government not to form a republic unless a substantial majority of the European populations supports such a move.

It would therefore be necessary to gain the support of a considerable number of English-speaking South Africans. Would this be possible? I believe it would. Especially as after the next general election, English-speaking South Africans will realise more and more that they have been led by the nose by the English Press in believing that their legitimate rights will be suppressed.

Apartheid Supported

The racial policies of a Labour Government in Britain might also have far-reaching effects on the political orientation of English-speaking South Africans. In spite of what United Party propagandists proclaim, 75 per cent. of the English-speaking South Africans support the principle of apartheid and if a Labour Government should endeavour to introduce its racial policies in the Protectorates and the Federation it is bound to have far-reaching repercussions in South Africa.

I have sufficient faith in the judgment of English-speaking South Africans to believe that apart from a number of colour-blind liberals they will never subscribe to a policy that would sound the death knell of white civilization in South Africa.

The American colonists did not fight for their existence as a European community. They seceded from the British Empire on far less provocation than the racial policy of a Labour Government would cause in South Africa.

New Nat. Extremes Likely

BY STANLEY UYS

THE political situation in South Africa is going to worsen: that is fact, not speculation.

The Nationalists are in power with a majority so comfortable that nothing short of a major upheaval will dislodge them.

They must be expected to go to new extremes of arrogance and oppression.

Not content with defeating the United Party resoundingly at the polls they will now try to destroy

it. Nationalism is like that. That it should want to defeat its opponents is understandable; but it is not willing to concede to them even the democratic right to exist.

The future as envisaged by the Nationalists is that of a powerful Afrikaner Government backed by the vast majority of whites and pursuing a policy of ruthless control over the non-whites.

Active opponents of apartheid would be eliminated and the non-white mass reduced to a docile herd of labourers.

The only white opposition in this scheme of things will be a small isolated group of "Liberalists"—a word specially coined by the Nationalists because of the sling in its tail. They will be hounded by the politicians and persecuted by the Special Branch.

Clearly then, the next move by the Nationalists is an all-out attack on the United Party for its "un-South Africanism"—that is its "liberalism."



Dr. Verwoerd, key figure in the vital post of Minister of Native Affairs during the past ten years, will play an even more important part in the crucial years that lie ahead.

Attempts will be made to work up a split between the right wing of the United Party and the left wing (Who is it?). All whites will be exhorted to throw in their support behind the Nationalist Government to save white civilization.

Already wayward Afrikaners are being summoned back to the Nationalist laager. Now a call can be expected to English-speaking South Africans to throw in their hand too. The United Party will be hard pressed to maintain the interest and unity of its supporters. The average English-speaking business man will persuade himself that the wisest course is to stick to his business and keep out of politics. Defeatism will be in the air.

Simple Choice

The United Party in Parliament will have the choice of two courses: of avoiding emotional issues (like the flag and anthem and possibly even the republic) and racial issues (like apartheid) and sticking to bread and butter issues in the hope that a *deus ex machina* in the shape of a recession will unseat the Nationalists; or of getting back to first principles and fighting the Nationalists resolutely on apartheid in the belief that even if this is a long range programme at least it is guaranteed to produce results.

There will be a section of the United Party that will urge the party to pursue the former course. The United Party's role then would be purely negative: It would not be to attack but to hover around until the recession arrived.

That would be fine—if it worked. But that takes politics clear into the realms of chance because economic trends, as other politicians have discovered, have a habit of deviating from prescribed patterns.

In any event, no political party could hold itself together without some spiritual or emotional binding force. If the United Party confined itself to bread and butter issues what would its binding force be? Margarine?

(Continued on page 4)

COVER PICTURE

LOOMING over Wednesday's election was the threat of a national stay-at-home demonstration by South Africa's non-whites, in protest against what has been done to them in the past ten years.

Having no part in the election of the country's Government, no power to change the law, they saw no other way to bring home the urgency of their situation to the voters who do have that power.

At the time of going to Press it was not certain what the outcome of the stay-at-home attempt would be. But whether it has succeeded, fizzled out, or been fanned into violence by non-white impatience or authority's repression, it is in this situation that the real test of this election lies.

The effect of this election on South Africa's future lies not in whether it puts one group of whites in ascendancy over another group of whites.

What really matters is what this election means to non-whites—and in particular to Africans such as the three young men whose mood has been so vividly captured in CONTACT'S cover picture.

Will the 1958 general election produce a Government which will guide the eager, questing vitality of the young man in the cap away from the lure of irresponsible tsotsism, counter the incipient cynicism on the face of the young man in ragged overalls, preserve the faith in the sensitive face of the young man on the right?

Or is ever more soul-crippling frustration to be their fate?

That is the real test of this election?

Picture: Odes Illustrations.

NEXT 10 YEARS

(Continued from page 3)

The future existence of the United Party, in my opinion, depends on whether it recognizes that it is confronted with a situation that demands a return to fundamental principles. It must recognize that the Nationalist Party is not going to be defeated by manoeuvres or cunning thinking. If there are any members of the United Party who think that all the party has to do is to remain intact until Nationalism is defeated by a recession or defeats itself by internal combustion then I am prepared to wager them here and now that when the day of the Nationalist Party's defeat comes the United Party will no longer be in existence. It will have shattered long before into a dozen fragments.

In the event of the United Party's disintegration there would be a revival of activity in other sectors of the opposition. The Liberal Party no doubt would gain new recruits. A number of small opposition groups might arise. Some would be right wing groups, seeking a "deal" with "moderate" Nationalists, although their role would not be an important one because they would take no part in the fight against Nationalism.

Politics in South Africa would then crystallise into a struggle between the Nationalists and those political groups who were prepared to challenge them over apartheid.

As for the non-whites themselves, their struggle will continue regardless of temporary setbacks (because the state machine is a formidable instrument) and regardless of the support they received from the whites.

If white opposition to apartheid dwindles and becomes of no importance then the transition in our society from denial of non-white rights to recognition of non-white rights could indeed be a bloody one. But if there are a sufficient number of whites resolutely opposed to apartheid and using all their courage and skill to restore South Africa to democratic paths then the transition could be peaceful.

I am sufficiently an optimist to believe that the latter course is possible.

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Jan de Klerk, "kingmaker" who helped put Mr. Strijdom into the premiership, is destined to play a major role in the years ahead—and it is being predicted that before the ten years are out the "kingmaker" may even become "king".

U.P. 'Moving to the Left'

BY GERT COETSEE

THE colour problem will probably remain the dominant question in the coming decade.

There are indications that political attitudes will assume a clearer pattern in future than at present.

At the moment both the Nationalist Party and the United Party are manoeuvring within one circle which one could call "separation".

The United Party is moving strongly to the left—towards total integration; the National Party is moving sharply to the right—towards an ultimate ideal of total separation.

The question to my mind is which of these two trends will predominate.

The reaction of the voters to the United Party's colour policy, particularly with regard to common roll franchise for Coloured people and the extension of political rights to Natives in white areas, shows clearly which way the wind is blowing.

Liberalism Growing

No-one can deny that there is a rising liberal tendency, but I doubt whether it will make much impression on the broad mass of the people.

Developments in Africa, where a white minority is already beginning sharply to resist a too-swift granting of political rights to undeveloped Natives will provide an important lesson for South Africa.

If a Labour Party Government comes to power in Britain and accelerates the pace in this direction, whites in Southern Africa

will range themselves even more behind the separation movement.

In the event of such a development there must come within the United Party (I am not talking of the members of Parliament) a regrouping. This is because of the two irreconcilable elements that the party houses: those who already feel as the Government does and those who stand much closer to the Liberal Party.

Re-orientation

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that there might be a re-orientation within the National Party over apartheid.

But if this did happen it could take place within the framework of the party because it would not entail any difference in principle but merely a dispute over degree.

I cannot, however, escape the thought that in the next 10 years the separation idea will make great progress in South Africa and that you will have opposed to it a militant liberalism.

While we are on the subject of the United Party and possible future affiliations: unless the United Party succeeds in sharing once more in the development of South African nationalism and ceases to act as a brake on this process, only outside forces, such as economic circumstances, can dethrone the Nationalist Government.

It is patent that the United Party under Sir De Villiers Graaff would like to follow this course. That is why the U.P. leader has taken his stand on the Nationalist standpoint of "South Africa First".

U.P. Changing

But unless in the next five years his party can live down its post-war past I can see little prospect of the voters supporting him.

I doubt whether we will have the United Party in its present composition with us for long.

Two major tasks await the National Party in the next 10 years: the consolidation of apartheid, the foundations of which have now been laid, and the establishment of a republic.

Taking into account the developments of the past five years, it is not impossible that South Africa will become a republic within the next five.

Mr. Strijdom is setting the pace much more swiftly than his predecessors—but with discretion. The flag and anthem episode emphasizes it.

And the change that has taken place among English-speaking South Africans in the past 10 years is evident in my view from the fact that "one flag and anthem" was accepted without the rebellion that some people prophesied.

This process will be accelerated if the Labour Party takes over in Britain. It will be just enough to drive the supporters of apartheid and an "own South African way of life" out of their hiding places in the United Party into open support for the National Government's policy.

SERVICE

A Pioneer Library for Non-Whites

AT 3.30 p.m. on March 31, Miss M. Lee consulted her watch, then walked apprehensively to the door. Her worry was groundless. Outside was a queue of Coloureds, Indians and Africans.

Miss Lee and volunteer assistants, sighing with relief, gratefully picked up their piles of application forms.

After three years' devoted work, the inauguration of Pietermaritzburg's central, modern, pioneer library for non-Europeans had proved a success.

The leader page of the conservative *Natal Witness* benevolently listed creditable facts and figures.

The Longmarket Street premises had been donated at an estimated sacrifice of £8,000 by Mr. Lambert Wilson. Local firms had undertaken renovations and improvements at slashed costs. The Corporation had guaranteed an annual subsidy.

Books had been presented: by Shuter and Shooter; by the British Council (London); by the American Legation in Durban.

Money had poured in (£100 from the Durban Turf Club, £200 from the Woodlands Indian High School, donations of up to £50 from individual Europeans.)

To avoid offending possibly touchy non-Europeans, an inadequate total of 2,200 books in new condition were selected for the shelves.

Five days after opening, Miss E. Judd, an untiring and unpaid enthusiast, also secretary to Pietermaritzburg's European library (itself in difficulties with stocks twice recently damaged by white ants) commented happily that enrolments already totalled 300.

"While more books are needed, we expect this to increase to 1,000 in another week."

Broadsheet to Explain to Africans

A FORTNIGHTLY or monthly broadsheet is being contemplated by a group of Liberal Party people in East London.

Principal aim will be to give information to the city's African residents about matters affecting them.

"News reports of City Council meetings and the like which appear in the local Press are written for European readers, from a European's viewpoint," said Mr. B. P. Curran, M.P.C., chief exponent of the idea. "Most Africans need interpretation of the news in order to understand it. That is what we have in mind."

"The Africans have a decisive role to play in the future of South Africa. Whether they play their part responsibly and constructively depends on how knowledgeable they are. This paper, if it materializes, will be an attempt to meet that need."

The kind of knowledge needed: A local African explained to friends that a Cabinet Minister could not be removed from office unless he was first defeated in his constituency in a general election. That, says Mr. Curran, is the kind of ignorance that can be dangerous.

DO-IT-YOURSELF PASSES

QUEUES have gone and next month the first registration office will go in Durban's new drive for speed and simplicity in African administration.

Until recently the City's system for the control of labour was as traditionally cumbersome—and irritating—as any.

Would-be employees reported in person for their initial registration. Either they or their employers returned each month to pay the monthly fee.

Streamlined, the system works on a pay-in-advance, do-it-yourself basis.

Employers buy a book of vouchers complete with postcards which they mail each month to confirm that the service contract is up to date.

The postal system also covers permits to seek work, and initial registrations.

The employer enters particulars of the contract of service in the reference book himself.

A Durban newspaper printed a satisfied official's comment: "The new method cut out the long queues and wastage of time associated with the old system."

TRENDS

POSSIBLE coming events in the African labour position in the Union, as seen by Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, chief information officer of the Department of Native Affairs: "In some areas . . . domestic labour would become a complete luxury, and in the interests of the country as a whole, families might have to sacrifice to some degree their semi-feudal way of life, and be prepared to do more of the menial tasks in their homes themselves."

MR. F. C. ERASMUS, (Minister of Defence) announcing that it is one of the immediate objectives of the Nationalists to give the vote to South Africa's 150,000 youths between the ages of 18 and 21, said "Two-thirds of them are Nationalists."

MR. C. R. SWART (Minister of Justice) has said that it is extremely likely that South Africa will get a new flag if and when a republic which will be appropriate to a comes. The flag will be one republic.

IN 1957, the number of tourists to visit South Africa exceeded 150,000 for the first time.

A FOM-age first aid classes began in Cape Town on March 6.

ALTHOUGH the South African Government announced three months ago that it would be prepared to accept 1,000 Dutch refugees from Indonesia as immigrants, only one application has so far been received from among the displaced Hollanders who were expelled from Indonesia by the Indonesian Government.

Group Areas

OFFERED LESS THAN BOND HE PAID

DECKED out for the occasion in their Sunday clothes, scores of people jam-packed a Government board-room in Johannesburg last week to dispute the cash value of their now vanishing symbol of security—their homes.

The Group Areas Act has lumbered into action in Albertsville on the outskirts of Johannesburg.

Before a committee of valuers consisting of attorney Dawid Johannes Malan, and sworn appraiser Charles M. Zeff, the Coloured people of this suburb, which lies athwart Verwoerd's "white belt," presented professionally-attested evidence to prove that the official valuations for expropriation of their properties are "unrealistic, unjust and not properly arrived at".

The peculiarity of this Administrator-appointed committee is its double headed role of price-fixer and claims assessor. In 1957 Dawid Johannes Malan and Charles Zeff fixed the prices for expropriation in Albertsville. In April, 1958, they sit in judgment on their own valuation.

Angry Doctor

Before them, a small peppery-mannered man in a black pin-stripe suit steps up beside his attorney to present his case. A successful doctor of social standing in the community, he lives in the best area of Albertsville. Building plans, sketches and figures are there to bear out his claim for £6,500 for his tiled roof eight-roomed house with its blue bathroom, American kitchen, two lavatories, 16 x 20 feet dining room and "gardner-maintained" garden.

There are angry questions, documented answers, and detailed

CONTACT SPECIAL REPORT

notes to disprove the valuator's estimate of £3,800.

A well-spoken secretary of companies succeeds the doctor. His six-roomed house has been valued by a quantity surveyor at £4,750. The valuator's estimate: £2,075.

Bond Better

A cutter in clothing factory with a service record of 31 years with one firm attests to the value of his house £4,435. The valuator offer £1,600.

The attorney of another submits as part of his evidence in support of his client's counter-claim of £3,050 that five years ago the National Housing commission granted him a £1,900 bond on the same house. The valuator have offered £1,595.

A quantity surveyor holds a mandate for a hundred members of the Albertsville Ratepayers' Association. His professional paraphernalia spreads over the surface of the whole table. Hours of work have gone into his detailed efforts.

So the evidence rolls on through the day.

Venetian blinds generate a burst of acrimony.

"Is the claim relevant?" demands Mr. Malan. An attorney argues, "yes". An advocate adds his opinion: "Venetian blinds are cut to fit specific windows. In theory they are movable, in practice, not."

And Then?

Lanoleum, carpets, furniture, glass doors, terrazzo, coloured baths are listed in the claims.

But even after the price adjustments have been made, what then? Where will these displaced persons of Albertsville go with their compensation monies and their families?

There are two Coloured townships in Johannesburg: Coronationville and Newclare. Coronationville has not a single free stand left for building, nor an empty house for hire.

Newclare, by all standards, is one of Johannesburg's most crowded slum areas, lawless and inhuman.

Two stretches of bare veld have been suggested for the future: New Monteleo and Bosmot.

These townships have not been laid out; they are mere names on a map.

When is this move to be made? No one knows. The official notices sent them by the Group Areas Committee state only the price the valuator have arbitrarily fixed for their properties.

Human Cost

That there are people living in Albertsville inside the brick walls, the American kitchens and behind the glass doors seems outside officialdom's concern. In human terms the cost of this expropriation is incalculable: insecurity, disruption of family values, and the destruction of human relationships, cannot be paid for in money.

"When my husband and I discuss this Albertsville business he feels like attacking me and I feel like attacking him. We don't know what to do." In these simple terms one of the women of Albertsville has stated the case.

But the one fact that clearly obtrudes itself from amid all the expert evidence before the valuator's committee is that one of the major by-products of South Africa's apartheid mentality is that the non-white peoples, their lives and their possessions, are now become mere technical details, coloured pinheads on an official map.

'Send The Boy To Ghana'

WRAPPED in a steaming heat-wave, Coloured parents of children at Pietermaritzburg's Alston School lazily noted the next item on the prize-giving agenda: a speech by Professor A. Keppel-Jones of the University of Natal.

Two minutes later, the Professor (a history expert) had jerked them to attention with a startling slogan: "Send the boys to Ghana."

Elaborating his theme, the Professor came up with some attractive sales-talk.

Ghana, "very short" of highly trained manpower, was already employing lots of Coloured South Africans. "More men of the same calibre are still being sought."

"What is more, the Government of Ghana are prepared to pay . . . Some Coloureds . . . are receiving starting salaries of £800 a year."

He backed his plea for higher education with an assurance to fathers of the younger teenagers: "Nigeria and Uganda will also be seeking independence in the near future."

Goodwill Or Faint Heart?

NAVAL brows have been raised and political brows knitted for the better part of a fortnight in East London over a knotty problem: the name of a new minesweeper for the South African Navy.

The Navy informed the City Council that the new ship would be named Oos Londen and asked permission to use all or a part of the city's coat of arms in the crest of the vessel.

Local reaction was mixed. Some people thought that Oos Londen was utterly inappropriate as a name, firstly because the favoured official place name is East London and secondly because East London is an English-speaking centre.

Others, however, saw nothing wrong with the proposal and felt that the city's acceptance of the Afrikaans version would be a fine gesture of goodwill.

Council View

On a count of letters appearing in the local Press on the subject, the goodwill view seemed to be preponderant.

The City Council passed a resolution welcoming the Navy's proposal but suggesting that the name should be SAS East London.

Asked whether he would support this request, Rear-Admiral H. H. Biermann, O.B.E., Chief of Naval Staff—in East London to open the agricultural show there—said: "I will discuss it with the City Council."

At the show he announced that "Oos Londen" had been chosen to avoid confusion with other ships having "London" in their names.

Disgusted by the Council's mild stand on the issue, the *Daily Dispatch* commented: "We wonder when and how this town ever got the nickname 'Fighting port.' 'Surrender port' would be more appropriate."

NEW METAL RESEARCH

RESEARCH into the internal structure of metals and alloys is to be undertaken with new equipment by the Physics Department of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The work will include examination of the structure of alloys which have so far been relatively undeveloped.

A University statement says: "The mineral wealth of the Federation includes some rare elements from which new alloys may be prepared and the structural properties of such alloys may lead to information of both theoretical and practical importance."

CONTACT SMALLS

GO
ALL OVER

AFRICA

AT A PENNY A WORD

Le Minimum - Bikini - Bietjie-nie - Ban

THE bombs that blasted the Bikini atoll should have brought a radical change in our attitude to power politics. They have, we are assured, brought some titillating little changes in our neuroses patterns.

They also, and more than incidentally, gave a name to a bathing costume, which symbolizes, with succinct brevity, changes in our social patterns almost as significant as the effects of "The Bomb".

The bikini made its first, perhaps slightly blushing entry into the world of rocks and sea and sunlight in France, where it was first known as "le minimum".

The reaction was immediate and intense. Pictures flew by radio here and there, jocose captions poured in increasing whimsy from the typewriters of those whose unfortunate job it is to write such things, flappers of the twenties thought the jazz age would have to look to its girdles.

The usual reaction was—"France, Oh well—if it can't happen here."

Liberation

As Sinclair Lewis once pointed out, though, things do have a disconcerting tendency of happening "here". The liberatory movement spread.

Many a woman in a far-off land, thinking with a shudder of the grim stories her ex-flapper mother had told her of the corsets and cosses of Victoria, remembering those sticky, black things that made her look like a seal, reflecting with distaste on bloomers, saw the triumphant femininity of those French starlets and Riviera lizards as a beacon on the long road of the emancipation of women.

Emily Bloomer, after all, had been laughed at, but the road from bloomer to bikini had been strewn with trophies—mostly in the form of diminutions in the long-held rights of masculinity over property, the law, and the prerogative to do simply what he damn-well-pleased.

Vested Interests

So, as a largely subconscious revolt on the pure name of the rights of women, the bikini spread, outraging a lot of morality in its afternoon-at-the-sea wake.

The bikini, however, was to come up against a more formidable



FUGITIVE BIKINI

able opponent than conventional morality. It had to face vested interests—the particularly powerful and well-organized interests of the garment trade.

For while the scarcity of cloth, and consequent simplicity of design in the bikini, represent a revolt from the crinoline; this same scarcity must mean—that they cost less money, fewer people are needed to produce them, and the lack possible variants in design.

All these factors are cogent threats to designers, marketers, middlemen, advertising copy-writers, account executives, conference attenders and, in short the whole of the vast and crazy edifice, known without much affection, as the rag trade.

So from the birth of the first bikini, there bloomed a mushroom cloud of women's page copy, crying that the bikini was on its way out, that the covered-up (i.e. more profitable) look was on its way back.

Undeterred the bikini made its way, invaded, over the arched eyebrows of watch committees, the beaches and playground of England, proliferated in Southern California, skirted with a "We'll be back" the Moslem, soulless lands of North Africa, and eventually arrived, some years late—as is the custom of fashion—in our own, eminently suitable sunny South Africa.

(Afrikaans dictionary translation: "Bietjie-nie.")

Steadfast Fight

The reception in South Africa was not particularly happy. In fact, the agents of reaction have been putting up a fairly bitter and steadfast fight.

There have been reports of brave women, determined to up-

hold the freedom of displaying one's umbilicus, who have been arrested in Durban. These descendants of Sylvia Pankhurst, however, have paid small admission of guilt fines.

The bikini is banned throughout the length and breadth of the Orange Free State. The swimming baths of the rural and urban Transvaal send home women who have the temerity not to appear in one piece.

Civil Liberties

In fact, it is only in the traditional home in South Africa of civil liberties—the Cape Peninsula—that the bikini is worn with temerity, not only allowed, but encouraged, said one city councillor, as a tourist attraction.

Undeterred by frowning reports of fashion pages, constantly crying that bikinis are getting fewer, they get more and less.

Minimum is a relative term. What is one generation's minimum is another's fuddy duddy. So the future of the bikini is a difficult one to guess. As a garment devoid of fashion gimmick, it has had a brave history, with the weight of organized interests against it.

Its London pride toughness, however, does demonstrate one thing with complete clarity—fiats of one kind or another—the bikini is here to stay.

Such is the invincibility of the firm step of progress, that it seems a safe prediction that the bikini will soon be as prominent and attractive feature of the beaches of Durban as, now, it is in the Cape's Clifton beach.

Footnote: Although banned on the beaches, the bikini already figures prominently on a publicity poster inviting holiday makers to sample Durban's sunny clime. In fact, Rhodesians were invited to compete in suggesting a caption for it, the prize being a free trip to Durban and an introduction to the attractive wearer of the Bikini herself. In due course the winning couple were photographed on Durban beach with the glamorous young woman—clad this time in a decorous one-piece bathing suit (still not quite the "decent, opaque costume covering the body from shoulder to a point midway between hip and knee" required by the city's by-laws) but not the much advertised (illegal) bikini.

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DEMOCRACY: the formation of a new "Democratic Workers' Party" was announced at a meeting at Welkom on April 2 by Mr. J. J. Scholtz, an independent candidate. The party's objects, he said, would include: "The democratic development of rights for all workers in all South African industries and the prevention of the exploitation of capitalistic domination over the interests of workers . . . African labour should be used to its fullest capacity in industry. The progress of Africans should be at a slower rate than that of Europeans . . ." The meeting ended in uproar when the speakers' platform was pulled from under them.

MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD: The width of a road separated rival election meetings at Krugersdorp on April 2. The two speakers, Mr. Murray Hofmeyr, U.P. candidate, and Mr. M. J. van den Berg, his Nationalist opponent, at times interrupted their speeches to shout replies to the other's accusations.

FASHION NOTE: "Because the factories are in uncontrolled areas, employers can pay what they like . . . Qualified machinists earn about £2. 15s. 6d. . . The manager of one of the 'cheap labour' factories told me: 'These Natives have never been happier. They are earning more and are better dressed than ever'—Cape Argus.

ADVERTISEMENT Cape Argus, April 5, 1958: "Hostel for South African political refugees, London. Bookings now being accepted for 1959, 1960, and 1961—Write The Manager, 7a Dawson Place, London, W.2."

TALKING BUSINESS

WITH RALPH HORWITZ

'You Pays Your Money ...'

YOU pays your money, and you takes your choice—as a gentle business man.

During the past 10 years, those of you responsible for providing millions of South Africans, white and black, with work and wages must frequently have pondered on the difference between economic integration and economic apartheid. Our Government certainly regarded the difference as more different than any other difference in the world.

The average business man was probably not quite so certain as the Cabinet Minister on what was the "difference". Perhaps he thought that economic integration meant white South Africans and non-white South Africans working together in the same economy and helping one another to produce wages for themselves and more work for other white South Africans and non-white South Africans.

Perhaps he thought that economic apartheid meant—ultimately—two quite separate economies, in one of which only white men worked and in the other non-white men.

*

Perhaps the average business man gained the impression that even before this "ultimate" had been reached, the process of economic integration would be recognized by seeing more non-white men entering the



RALPH HORWITZ

white man's economy and the process of economic apartheid would reveal itself with more non-white men leaving the white man's economy.

Possibly he recollected reading something about 1978 (or was it 1980?) when Mr. de Wet Nel (or was it Dr. Verwoerd) had stated that at the particular instant the first process would unprocess itself into the second process.

Did not Dr. Verwoerd (or was it Mr. de Wet Nel) have it all worked out in white and black (or was it black and white?)

Anyway the average business man humbly acknowledging his averageness felt that if he did not understand the differences between economic integration and economic apartheid, our

unique Cabinet Ministers had certainly figured it out.

A bitter dictum of Mr. Ben Schoeman: *The increase of up to 110,000 Natives on the Railways is not integration and the destruction of Apartheid—it is due to expansion on the Railways with more labourers being needed. Economic integration means the opening of doors so that non-Europeans can reach up for the highest posts.*

Pronunciamento per Dr. Verwoerd: *Apartheid does not depend on numbers. The important point today is how you handle the Native who lives among you. Say, for instance, you have a farm with Native labourers. Whether you have five or 50 Natives, they stay on your farm, they work on your farm but they live apart. The Native does not sit at your table or enter your home.*

That is apartheid.

*

If the average industrialist finds that his factory is employing more Africans, could it be that more Africans were needed? Possibly. If this average industrialist votes Nationalist, then it might be due to the expansion of his business and so it really comes to economic apartheid. On the other hand, if this industrialist should not vote Nationalist, then he is not an industrialist at all but a traitor who is deliberately integrating more Africans into his factory, which is not expanding but has merely grown bigger.

Anybody can tell the difference between a factory and a farm. Even the business man who is below average does not need Dr. Verwoerd to tell him that there can't be such a thing as economic integration on a farm. Even if an African should "reach up to the highest post" of driving a tractor and repairing it from time to time, he is not economically integrated into the farm (which might be gathered from what Mr. Ben Schoeman says) because he is not allowed into the farmhouse (as Dr. Verwoerd has explained).

Furthermore if that tractor-driver's wife should indeed enter the farmhouse and serve at the table or carry the

farmer's children *on her back*, she does not sit at the table or court the children—which enables eagle-eyed economist Dr. Verwoerd instantly to distinguish between economic integration and economic apartheid.

*

Should you be an industrialist wishing to establish a new cement factory in the Western Province to expand cement production, would this be economic integration or economic apartheid?

The number of Africans you employ does not seem to matter, according either to Mr. Schoeman or Dr. Verwoerd. You might even be prepared to establish living quarters alongside the factory so that they stay on your factory and work in your factory. Once again, according to Dr. Verwoerd, this could be economic apartheid. It really therefore seems to come down to the \$64 thousand question—*will those African factory workers be invited into your house to dance with your wife and court your children?*

If they are not so invited, then you as a cement producer would not be guilty of economic integration; if on the other hand, your true objective in investing £2,000,000 in a new cement factory is not to produce cement at all but to entertain a thousand Africans to dinner in your home then, of course, you are guilty of economic integration.

So you pays your money and you takes your choice.

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FRIEND OVERSEAS**

Subscription Rates: Page 19

WAGES
UP
IN E. L.

ALL African employees of the East London Municipality—excluding those on the salary grading scheme—will be getting 6d a day more in their pay packets from April 28.

This follows a decision of the City Council. The increase was given pending an investigation into the wages of unskilled labour by the Wage Board when it visits East London later this year.

When the increase is effective, the minimum wages (including cost of living allowance) will be 8s. 3½d. a day, £2 9s. 9d. a week and £10 15s. 7d. a month.

In Port Elizabeth, the nearest large industrial centre to East London, the minimum wage is 7s. a day plus 3s. 5d. cost of living, making 10s. 5d. a day.

Wage Campaign

The extra cost of the increase to the Council will be £9,500 this year on an annual wage bill of £170,000.

The East London Council's decision follows—but is not an admitted result of—Provincial Councillor B. P. Curran's campaign to persuade employers to pay their African servants a "living wage".

Commented Mr. Curran after the Council's decision was known: "The decision, though only a gesture, is welcomed. . . . The ideal of a 'living wage' must, however, always remain our goal. . . . It is earnestly hoped that commerce and industry will also find it possible to make a similar gesture."

The Delay
That Pays

AN array of 62,000 cards in an East London office keep tabs on as many people living in and around the city. And they are well thumbed.

Each is a record of how well or how badly the individuals they enumerate pay their accounts to the butcher, the grocer and the man they bought that imbuia ball-and-claw suite from.

When a customer asks for credit in an East London shop there is a suave delay of two minutes while a "distraction" occurs—long enough for a telephone call to the place of 62,000 cards and a green or red light on his credit rating.

Known as the Credit Bureau, the organization is believed to be the only one of its kind in South Africa. It seems to have the situation well taped. Those 62,000 cards cover a city with a European population of about 45,000.

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THE 11 PER CENT ELECTION: SIGNIFICANCE OF AGES

THE Nationalists hailed the low poll at the first separate Coloured elections as an indication of the extent to which racial tensions had relaxed since the introduction of separate representation; the United Party claimed that its candidate's success proved that the bulk of the Coloured people still believed in the United Party.

But impartial observers, looking back on the elections, have detected pointers to a very different significance in the result.

of the Coloured people's choice of United Party men to represent them in the all-white Parliament.

For in the eyes of a very large number of Coloured people it was the United Party which fashioned the thin end of the wedge which the Nationalists later drove home to split the Coloured people finally from the whites.

The Split

In 1943 the Smuts Government established a Coloured Advisory Council to advise the Government on "the peculiar problems of the Coloured people."

This precipitated the sharpest ever division in Coloured opinion. In spite of the C.A.C. members' insistence that they would fight for the extension of more rights to the Coloured people, many saw the C.A.C. providing an excuse for further segregation on racial lines



Bloomberg

Holland

To appreciate fully the significance of the trends at these elections, however, it is necessary to understand the forces that have been operating among the Coloured people in recent years.

Even going back a few years in political history reveals the irony



One of the Abe Bloomberg "glee clubs" which kept up a cheerful song and chant outside the polling stations.

a new organization which would strive to reunite the Coloured people and form a solid front against the Government.

Out of this came the South African Coloured People's Organization, a movement which allied itself to the African and Indian Congress movements in an attempt to contribute to an even broader front.

But although S.A.C.P.O. survived early vicissitudes to settle down into a definite political force it never succeeded in healing the breaches that sapped the strength of the Coloured people.

So it was that when the Coloured people were eventually faced with the yes or no question of whether they would participate in the first "half a vote" elections under the Separate Representation of Voters Act, they dithered and delayed, dissipating their energies again in denigration of each other.

It was really, once again, George Golding who broke the spell. He summoned a "representative" conference (some interesting omissions from the invitation list caused comment) and to no-one's great surprise the conference produced a resolution that once again the Coloured people should collaborate and go to the polls, even if the word had lost much of its meaning.

Late Wakening

Belatedly the other Coloured groups awoke to the realization that unless they did something there could be some sort of dummy vote at the elections and they might have foisted on them a candidate, purporting to represent them and to speak on their behalf but in reality expressing nobody's opinion but his own.

S.A.C.P.O. decided that the way out of the dilemma was to fight the elections with candidates so patently opposed to the whole set-up of separate representation that no finger could be pointed at them as "Quislings."

The Unity Movement decided that a complete boycott of the

(Continued on page 9)

CONTACTS'

NEXT SURVEY:

"FORBIDDEN FRUIT"

AN INQUIRY INTO THE IMMORALITY ACT

CONTACT

and argued that there was no need for it as the "peculiar problems" of the Coloured people would disappear if the laws which denied them opportunity and expression were relaxed.

The dispute split the Coloured people's major political body, the African People's Organization. There came into being an anti-Coloured Affairs Department (anti-C.A.D.) movement.

And those who were prepared to collaborate with the Government through the C.A.C. hived off and formed the Coloured People's National Union under the leadership of school-principal, business man George Golding.

In the years that followed the rival organizations carried on a bitter feud, the bulk of the anti-C.A.D. faction adopting the negative tactics of the non-European Unity movement—refusing to help "operate the machinery of oppression" but also not taking any more positive political action.

The protracted wrangle of the Coloured people among themselves, precipitated by the United Party's C.A.C. move, prepared the way for the next and much more drastic step by the Nationalists.

When the Nationalist Government produced its plan to take all the Coloured voters off the common roll and give them only pegged separate representation, the Coloured people were shocked. But they were so divided among themselves that there was not one strong body, truly representative of Coloured opinion, which could give adequate voice to their out-

rage and channel the energy of their resentment.

Then, at the height of the Coloured vote crisis, George Golding startled even his opponents by suggesting in effect that, undesirable as separate representation was, it was inevitably coming, and the Coloureds should therefore cut their losses and try to get the best possible terms out of the deal.

But to even many of his C.P.N.U. supporters this smacked of untimely surrender.

It was very largely because of the atmosphere created by this proposal that a group of intellectuals planned the establishment of



Last man into the Wynberg polling station was the exception who proved the rule; he was in such a hurry to get in to vote in the "apathy election" before the doors closed that he tripped over the threshold.

WHAT WAS TRUE MEANING?

(Continued from page 8)

elections was the only honourable course.

But by the time either group got down to work, the Independent United Party team had been busy in the field for weeks. And there were some Nationalist challengers creating a diversion too.

S.A.C.P.O. worked hard; the Unity Movement talked hard.

But in the end sufficient people went to the polls to prove the impracticability of the boycott idea; and not enough could shrug off the habit of voting for the United Party to put even S.A.C.P.O.'s treason trial candidate in.

The United Party men, Abe Bloomberg, "Tot" le Roux, Charles Barnett and Bill Holland, took all the seats.



Le Roux Barnett

But if those four United Party men look farther than the fact that they are now in Parliament, they may find a disquieting significance in the situation that put them there.

For one thing, although the average percentage poll for the four constituencies was 51.59 this is only a percentage of the number of people actually on the voters roll—about 29,000.

But the official estimate of those entitled to be on the roll is 129,000.

11 Per Cent

That makes it not a 51 per cent. but an 11 per cent. election.

It means that one hundred thousand Coloured voters could not be bothered, or conscientiously objected to having their names on the voters roll.

That is, apart from the 140,000 who voted against the Nationalist candidates, forcing them to forfeit all their deposits, another 115,000 by their non-participation displayed their lack of interest in the Nationalist gift of half a vote.

But there is no implied vote of confidence for the United Party in this. By the same token 115,000 are not sufficiently stirred by the thought of having the United Party as a champion to bother to vote for it.

Over 40s

Observers at this election noticed another thing: there seemed to be very few people under the age of 40 at the polls.



George Golding (in front, with hat) and friends cheer Abe Bloomberg after his victory in the Peninsula contest.

The United Party's support, therefore, has come almost exclusively from the retiring generation.

What will happen when these over 40s fade from the scene? What will be the political attitude of the new generation of Coloured people?

It is difficult to prophesy at this stage. The Coloured people are

still too disrupted—by social and economic forces as well as by political disagreement—for generalizations to be possible.

But one thing seems clear: The vast majority of the Coloured people no longer see their future within supremacy framework.

So far they have not expressed their discontent by much more than disdainful abstention.

A few have got down to more purposeful work — SACPO may not have had spectacular electoral success but it did enlarge its "hard core".

The field is ripening for real protest.

There is little cause for complacency, for either Nationalist or United Party in the results of the 11 per cent election.

NATAL MAY TURN THE TABLES

IF it sticks to its declared principles, Natal might soon by-pass the Government's Separate Representation of Voters Act and give all eligible Coloureds the municipal vote.

Indications that an attempt is possible have emerged almost unnoticed amid the welter of a local Press controversy.

The explosion—and subsequent plain speaking—were touched-off by Mr. Theo Gerdener, Nationalist candidate for Umlazi in the general election, also editor of *Die Natalier*, also a member of the Provincial Council.

Last month, under a front-page headline "Natal wants to give in to the Indians," *Die Natalier* flipped two pre-election bombshells into Durban's multi-racial petrol drum.

The first was that the United Party controlled Provincial Executive Committee had privately declared itself in favour of allowing Coloureds to continue voting in municipal elections, but had cannily postponed an open decision until after the general election.

The second was that the U.P. intended to restore the municipal franchise to Indians.

This month, a bewildering catalogue of behind-scenes pitch and toss emerged from anti-Nationalist Press denials.

Briefly, it revolved round a letter sent by a Mr. I. E. Fredericks of Durban to the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs in March last year.

The letter said: "The Coloured people . . . have for many generations enjoyed municipal franchise . . . The qualification . . . is that the person claiming it must be entitled to enrol as a voter for parliamentary purposes. The separate Representation of Voters Act, which restricts the registration of voters . . . will have the . . . effect of preventing any further Coloured persons in Natal from becoming municipal voters . . ."

Mr. Fredericks' solution: "An amendment of the Local Government Ordinance without reference to the race of the claimant."

The Commissioner for Coloured

Affairs promptly passed the letter to the Provincial Secretary.

The Provincial Executive Committee almost equally promptly passed the letter to the Natal Municipal Association, which in November came up with a rejoinder: "We agree"—following this in January with a proposed draft amendment of the Ordinance.

Ten weeks later, and less than a month before the general election, *Die Natalier* published its report, walk back to his home, but hunger possible coincidences?

At a meeting on March 31, the Provincial Executive promptly decided to "stand the matter over" until its local authority expert, Mr. J. Leslie Smith, returns from overseas leave—next month.

Worried P.S.

What *the Natal Mercury* called "a slashing attack" on *Die Natalier's* "incorrect and misleading story" was based by Mr. P. W. J. Groenewald, M.E.C., on the fact that Mr. Gerdener was a member of the Provincial Council:

"On more than one occasion . . . Mr. Gerdener has been asked by United Party members first to

Detailed Results

FOLLOWING are detailed results in the Coloured representative's election:

OUTENIQUA

W. Holland (U.P.) . . . 3,001
G. Smith (Ind.-U.P.) . . . 942
P. L. Vogel (Sapco) . . . 96
A. W. Louw (Ind.-Nat.) . . . 53
U.P. maj . . . 2,059
65.59 per cent. poll.
50 spoilt papers.
Mr. Vogel and Mr. Louw forfeited their deposits.

KAROO

G. S. P. le Roux (Ind.-U.P.) . . . 3,155
E. J. Conradie (Ind.-Nat.) . . . 205
Ind.-U.P. majority . . . 2,950
54.7 per cent. poll.
84 spoilt papers.
Mr. Conradie forfeited his deposit.

BOLAND

C. Barnett (Ind.-U.P.) . . . 2,474
C. O. Starke (Ind.) . . . 587
J. R. Fuchs (Ind.-Nat.) . . . 270
Ind.-U.P. majority . . . 1,887
41.9 per cent. poll.
91 spoilt papers.
Mr. Fuchs forfeited his deposit.

PENINSULA

A. Bloomberg (Ind.-U.P.) 2,138
P. A. D. Beylveveld (Sapco) . . . 813
L. Kellner (Ind.) . . . 448
Ind.-U.P. majority . . . 1,568
44.2 per cent. poll.
44 spoilt papers.
Mr. Kellner forfeited his deposit.

make use of his privileged position . . . by obtaining the true facts before he published any articles in his newspaper slating the Provincial Executive Committee . . . "He did . . . not . . ."

The Natal Witness printed his worried postscript: "Sir de Villiers Graaff had stated categorically that his Party would not be prepared to give Indians the vote."

"Categorical denial" number two came in a report of a speech by Mr. Douglas Mitchell, U.P. candidate for the South African Coast: "The issue lay in the hands of the Nationalist Government itself. They had control over any legislation of which they did not approve."

Hopes Sagged

Hopes of the more unsophisticated Coloureds and Indians — presumably boosted by the original *Natalier* story—began to sag.

But the sophisticated Coloureds, remembering the draft amendment of the Natal Municipal Association—and Mr. Theo Gerdener's "privileged position"—began to look forward to election's end and the opinion of J. Leslie Smith.

Two letters from opposing viewpoints pose the question...

Should a Newcomer Criticize Apartheid?

THE following is the gist of a letter written by a man who is definitely not liberal in his outlook, to another man who definitely is, and who subscribes to CONTACT:

Your welcome letter to hand, but I am still firmly of opinion that any person, regardless of rank or title who so readily makes it his business to express publicly hastily-formed opinions after having been in the Union for a very short time is doing a lot of harm to his own purpose and to race relations. His only accomplishment is to increase the bitterness of the struggle to iron out our problems.

Race relations is possibly the greatest of the world's problems, and this country is not alone in facing the problem. For instance, we might think of Indonesia, Malaya, Burma, India, Ghana, Kenya and its Mau Mau, or Egypt, the Sudan, half a dozen countries of the Middle East or of Algeria and its present troubles, or even of the I.R.A.

Sometimes I take a lot of convincing, but I cannot ignore the

tide of world-wide nationalistic tendencies and aspirations. At the same time I cannot ignore the minority position of the European in South Africa.

I cannot accept integration as the answer. The European would be swamped and finally driven out as he has been in many examples of recent history.

Man seems to be gifted at drawing lines of division and then hating and fighting the fellows on the other side. Can we ignore that fact? The Communists would attack the West right now if it were not for their own doubts and fears.

There are plenty of fine people in the world and they are not all grouped within the limits of any of our dividing lines. But unfortunately humanity in a group is subject to the effects of hysteria and as so often happens the reasonable and just is submerged

when argument ends and war begins.

Squirm a Bit

Our relations with the different races seems to have lost a lot in the last few years when we consider legislation, but if we honestly think back and compare the personal relationship of pre-war days with the individual contacts and relationships of the present we must admit that a great deal of progress has been made.

I do not necessarily agree with some of the restrictive legislation, and I do squirm a bit over some of the things I read, particularly with regard to this sorting out of whites and coloureds.

But even there I must ask where lies the greatest fault? Is it a greater fault to classify a man than it is for that man to be ashamed of being what nature

THE views expressed on this page are those of the individual writers. CONTACT takes no responsibility for them and does not necessarily endorse them. Nor do these writers necessarily subscribe to CONTACT'S views.

made him?

'Inbuilt Part'

These lines of division in the human race are an inbuilt part of human nature. No amount of preaching that we must love all our brothers will take away those lines.

Much better to face the fact and accept it, and by our own actions I feel we should let all decent people of all races see that we respect them.

Personally I do not put one scrap of value on what colour a man happens to be or to what race or religion he belongs: I value him as a man and measure him by his actions. This is far better than inviting him to my house and hating him for coming.

Discussing apartheid with an Indian I asked him if he would like to live in my house or if he

would like to go to a party with me. After a short consideration he surprised himself by saying "No." And there I believe you have the answer.

Holds Reins

No doubt in time the races will intermix but it will take a long time. And before that there is the problem of the rise of the black man's nationalism to contend with. Africa in all regions is pushing out the interloper. Some retire gracefully. The Afrikaner has no place to which he can retire even if he wanted to.

It is a big problem: the white man cannot go and neither can he stay unless he holds the reins. Integration and equal voting powers for the Natives would soon put us under a black government.

As I see it the idea of a separate development is probably our only reasonable chance of survival. If it is carried out peacefully and fairly I fail to see anything wrong with it.

Quite true some will suffer with the transfer of population, but it is a natural step and could result in better relationship if only these recent immigrants would leave us to haggle over the matter between ourselves and stop throwing rocks into the delicate machinery

or is it...

A Clear Christian Issue?

A COLOURED man on being shown the above letter, and on being asked for his answer had it been addressed to himself, and had he permitted himself to reply to it, replied as follows:

Is Dr. De Blank justified in making the statements which he has made. (Obviously it is Dr. De Blank to whom reference is made.) Is South Africa a Christian country or is it not?

The Nationalist Party manifesto says it is.

I presume the United Party says something similar.

The Nationalist manifesto goes on to say: "Apartheid means: The maintenance and protection of the European people of South Africa as a pure white race and the preservation of supremacy."

Are the European people of South Africa a pure white race? I think we are all aware that this is not so. The process of "smelling out" will very likely go on for a long time if all doubtful whites are to be screened.

The Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal should not be overlooked.

And when all that has been done and all the whites have been given their certificates of exclusiveness:

What particular merit is there in being pure white? Is this Christian? Or has Christianity nothing to do with it? Is it

possible that the Founder of Christianity would have adopted a similar course?

This exclusive group must be protected and its supremacy preserved.

So there must be some inherent or intrinsic merit in being pure white? You are then superior—and you must be supreme. But this superiority must be protected—BY LAW.

Why?

Some men are superior to others for many reasons. Education, upbringing, character. All these things singly or combined can make a man superior to another man, and the fact is that no law then can alter that. But in this country the law can say to the superior: you are not pure white, therefore you are inferior. It can, and does say to the most uneducated poor white: you are pure white, therefore you are superior: you will have privileges which are denied to those who do not belong to the exclusive group.

Privileged Group

It must not be forgotten that the privileged group is being protected by LAW at the expense of the under-privileged. Is this Christian? Or is it what is generously proclaimed as "facing up to realities"?

Your friend doesn't LIKE this protection any more than I do, for he says: "I do not put one scrap of value on what colour he

happens to be... but I do value him as a man and measure him by his actions."

What more could I or any coloured man ask?

But the law doesn't say what your friend says. The law has a series of values depending upon the varying shades of a man's skin. Examples?

Teachers of similar or identical qualifications. One salary for whites; about two-thirds of that for coloureds and less for blacks.

Workers on Railway—similar position. And so on.

It is thus, FIRST, what colour are you?

And, SECOND, what is your worth?

Is this Christian?

"The apartheid policy is based on the Christian principles of justice and fairness."

False Position

I am then to believe that Christ would have approved of all this differentiation—based on the colour that He made me.

Why should I labour this point? No non-European believes that the policy is just and fair.

If the policy IS Christian, then it is just too bad for Christianity. We shall have to abandon Christianity.

BUT, we do not believe it is Christian. We believe that the whites in this country have become so accustomed to their privileges

and their "protection," so happy to be looked upon as "baas": so blind to the unfairness and oppression that goes on around them: so SURE that the status as "masters" is the only proper and just one in a multi-racial country such as this, that they can no longer realise that their position is false.

Mind Unclouded

The rulers say that all this restrictive legislation is Christian. When an authority on Christianity comes to this country with his mind unclouded and his thoughts unfettered by the tradition of centuries of restriction (and, frequently, of oppression) and he finds that the practice and theory of Christianity are at variance—then it is his duty to say so; and to say so in no uncertain terms.

Remember, there is not only a De Blank—there is also a Keet. And Keet is not an immigrant.

Why do we get so hot under the collar when these people criticize the set-up in this country? Is it because we know in our heart of hearts that they are right, but that the price for doing the right thing is too great for us to pay?

Our favoured position will be in jeopardy.

No longer will a man be protected just because he is white. Our children will have to face up to competition...

CONTACT

Compulsion of Despair

WE regard the call to all African workers to stay at home during the election period as the compulsion of despair. Despite the warning of the bus boycott of 1957, no effort has been made to raise the wages of African workers to a level consonant with their minimum needs.

We are convinced that the majority of the African workers of this country are unable to feed and clothe their families on the wages they receive.

They are warned by those in authority to avoid illegal action in pursuit of their demands, yet no legal action is permitted them. Having no place in the legislative institutions of the country they have no part in the shaping of their own destiny.

We are appalled that instead of leading to examination and removal of its cause, this stay at home demonstration was met with threats of what Senator de Klerk called "a show of white supremacy".

We condemn the attitude of those whose only thought is to meet such action by repression. And we would warn that although it appears that the demonstration has failed, the situation which gave rise to it remains.

Alan Paton takes . . .

The Long View

WHAT is going to happen at the election? And what is going to happen thereafter? These were, at the time of writing, the two universal questions.

I myself expect the Nationalists to be returned with more or less the same number of seats. I expect the United Party to fare the same. It is what I might call a "hard" situation. It implies that the needle of the Nat.-U.P. barometer, after 48 years of fluctuation, has reached a steady position.

The reasons for this steady position are the delimitation, the birthrate and the growing isolation of the Afrikaner people.

I do not expect ever again to see the United Party as a

Government. Nor do I see it as an Opposition with any future.

What will happen after the election? Will the Nats. compose their own differences, regarding no issue in the world as more important than their own solidarity? Or will they break in two, and half of them seek coalition with the United Party? I do not know, and, taking the long view, I do not think it makes much difference.

If coalition took place, would the United Party liberals be forced to leave the Party? And if they did would they form a new liberal group would they join the Liberal Party? Or would they retire, disillusioned with politics?

These are to my mind more important questions. I hope there will be no new liberal group. The country cannot afford it. I would rather see the U.P. liberals retire disillusioned.

The times are so urgent, the pace so swift, the opportunities so challenging, the price of failure so great, that if there is a peaceful solution there can only be one solution.

That solution is to reject forever the policies of discrimination. What would be more foolish than a new liberal group supporting "discrimination with even greater justice?"

There is no room for a new group between the United Party and the Liberal Party.

But these are not the most important questions. The most important questions concern the non-white people of the country. Under our new Government, whether it be Nationalist or Coalition, the "traditional" policies will be followed.



There will be no restorations to the common roll, there will be no political institutions for Africans except in the Reserves; the policies of apartheid, however much they may be adulterated for economic reasons, will be applied relentlessly in every other sphere.

The gap of ignorance that separates non-white from white will be widened and deepened.

Left with no legal means of expression, having no power to change the laws that determine their condition, being convinced that white authority knows neither justice nor mercy, the non-white people of South Africa will be compelled to use the only weapons they have left—their buying power and their labour.

Each attempt to use these weapons will be met with all the fury and determination of which race supremacists are always capable.

The post-election future is dark.

The challenge to liberalism, to party liberals and non-party liberals, to those Olympian figures that stand aloof from the vulgarity of politics, will be exciting and demanding.

We believe that with all our hearts that many of the elementary freedoms of democracy are denied to non-white people and that their life, if they do not struggle to amend it, will be poor and inferior for ever.

Where will we be found? Counselling moderation in all things? God forbid. There can be no moderation in justice, mercy and truth. They are what they are.

One of our clear and insistent duties, and one which we have always readily accepted in the past, is to uphold the values of decent and civilized life, and the dignity of persons. These, being values of life, must be upheld in living not only in speeches and sermons. This is going to become harder, not easier to do.

More than one Cabinet Minister has said that the future fight is between Nationalism and Liberalism. With all my heart I hope they are right.

BALANCE OF PROGRESS

Credit

THE remains of some 6,000 British and Boer soldiers who were killed in Natal during the South African War are to be collected and laid side by side in small cemeteries throughout the Province.

THE first training school in Southern Rhodesia for African post office clerical workers has opened in Bulawayo.

A NEW law in New York makes it illegal to refuse tenants on the basis of race, creed or colour. Maximum penalty: a year in gaol.

AFTER seven years' work and the analysing of 70,000 African words, Braille systems for Zulu, Xhosa, Sepedi, Sechuana and Southern Sotho have been completed by a special committee of the South African National Council for the Blind.

Debit

SENATOR Jan de Klerk, Minister of Labour, has threatened to institute more job reservation investigations.

NO non-white athletes or boxers will be picked for the Empire Games team to be sent by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

THE Synod of Livingstonia of the Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian, has issued a statement saying "In our opinion, events have justified the mistrust with which the Federal scheme was originally greeted by Nyasaland Africans."

DURBAN bus fares may have to be increased. An official statement said "Apart from the purchase of new buses, the implementation of transport apartheid regulations would sent costs soaring."

LITTLE BROEDER

by David Marais



France's Purpose in Africa Explained

WHAT happens in French Africa, where a unique experiment is being tried, could have a profound influence on events throughout the continent. CONTACT's commentator on African affairs, Thoth, wrote recently of the remarkable political developments taking place in France's African territories, and in this article M. Maurice Schumann, member of the French National Assembly, writes of the purpose behind France's Africa policy.

The article is reprinted, in abridged version, from *Optima*, a quarterly review published by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.

M. Schumann writes:

It was in 1943 that I had the honour of meeting General Smuts in London.

"Three years ago," he then told me, "my country came under a heavy debt of gratitude to Free France and its chief, General de Gaulle. When it was made impossible for Allied shipping to use the Mediterranean in order to reach the Middle East, the Cape route suddenly recovered the vital importance it had lost by the cutting through of the Suez Canal. But although South Africa thus had a decisive part to play, it could not have carried it out had the western coast not been secure.

"On August 26, 27 and 28, 1940, French Equatorial Africa and the Cameroons rallied to General de Gaulle, and this, from Leopoldville to Pretoria, had considerable repercussions. By halting capitulation north of the equator, the Free French had either created or improved the conditions under which we could undertake our task."

Solidarity

I realized once and for all on that day that geography had produced an element of solidarity between France and the Union of South Africa. It is more particularly at times when, in appearance at least, our policies diverge or are opposed that I try to remember this.

On April 7, 1956, M. Houphouët-Boigny, mayor of the capital of the Ivory Coast, French Member of Parliament and, following the general elections of January, 1956, Minister of the French Republic, received Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the new independent State of Ghana.

The latter did not fail to express his conviction that all African peoples would, in due course and by possibly different methods, achieve full independence. M. Houphouët-Boigny's reply to his fellow-Baoule was both clear and courageous.

"Your experiment," he said, "is in many ways attractive . . . but in the light of human relationships that exist between France and ourselves, and of this country's imperative demand for the interdependence of nations and peoples, we have thought it might be of greater interest to attempt some-

thing different—a unique experiment of its kind: to establish a Franco-African community based on the concepts of equality and fraternity.

"Fully conscious of her interests, but also imbued with her strong human inclinations, France has actively and sincerely sought a method of bringing such a community into being. We have met France's loyal and human approach half-way, convinced, as you are yourselves about your own, that our experiment will succeed."

Not only for France but for others, it is of capital importance that M. Houphouët-Boigny should prove right.

In 10 Years

Some days before his friendly exchange of views with Dr. Nkrumah, he was brilliantly successful in the elections of March 31, 1956.

M. Houphouët-Boigny also added to Dr. Nkrumah: "We will compare results in ten years' time."

If the experiment has by that time proved an enduring success, then French policy will have proved the means of sustaining European influence and, in a more general way, that of the Western Powers in Africa.

France will once again, in General Smuts's words, have halted the decline of Europe north of the equator.

It is for South Africans to judge whether this policy can, as a result, indirectly contribute to the maintenance of an established White population in Southern Africa, avoid its isolation, and contribute to the security of its own homeland.

New Community

To assist them in their reply, let us consider.

- (i) the wholly original régime for French territories in the Black areas of Africa;
- (ii) the repercussions of the Algerian drama on the development of French overseas policy; and
- (iii) the connection between this policy and France's efforts to gather the free nations of the European continent into a new community.

A former colonial governor who assisted General de Gaulle during the last war, M. Paul-Henri

Sirix, has just published a new book entitled: "A New Africa." The title is not the mere expression of a pious hope, but the result of observation. Implementation of a law passed on June 19, 1956, by a considerable majority in the National Assembly (446 to 98) led to a peaceful revolution in the territories administered by the French Ministry for Overseas Territories—a revolution that can easily be defined.

For the first time, the administration of former colonies was taken in hand, while remaining within the colonizing State, by members of their own people: the recasting of institutions is entire, but has taken place within the framework of the French Republic and in conditions selected by French lawgivers.

Equal Footing

The simple secret of this success is long familiarity. Had nationalist leaders not become accustomed, during the past ten years, to living in Paris and frequenting parliamentary assemblies and even Government councils on exactly equal footing with their metropolitan colleagues, they would have been chary of accepting the offers made to them. Instead of negotiating with a foreign or outside State, however, they had the feeling that they were participating in the design of measures that were their immediate concern. Before being tabled, the text of the law was discussed in a council of Ministers of which M. Houphouët-Boigny was a member, in addition to M. Hammadou Dicko, coloured member for the Sudan. The public debate was scrupulously prepared by the competent committee—that for overseas territories—the chairman of which was a coloured representative of the Cameroons.

All the coloured members of the Assembly took part in the debate, and were indeed responsible for a number of important amendments.

These men have become familiar with the framework of the French Republic. They have chosen not only to enter it, but to remain there. What has been termed a revolution is thus, in the long run, but the result of patient evolution.

When it is, however, affirmed in public utterances that this evolution has always followed the same path, that affirmation is wrong and is liable to colour any subsequent judgment.

Negro Stock

Fourteen years ago, under full war conditions, General de Gaulle

The author of this article M. Maurice Schumann, is a distinguished French statesman, soldier and writer. He was the chief French delegate to the United Nations from 1948 to 1950, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1951 to 1954.

summoned a conference at Brazzaville for the purpose of defining France's policy in respect of the peoples of her Empire. The resulting "recommendations" were very clearly directed towards centralization and assimilation. Entirely opposite views had, however, been expressed by Félix Eboué, descendant of negro stock in the former French colonies of America and Governor General of Equatorial Africa.

This is what he wrote: "To create or recast a form of society which, if not in our image, is also not in line with our mental habits, is to take the high road to failure. The indigenous inhabitant has a form of behaviour, laws, and a homeland different from ours. Neither according to the principle of the French Revolution (which is *our* revolution), nor by applying the Napoleonic Code (which is *our* code), nor by substituting our civil servants for his chiefs (for those civil servants may think for him but not believe in him) will he be made happy."

What Félix Eboué was in fact after was to turn the Black man into a "good African".

Now, the great reforms introduced immediately after the liberation of metropolitan France revealed a lack of decision between the Brazzaville doctrine and that of Félix Eboué. On the one hand, all Africans became French citizens and were allowed to elect authentic representatives, either as Deputies or Senators, who immediately became prominent in the Constituent Assembly and then the National Assembly and Council of the Republic.

On the other hand, there were set up territorial assemblies which were made competent to deal with local affairs, while the Constitution itself affirmed in its preamble that France proposed to lead the peoples it had taken under its wing to the liberty of self-government and democratically looking after their own interests.

Not Political

Hesitancy between these two different, if not contrary, ideologies could not be explained away on purely political grounds. While suppressing forced labour and granting a very liberal Labour Charter to overseas territories, France had, at the same time, undertaken the economic and social development of the Black territories of Africa.

The investment fund specially set up for the purpose paid out, up to 1956, a sum of almost 1,600 million dollars. It is natural that

taxpayers and their representatives on the "home front" should consider that these sacrifices made by a country impoverished and damaged by two world wars should at least bind the beneficiaries to the motherland and not provide them with funds to organize secession.

The resulting sense of uneasiness was foreseen as early as 1946 by that eminent colonial civil servant, M. Louis Merat, when he wrote: "Even when assimilation uplifts, it does away with any choice and appears as the act of a conqueror. Association and co-operation reserve the rights of each party on a footing of apparent equality. It may well be that the result will, in the end, be the same, but the method used is different and consent is contrasted with obligation."

Universal Suffrage

Both the purpose and effect of the institutional revolution of 1956 and 1957 have been to synthesize the two tendencies defined above. It has introduced universal suffrage, even though the rough and ready form of civil registration had not allowed, up to 1957, the authentication on the electoral lists of more than 30 per cent of the population of overseas territories. The White and Coloured populations which had, for the most part, hitherto elected their representatives separately, were now lumped together. It is, however, impossible to comprehend the underlying spirit of the system without bearing in mind its essential feature. This is the difference between two types of services; the first category includes those supplied by the State for the administration of matters of common interest to the Republic as a whole; the second category includes the services responsible for the individual interests of each of the territories.

Internal Autonomy

The régime has been described as one of internal autonomy. This would be correct had the metropolitan government handed over administrative prerogatives to the territories while reserving to itself diplomacy, the armed forces and franc-zone economy. It is, in fact, far from complete since Africans, who are represented in the metropolitan parliamentary assemblies and in the Government, participate in the conception, elaboration and carrying out of common policy, and not only enjoy the benefits of internal autonomy but relate themselves rather to a system that is, in fact, federal.

And yet, if it is federal *de facto*, why not *de jure*? Why does the French Republic theoretically remain a centralized State while the tendency is for it, in practice, to become a federal State?

There is a simple, if tragic, answer.

If the French Union is to be put back on its feet, it is necessary to know what final act is both possible and desired for the North African drama.

(Continued on page 13)

WORLD REVIEW

BY LINK

Krushchev—Politician Who Makes His Own Rules

THE not-unexpected elevation of Mr. Krushchev to a position comparable in title—but not in actual power—to that of Stalin has brought to a head a problem that has long been causing grave looks in "the Chancelleries of Western Europe".

It is the old problem of how one is to play the game with someone who does not show much interest in the rules.

The rules of diplomacy are old, hallowed and tapebound in tradition. The game was played for many centuries to the tinkling tunc of silver dining plates, ancient glassware and muted conversation. It was an important part of the game never, on any account, to say anything that wasn't tied and parcelled in qualifying clauses, nicely balanced with circumlocutions, and perhaps wearing, like a bow, a few polite regrets.

This has not been Krushchev's way. He has bounded on the world stage, writing letters to obscure left-wing journals, making statements of world-shaking importance, while obviously more than a little under the stimulation of vodka to haphazard groups of reporters, giving the impression of saying anything to anyone.

This spontaneity gives to Krushchev's utterances a human quality that contrasts oddly with the coldly formal and tight-lipped pronouncements of most Western politicians.

Krushchev's diplomatic methods have decided advantages over the slow-moving machinery of the Foreign Office, and the carefully-balanced movements of the State Department. It means, broadly, that the country using the new diplomacy can almost always take the initiative—a very important thing these days when the main battle is for the ideologies of the

"uncommitted areas".

Snap Decisions

The Western powers have the handicap that any statement of policy has to be vetted by so many people, has to get through so many pressure groups, and appear acceptable to such a tangle of conflicting groups, that a snap decision can rarely be taken in the welter of opposing interests.

Krushchev does not have this difficulty. The different political structure he represents has far more of a unanimity of interest. Major policy decisions, for instance, can be taken without too much close regard of the electorate, and opposition pressure groups are not encouraged.

The fruits of the Krushchev diplomacy have been seen very recently in the decision to suspend unilaterally hydrogen bomb tests. This gesture has been of incalculable propaganda effect.

The march to Aldermaston in England, and the statement by the British Labour Party seeking the scrapping by Britain of the H-bomb—a *voilà face*—have been two fairly minor effects. The Asian reaction—which is what really counts—has yet to be seen in full.

The decision of Mr. Dulles to continue United States tests, too, however soundly based, has not precisely helped matters.

No Buffoon

In dealing with Krushchev a



KRUSHCHEV

difficulty that has faced Western diplomats is that it has become painfully apparent he is not merely the drunken, genial buffoon he was first said to be.

All his apparently wild statements, his outbursts of anger and hilarity, on analysis have shown themselves to be the product of an extremely shrewd and calculating political brain.

Time once put it: "Never since the days of Alexander the Great has a tyrant been so often, so publicly and so conspicuously drunk". The extraordinary thing, however, is that rarely has a politician so seldom made a gaffe.

Whatever his real motives, Krushchev gives the appearance of a rough, honest and shrewd man, supremely confident in his system and sincerely desirous of world peace. As such, he is a proselytizer far beyond the arid intellectual reaches of Stalin, or even Lenin.

Vivid Imagery

As an example of his rough-and-ready approach, his recent statement on Hungary would have caused a few wrinkled foreheads in the Stalin era:

"The Hungarian counter revolution, or revolution, call it what you will"

His picturesque imagery, too, is an integral part of the Krushchev world figure. "We will give up the principles of Marxist-Lenin-

ism", he told a dinner in England "when crayfish learn to whistle".

Interrupting an official occasion at the time of the Suez crisis, he told scandalized Western diplomats: "I know what is the matter with Eden. He has inflammation of the canal".

An example of his manner in cutting through protocol was his explanation of the Zhukov affair to a group of reporters in Cairo. Zhukov, he said, was a fine soldier, who, unfortunately, began to think of himself as another Stalin.

"He is not a Stalin," Krushchev said. "He is not even half a Stalin".

At the time when the intercontinental ballistic missile controversy was at its height, when much doubt was expressed at the validity of Russia's claim to possess the weapon claimed, Krushchev, typically in a newspaper interview, had a simple solution.

"Let's have a competition, and

see who can shoot the farthest", he suggested.

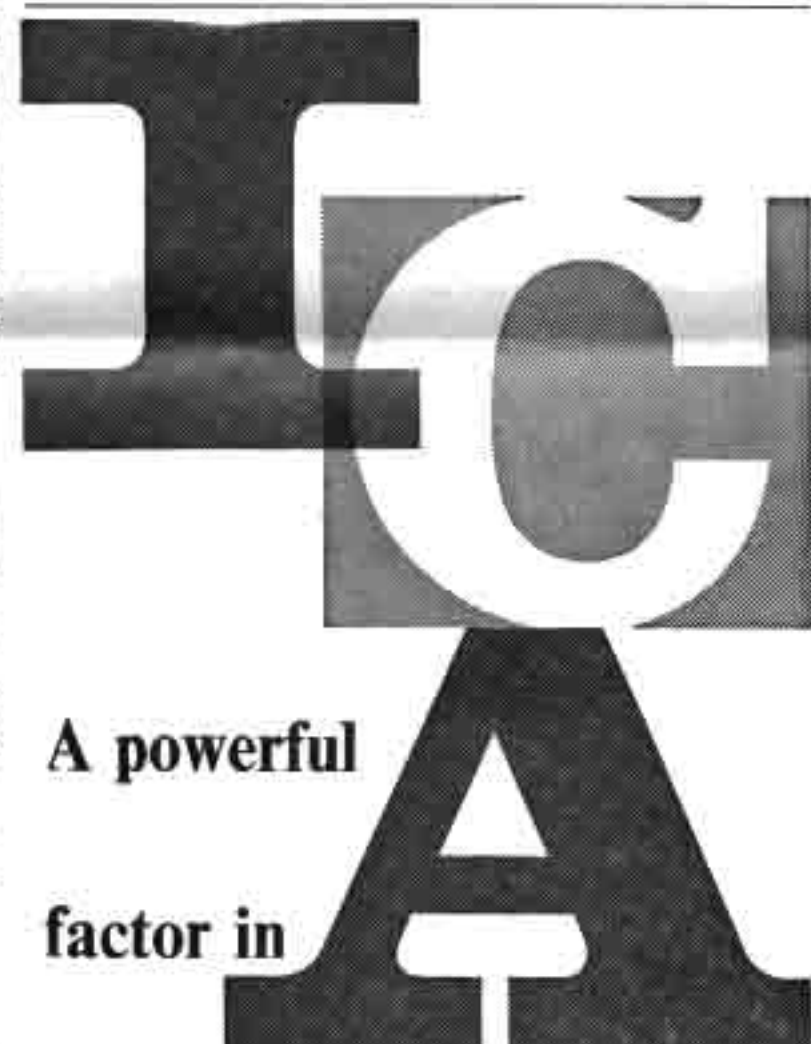
Unfortunately for a number of little boys this giant firework display never came off.

The advent of Krushchev, in conjunction with the propaganda effect of the sputniks, the L.C.B.M., the unilateral suspension, the never-flagging letters urging summit talks, the huge offers of economic aid, have brought a change to the world political scene which probably represents a more severe threat to Western ideals than anything faced before.

The Republican Administration in the United States does not, at the moment, seem to be adequately dealing with this vast pyrotechnic display. Britain, probably, represents a closer and more valid attempt at a *modus vivendi*.

Even in this connection, Krushchev had his say.

"If I lived in England," he was reported to have told an indignant collection of Labour M.P.'s, "I would vote Tory."



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FRANCE'S AFRICA POLICY

(Continued from page 12)

When passing from the Black territories of Africa to Mediterranean Africa, one is struck by three fundamental differences:

1. Algeria's immediate neighbours—Tunisia and Morocco—were protectorates, the first for over 70 years, the other for more than 40, and were never juridically attached to France. As they have never ceased in law to be foreign States, it has not been possible to apply to them principles similar to those which governed the development of integrated territories.

There is one trait common to all Arab countries: the Western concept of democracy is foreign to them. Only two to some extent form an exception: the Lebanon,

which has remained pro-French and whose population is largely Christian, and Syria.

French policy in North Africa is indeed based on the same principles as those applied for the Black countries in French Africa—in spite of the dissimilarities already mentioned. That is what contrasts it with British policy, which is not at all the same in East Africa, where there are many European settlers, as it is in West Africa, where there are very few. There lie both its weakness and its strength.

Everywhere in Algeria that pacification has made it possible, she will hand over the administrative prerogatives to the elected authorities or to those selected by

the village, town or department concerned.

If the standard of living of the African living on French territory has, however, risen 100 per cent in the past ten years, it still remains low, as may be judged by the fact that the *per caput* income is estimated at 50,000 francs. It is not certain that France, which devotes 3,000 francs a year per head to overseas populations out of public funds—six times more than Great Britain and 30 times more than Portugal—can much increase this effort.

France's official view is that it is quite legitimate to associate Free Europe with this gigantic task, since the common interest of all countries concerned is not to remain isolated at the end of a vast

THE MUSIC SCENE IN S.A.

A SURVEY of the South African musical scene should begin with a fundamental—the listening public. Music is unique among the arts in that it needs an interpreter who makes the printed notation of a composer's work audible to the listener.

The overwhelming majority of the interpreters are non-professional music-lovers; members of the public who play an instrument or sing, primarily for their own enjoyment in the home.

The ability to make music, an accomplishment taken very much for granted in the past, has deteriorated in the modern world to an alarming degree—alarming because one of the most important aspects of enjoying music is that it should not remain a solely passive enjoyment.

The backbone of a flourishing musical art is, and always has been, 'home-made music'. Home music, the solid foundation of concert hall and opera house, is the most efficient means of cultivating a musical taste and of awakening the need for a wider knowledge.

From this point of view, South Africa presents a gratifying picture.

Healthy Growth

The number of children and adults learning to play an instrument is steadily growing. This growth is reflected in the increasing demand for music



teachers, especially in the country, and further, in the encouraging development of musical colleges throughout the Union.

Unfortunately, most music students still specialize in the piano, organ and violin, sadly neglecting the wood-wind instruments and others so useful for the formation of chamber ensembles.

For South Africa's widely scattered people, the growing need for music instructors shows a healthy and satisfying development.

The country's vast dimensions, however, do not favour the growth of symphonic and operatic music. Concert hall and opera house inevitably demand a large expenditure which, even under

THIS is the first of a series of articles on the South African musical scene which will be presented from time to time in CONTACT. George Parlin is the pen-name of a writer with a wealth of knowledge and experience of his subject who is particularly well-placed to survey the South African scene.

ideal circumstances must be assisted by considerable subsidies. Here, the Union has to overcome serious disadvantages.

Ever-Present Crisis

Considering the smallness of the urban population and that, with the possible exception of the Cape Coloured people, only the white population supports symphony and opera financially, South Africa does astonishingly well compared with the remainder of the Western world.

But it does not do well enough to eliminate the ever-present crisis menacing the very existence of our symphony orchestras.

In the vast expanse of South Africa, the music-lover outside the few larger cities is wholly dependent for his enjoyment of symphonic and operatic music on modern technical contrivances.

With the arrival of the long-playing record, the gramophone won a major position in the world of music. However, the great cultural task in this field has had to be shouldered by the S.A.B.C. Springbok Radio, as the probably necessary channel for the provision of popular entertainment plays hardly any part in this at all.

Raising Standards

As to the S.A.B.C., the symphony orchestras and the engagement of internationally famous artists are greatly appreciated, but why must its programmes compete with the commercial station by providing the same type of programme, and offering the listener cash prizes for the correct solution of infantile questions?

With Springbok Radio at their disposal, the authorities should not be afraid of raising the standard of non-commercial programmes well above the average popular level and catering for the more discriminating listener.

They, as well as many artists who try to satisfy the needs of the musical public, must realize that South African listeners are in no way inferior to any others in the world.

Familiarity with a work of art always helps to overcome difficulties in appreciating it.

If we are not familiar with other than hackneyed works, it is the fault of the professional musicians who lack the courage to delve into unknown artistic territory—a pioneering spirit of which South Africa has in the past been justifiably proud.

GEORGE PARLIN

CINEMA

Film Fable Has Great Actress

THE most outstanding film in Johannesburg for some time is "La Strada", and surprisingly, (one would have thought "A Face in the Crowd" better entertainment and that lasted six days) it has done good business.

The reason isn't clear: it probably has a lot to do with the astonishing performance of Giulietta Masina, or may simply be that this is no sense a controversial film. It is merely, almost flatly, a simple often funny, sometimes dreadful statement of life.

The story, which is told up and down Italy in a series of bleak, unconnected episodes, is of Gelsomina, the Simpleton, (Giulietta Masina), a little goblin of a girl who is sold as assistant and wife to Zampano, the Brute, (Anthony Quinn), an inarticulate, itinerant fair-ground strong-man who treats her with indifferent and casual cruelty.

She mutely suffers it all, and in spite of two impotent efforts to escape—helped in one by the debonair, gentle Fool (Richard Basehart) who tries to guide her to a road away from the brute—she stays with him until, driven mad, she is abandoned.

Years later, Zampano is reminded of Gelsomina by the faint, poignant snatches of a song. Drunk and desperate bellowing like an enraged, embattled animal, he violently escapes the restraints of his friends, and when he can find no more opponents, flings himself on the sea shore, sobbing his heart out.

Director Fellini presents his

fable boldly, in episodes, all visual, at a reach beyond realism.

These are the characters of a Morality play, and he points their apartness by showing them in a variety of contexts, a religious festival, a wedding feast, a holiday crowd, a secluded convent.

His episodes are heavily loaded with symbols, the chief one, of course, being the Road itself. Some of them seem remote, what, for instance, does a mishappen little boy in a huge eerie bedroom have to do with it all?

The stature of the story is no doubt enlarged by Giulietta Masina's Gelsomina, part pixie, part rag doll, part idiot; pathetic, timid, comic and resilient. Not for a moment does her performance falter, though it may be argued that the gleam in her eyes is less the radiant innocence she is portraying than her own intelligence shining through.

"Witness for the Prosecution" hardly justified the ballyhoo. Apart from a shattering don't-tell-your-friends climax, it is pretty stock court-room drama, genus Old Bailey, Middle Temple, old Uncle Charles Laughton and all.

What with the latter braying and stamping in the grand, irascible forensic manner, Tyrone Power woodenly yelling his innocence from the dock at every opportunity, and Marlene Dietrich revealing only towards the end that she hasn't strayed into the wrong part by mistake, the big court scene lacks authenticity.

Does the shock multiple twist at the end redeem an hour and a half of this? There is room for reasonable doubt.

PAT WILLIAMS

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NEWSNAME

George Golding: Success Story

THE names of the United Party men who scooped the pool in the first separate Coloured elections are news; but the name behind the news in this election is that of a man who under the Separate Representation of Voters Act can never sit in the South African Parliament.

For nearly 20 years the affable, corpulent figure of George John Golding has strolled urbanely puffing at a bamboo-tipped cheroot and beaming above a bright red buttonhole, through the storm centres of Coloured politics.

Few South African politicians (Dr. Verwoerd excepted) have been subject to more constant and consistent criticism; and fewer still (Dr. Verwoerd included) have

emerged so personally successful.

Mr. Golding's success, of course, must be measured by his own standards; his critics do not set the same value on his achievements.

Mr. Golding, for instance has no allergy to affluence. A purposeful business man, he has not — to judge by his living standards — allowed his political activity to detract from his profit margin.



His sober suitings, cut with care, are of no mean stuff; he has a reputation as a giver of gay, lavish parties; his home is discreetly sumptuous; the wedding he staged for his daughter (packed Cathedral, a traffic jam outside, and 500 guests at the reception) was an opulent send-off.

Fellow school-teachers — Mr. Golding is principal of the Ashley Street Primary School — find it hard to keep up with the Goldings.

Irons in the Fire

But although Mr. Golding's school is run on business lines, even to an inter-com system over which his rich voice booms somewhat disconcertingly, it is not from his profession that the profits come.

Mr. Golding has many irons in the fire, and his critics have made much play with the claim that part of his income has derived from the collection of slum rentals.

But their main complaint about Mr. Golding the business man is that he is too apt to look at politics in terms of percentages. They recall the proposition to use the Coloured People's National Union, of which Mr. Golding is President, as a platform for the foundation of a limited liability

company which would run a listing enterprise.

Epithet Shower

But of all the sins Mr. Golding has committed in the eyes of his critics, the most heinous was his acceptance of the paid post of chairman of the Coloured Advisory Council.

That Mr. Golding should consent to preside over a body which they regarded as the instrument of race segregation, and receive a reward for so doing, moved them to vituperation which landed them in a libel action.

The damages awarded Mr. Golding on that occasion were not spectacular, and if they served as a deterrent, it was not an over-forcible one. For Mr. Golding has continued to be showered with ever more ingenious epithets.

His appointment as South Africa's first Coloured I.P. was greeted with some derision when it was made by Mr. Harry Lawrence under the Smuts' Government. But that was nothing to the howl that went up when the Nationalist Government subsequently confirmed it.

Rode the Storm

And the criticism reached a crescendo when Mr. Golding during the Parliamentary passage of the Separate Representation Bill, with feelings among the Coloured people running higher than ever in history, wrote a letter to Dr. Malan hinting at the possibility of conditional acceptance of an apartheid voters roll.

But George Golding rode this and succeeding storms with his customary aplomb.

They apparently made no inroads on his social acceptability among those whose company he values. His crisply-laundered white shorts and nonchalantly swinging racket—on the court it

swings to good effect—continued to grace many a tennis party.

He continued to enjoy his billiards and snooker with his customary boys-in-the-backroom joviality and his chess with more serious mien. But perhaps there were fewer boys in the backroom and not so many intellectuals seeking chess opponents.

A.P.O. Split

For on his own admission, by the time Mr. Golding emerged again into the political limelight his following in the C.P.N.U. — which he founded when the African People's Organization split on the segregation issue—had dwindled from 40,000 to 8,000.

The occasion of Mr. Golding's emergence was a congress of Coloured people which under the auspices of the C.P.N.U. and Mr. Golding's careful guidance, voted for "participation under protest" in the separate elections.

Mr. Golding used the occasion, too, to deny that he was "behind" Mr. Bloomberg's candidature; but his critics—the South African Coloured People's Organization this time—felt they knew better.

Their candidate's literature called on Coloured voters to "Vote the SACPO man and smash George Golding's plan"

But if Mr. Golding did have any plan to ensure that his old friend Abe Bloomberg became an M.P. representing the Coloured people it must have been a well-laid one. There was no mistake about Mr. Bloomberg's success.

And when Mr. Bloomberg was chaired from the scene after his "famous victory" George John Golding's expansive, somewhat proprietorial smile was caught by the cameras at Mr. Bloomberg's right hand.

It was the smile of a man who had backed another winner.

Said...

"SENATOR DE KLERK is the father of the workers of South Africa".—Mr. H. J. van Wyk, Nationalist Party candidate for Welkom.

"I am known as Jan 'Bloedrivier' de Klerk and Swaart Jan. I am proud of those names".—Senators De Klerk.

"THE black sash woman with the toilet paper over her shoulder is one of the deformed children given birth by the United Party before the election".—Professor A. J. Malan, Nat. candidate for Pretoria Hercules.

"THE extremists will leave the United Party, and the same will happen in the Nationalist ranks. The two moderate sections will then fuse into a great new party".—Mr. J. H. Griesel, U.P. candidate for Fauresmith.

"UNIVERSITY life in South Africa is founded to a large extent on commercialism and a love of power".—Professor G. Durrant, Durban.

"ENGLISH will not be an official language, not because the Government will abolish it, but because of the young people who are coming into the public service and who are not bilingual".—Major P. van der Byl.

And Done

MR. JEPPE SIEKULA MEI, an arts graduate of the University College of Fort Hare, Alice, has been granted a scholarship tenable at the University of Oxford. He will become a member of Wadham College, where he will read for an honours degree in history when the academic year opens on October 1. Son of Mr. and Mrs. Aron Mei, of Lovedale, he will receive his University Education Diploma at the April graduation ceremony at Fort Hare. He is at present teaching at the Jabavu Secondary School, Fort Hare. Mr. Mei is 25, a bachelor.

AMONG the new trainees at the Livingstone Hospital, Port Elizabeth, is 17-year-old VALERIE BAATJES, of Uitenhage, who completed the National Senior Certificate (a two-year course) in a single year, by private studies. She passed all her subjects at a single sitting, securing a University Exemption and also distinctions in Geography and Biology. She was coached by her father, Mr. H. C. Baatjes, Principal of the Dower Training College, her mother, who is a qualified music teacher and Mr. I. Paulse, mathematics master at the College. A brilliant student, with an attractive personality, Valerie passed her J. C. at Dower with a B-aggregate. Her father holds the degrees of B.Ed. and B.A. Hons in Geography.

W. F. ASHBURNER

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LETTERS

Journalists and Apartheid

SIR, Mr. J. K. Chilwell, president of the South African Society of Journalists, airily dismisses as "nonsense" the statement in your recent article, "Cower of the Press", that so far all agreements with the employers have been negotiated voluntarily.

He, of all people, should know that in 1955 the Society did not negotiate a new agreement, but obtained a few enforced crumbs from the managerial table by way of an arbitration award which was accepted by the Minister. The award provided for a five per cent. increase in the various salary scales.

Not Scared

Mr. Chilwell is no doubt confusing this award with the voluntary agreement negotiated with the employers in 1948, into which the five per cent. increases were eventually written.

Mr. Chilwell writes: "We are currently enjoying a three-year agreement negotiated only after a



threat by the Society to invoke the Industrial Conciliation Act." That

is really amusing. The employers are not so easily scared off!

And Mr. Chilwell does not take account that in accepting the employers' terms (for they called the tune all along) he and his fellow negotiators discarded two important principles: an acknowledgement that a certain proportion of senior journalists should receive substantially more than the minimum salary scale for a senior; and that photographers, in terms of the precedent set when the 1948 agreement was signed, should be on the same senior salary scales as journalists.

Not a single agreement has been negotiated in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. If the Society were to become deregistered tomorrow, in terms of the apartheid provisions Act, it would lose nothing.

In a rabble-rousing tour of branches before the Society balloted on the apartheid provisions, Mr. Chilwell sought to frighten members into voting for a

"mixed" union on the ground that if the Society became deregistered it would lose all that it had fought for and gained over the past 30 years. That is nonsense, of course.

For Apartheid

The newspaper employers are not that bad, and they would certainly not take advantage of the Society's lack of statutory protection by refusing to sign further voluntary agreements. A large majority of members voted for a mixed union, and one wonders to what extent they were influenced by the specious arguments of their president during his tour.

Whether Mr. Chilwell likes it or not, the Society, by plumping for a mixed union, has chosen to accept the principle of apartheid and, if not in its own eyes, at least in the eyes of informed outsiders, it has certainly gained the appearance of becoming dishevelled.

Intriguing Examples Of A New Fiction Form

The Skin is Deep by Hans Hofmeyr

The Leopard by V. S. Reid

Sea Never Dry by Anthony Smith

Mandevilla by Kate Thompson

(Secker and Warburg)

(Heinemann)

(Allen and Unwin)

(George G. Harrap)

JUDGING by the bookshop windows, the world has developed an insatiable curiosity about Africa. All the animals, from antelope to zebra, who ever appeared on the blocks scattered over the nursery floor, growl, stalk and pounce in the bright-coloured jungles of dust-jackets.

The hero in dinner-suit or tweed sportscoat has lost the stage to unlikely and oddly-clad rivals.

Nowadays, his place might be taken by a savage in a loin-cloth or a mine-boy in blanket and hob-nailed boots.

The plot, once some neat civilized domestic or romantic entanglement, has given way to that of the primitive mind struggling to grasp the tricky magic of the white man's world. A formula as trite as the one it has replaced? Perhaps. A lot depends on the handling.

What lies behind this sudden interest in Africa? The truth is that the interest is not in Africa alone, but in all the previously off-beat places of the world. In recent years, the geographical horizons of fiction have been extended; India, Japan, Australia and Malaya, for example, have figured as prominently as Africa as the locale of modern fiction.

The novel has become foot-loose, throwing off the inhibitions that for decades kept it shut up in cities and country houses, donning a sun-helmet and khaki

shorts, and joining the stream of tourists on world cruises and investors searching for oil and minerals in the new continents.

Neighbourly Peek

The world today is no bigger than an English county of 50 years ago; a riot in Tunisia makes a din in London sitting-rooms. Is it surprising that people want to have a peek at the strange new families that have moved in as next-door neighbours?

The interest in foreign lands is no accident or freak, no mere fashion in reading taste. It is here to stay and the publishers are responding to a real need, not a whim, in producing books about faraway places.

But the demand is still way ahead of the supply—not from the point of view of numbers of novels produced, in this respect the stream rolls on abundantly—the true and skillful fictional portrayal of a new land and people and problems. There are a large number of tries, but awfully few hits, and unless somebody comes up soon with the right method, the overseas reading pub-



Harry Bloom, author of the South African novel, Episode, discusses four new novels which range over the wide African field, each contributing something to the development of what he sees as a new fiction form.

lic is going to lose patience with the fumbling amateurism of the new fiction form.

New Form

For it is a new fiction form, for which it is not easy to find guidance and precedent in the established literature of Europe. It is new psychological, as well as geographical, territory, a new world of manners, customs and politics, and a whole untested, little-understood and constantly changing complex of social relations.

So far, most novelists who grapple with this lush, virginal raw material find themselves hopelessly tangled in it. It is not as easy as it looks to write the new style African novel.

Four novels just published give a good sample of the fare that is being offered to a reading public eager to learn about Africa. They range the continent, and the whole scale of its problems and social structure: race tragedy in the Transvaal, the savagery of the Mau Mau war, the flamboyant, calypso-style civilization of West Africa, the sunlit serenity of a wealthy Huguenot family in Cape Town.

People Flat

Yet what emerges is only scenery — landscape beautifully painted, the earth, its colours,

smells and moods, lovingly described, animals drawn with verve—and people flat as cardboard. What has gone wrong? Every one of these authors has real talent. Yet in each case the talent has been submerged by some pretension or floundering or lack of sincerity.

"The Skin is Deep" by Hans Hofmeyr is a book that demands to be taken seriously. When a writer of such undoubted artistry appears on the scene, flags of welcome should be hung out. An Afrikaner, he has a taut, clean, sculptural mastery of the English language. His sympathies are with his African characters, and he handles one of them, Hayihayi, the wife of main character, Chilembwe, with a poignant sensitivity that is remarkable.

The story is simple and not unfamiliar. Chilembwe, who arrives by plane from Nyasaland to work on the gold mines, deserts after a blasting accident and goes to live in Alexandra Township. He meets Hayihayi, falls in love with her and they live together in one of those informal marital unions so common in the townships.

Tornado

A tornado flattens large areas of the township, and the task is completed by government bulldozers that arrive to clear the slums. Hayihayi gets a new house in the glittering new township of Sweet Meadows, and her true husband turns up to share the good luck. Chilembwe decides to walk back to his home, but hunger and exhaustion defeat him, and he takes a job on a farm.

At first hating his baas and the work, Chilembwe begins to feel a glow of pride and achievement in making the derelict farm productive, and he sends for Hayihayi to share the hut that has been given him. Then after a drunken rampage by a brutal farmer, the farmhands riot, and Chilembwe is killed by his fellow workers for defending his baas.

But at the very moment of his death, Hayihayi gives birth to a son.

Inaccurate

These are the bare bones of the story, a structure on which a writer of Mr. Hofmeyr's ability could easily have written a memorable story. Yet the novel is irreparably marred by poor plot construction, wild and nonsensical invention, and pointless inaccuracies.

Why, if he wanted to make the bulldozing of houses and the removal by government lorries to Sweet Meadows part of his plot, did he set his story in Alexandra where, as everyone knows, such things did not happen? Why not Sophiatown where they did?

This is not being carping. Such faults make one uncomfortable and destroy one's belief in the story. Why Sweet Meadows? What genteel consideration made the author avoid Meadowlands?

Why must he make the reader incredulous by introducing impossible coincidences?

It is startling enough to learn that the farm where Chilembwe

seeks work is owned by the very man who was his overseer at the mine, and who was dismissed because of the blasting accident that caused Chilembwe to desert. But when the man decides to sell the farm, it is impossible to believe that the only two people who come to view it are the Indian racketeer who had blackmailed Chilembwe into his employ in Alexandra, and the police chief who had resigned the force in disgust at an event that involved Chilembwe.

Does Mr. Hofmeyr know that Indians are prohibited from buying farms from Europeans?

Nun's Death

Perhaps a bigger disappointment is a striving to introduce brutal and sensational events at any cost, as if the author lacked confidence in the inherent strength of his story and his power to put it over.

A pity. It gives the story a jagged, contrived look. Mr. Hofmeyr need not lack confidence. He writes well enough to manage without the aid of Cecil B. de Mille-style earthquakes. Within the space of hours, a tornado hits the township, a nun is butchered and her flesh eaten by crazed Africans, the bulldozers arrive and the people are moved. Just when things are going fine on

(Continued on page 17)

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Race Slander Perpetuated

(Continued from page 16)

the farm, a swarm of locusts devours the crops, and immediately on top of that crisis, there comes the riot of the farm hands. Something needs to be said about the introduction of the story of the nun. It is completely inexplicable why it comes into the book at all. It bears no apparent relation to the plot. There is no build-up to the incident, and no aftermath. It is simply dragged in, with the same kind of compulsiveness that makes Cabinet Ministers and State Information officials trot it out whenever they want to prove what barbarians the African people are.

Race Slander

This story is becoming a persistent racial slander on the African people, employed as the notorious Protocols of Zion were once used to whip up hatred of the Jews. Mr. Hofmeyer confidently states in a forward, as, apparently, justification for introducing the incident: "After all, natives do fly in Dakotas to Francistown; a nun was butchered in a native township, and soon afterwards the Great Tornado did tear its way through Shamytown."

But does Mr. Hofmeyer, or any of the others who give currency to this grisly slander, know that the allegations of cannibalism were never proved; that in the trial of the eight youths who were convicted of murdering the unfortunate woman, there was no evidence of it, although there were numbers of eye-witnesses to the murder?

In any case the resort to one incident to typify a whole people, is a base trick, even when employed by politicians. One doesn't expect it of an author who employs the criteria of art and sensitivity.

And Whites?

Perhaps Mr. Hofmeyer felt it necessary to his thesis to demonstrate a kind of basic, underlying savagery in the African people. If so, it is at odds with so much else in his book, and he has chosen an unfortunate and unconvincing means of doing it.

Lately there have been several cases of white men shooting their wives and children, but only a lunatic would conclude that such acts are typical of white South Africans.

"The Leopard" by V. S. Reid, a West Indian, living in Kenya, is a remarkable book, full of a

savage, bloodshot poetry that captures the superstition and terror and mystery of Africa.

"In the yellow-shot dark of the rainstorm, Nebu saw the erect pink flowers of chestnuts and the laburnams beaten into the mud, and the leaves of the wild figs thick and deformed under the water pouring from them; and he wondered, as he had always wondered when he was a child, where did the lions and buffalo and rhino cover in the storm?"

"And where did the elands and gazelles gallop to, when the floods opened over their heads? And did the eagles and the heavenly flamingoes kill their pride and weep among the rocks when the long rains loosened? Beyond the limits of the land where the tribe hunted, marked by those humpy hills rising and falling three days' journey to the east, the sun first thrust up the straight yellow shafts, and you could see them swelling with growth, throbbing and widening as the golden ball hauled its weight up them, until, fat with fun, the great globe broke over the hills laughing wildly, and the night ran bowling off the land."

Mr. Reid is a writer indeed, and "The Leopard" contains some of the finest examples of that special type of lyrical writing so suitable for books on Africa.

Dual Pain

Nebu, a member of Mau Mau is hunting a white man to death in Kenya forests in order to obtain his rifle. He kills his quarry, but in the course of the struggle he is wounded, and then finds that he is being stalked by a leopard as relentlessly as he tracked down the European.

Tortured, physically by the festering wound, and mentally by a new travelling companion, his own illegitimate child, who has the power to inflict even worse pain, he succumbs eventually to the leopard, the symbol of the violence and cruel animal lust of Africa.

Told at a pitch of sustained tension and raw-nerved agony, the short, intensely felt tale has the flavour of an allegory or a snatch of nightmare.

Perhaps one ought not to expect too much in the way of characterisation or plot, for conceivably, in a book of this kind, the author did not intend these to be import-

(Continued on page 18)

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Mau Mau Story And Pea Soup

(Continued from page 17)

ant. But he *does* present us with a plot in which we are asked to believe, and here, unfortunately the whole magnificent intention crumbles away.

Proof Needed

For it appears that the man whom Nebu is fortuitously hunting down is the husband of the high-class Englishwoman to whom Nebu made love one wild night in a storm. And that the crippled child accompanying the white man is Nebu's own son by that tempestuous incident.

That Nebu, who is depicted as a raw cruel compact of muscles and nerves, barely differentiated from the animals among whom he lives, could have had a love affair with a beautiful white Kenya socialite, does not seem peculiar to the author, but it does to us, without some explanation.

That a member of the Mau Mau, and a veteran of several raids under the notorious General Koko, does not know that a rifle needs cartridges to be effective, sounds just silly. Why does Mr. Reid do this to us?

Good Laugh

"Sea Never Dry," by Anthony Smith, has a good laugh at Africa,

for a change. We have all seen those odd little newspapers named "The Gold Coast Globe" or "Freetown Liberator" with their crazy jumbled letterpress, muddy pictures, and indignant crusading editorials.

This is the story of the rise and fall of one of these journalistic enterprises, and the ebullient, optimistic, quaint talking characters behind it, the beauty queen contests, the jazz dives, the jejune finances, the get-rich schemes, the "been to's" (those who have been to England for education) and the whole hot, steamy pop-life of the new Ghana.

There are good laughs in this book, and no attempt to be serious. It should appeal to many. But Mr. Smith, a crusader himself who travelled up Africa on a motorcycle writing articles for the Manchester Guardian—the polar opposite of the "African Sun" of his story,—does not make the most of his material.

Contagious Method

The slapdash, hit or miss methods of his characters seem to have affected him, and the book reads as if he simply batted the whole thing off on his typewriter in two or three night-long sessions.

"Daniel was about to interrupt again, but Ugo asked him to be quiet. He then turned to the policeman and asked them to show the impounding order. Solemnly, but unerringly, they produced it. So Ugo told them that the lorry was at the garage and still unfit for the road. The policemen were momentarily baffled and asked if they could telephone for further instructions. Ugo was about to refuse . . . etc."

This of course, is not writing. It is merely bemused sleep-talking; much of the book reads that way and the result is that the whole thing has a monotonous, monologous flatness, like stale ginger beer.

Still, Mr. Smith loves his characters enthusiastically, and a lot of this goodwill comes over. Pity he didn't try a little harder. One feels that when writing "Sea Never Dry" he was anxious to hop on his motorbike and chug on to new places.

"Deep South"

"Mandevilla" by Kate Thompson, is a story about South Africa's Deep South—the stately old houses, vineyards, and gardens of Constantia, with old Huguenot families living in sunlit splendour,

waited on by faithful old retainers, and plagued by family skeletons.

Old Judge Derain, a clean-cut Lewis Stone type, who likes to sit and think for hours on end while gazing out over the Constantia valley, mourns the absence of his son Beau (the names are straight out of Kentucky) who fled to South America after beating a skolly to death in a street brawl.

A letter comes from an illiterate person in Port Victoria (Port Elizabeth) announcing that in a certain orphanage there is a long-lost cousin of the family who has been left a lot of money by a crippled uncle who was in love with her mother. They arrange for her to come to Groot Huis, and all go to the station to meet what turns out to be a real smasher of a blonde.

Pea Soup Plot

They drive her home past the foot of the Doe's Peak (Devil's Peak—definitely) and she finds her level in the household by becoming a kind of auxiliary servant.

But Beau returns and starts haunting the girl's room while the rest of the house is hushed in creaking, echoing, midnight silence, so they pack her off to some cousins who have an old mansion

on a cliffside at Paarden Bay (Hout Bay—from the description) where some other cousin took a plunge to her death on horseback, fully attired in jodhpurs and spurs, years before.

One of the judge's daughters is a bit of a bitch who poses in the nude for a slick, suede-shoe wearing commercial artist, and eventually leaves her hardworking doctor husband for this riff-raff. The plot is as thick as pea-soup.

This book will have a big readership among devotees of women's magazines, but it is not for anyone who has read thus far into this review.

Reading "Mandevilla" makes one think that it is time for some new Corn Laws.

HARRY BLOOM.



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Ashamed To Be Coloured?

(Continued from page 10)

is a good thing, but the law (or the whites) apparently think it is evil. Therefore we must have reservation of jobs!

Is it not possible, even in this country, to let a man progress as far as he is able? Is it such a sin for him to be an engineer—or an architect—or an advocate?

Or to sit in Parliament? But, of course, there is always the fear that the whites will be swamped. Somehow, I don't think that this will happen. There will be more competition, and the whites are already seeding this for easy, protected living has had an adverse effect on them.

The white man will have to climb down from his false protected position—he will have to forget his arrogance (his downfall in so many colonial countries) and he will have to learn to work WITH the non-European.

Not necessarily as a boss but as a worker. If his ability and character ensure him leadership, well, that is how it should be; but if a non-European has the ability and the character to lead, the white must be prepared to serve under him.

Your friend refers to the race classification inquisition. He doesn't like it, but he thinks it is possibly necessary, because people should not be ashamed of being what they really are.

He is not ashamed of being an Englishman—he was born that way. As far as this aspect is concerned I agree with him absolutely, though I must tell him that far too many of his countrymen in this country are too apologetic about the land of their birth. They compromise too readily with ideals which are foreign to the British way of thought—and all because they are scared of being regarded as "ultralanders."

I am glad your friend doesn't say he is proud of being an Englishman, for I can see no cause

for pride in being born an Englishman or a Frenchman or any other nationality.

Not Proud

So, I am not proud of being a coloured man, but neither am I ashamed of the fact.

What of the near-whites in the race classification? Are they ashamed of being coloured? It does seem like it. But why?

1. Because to be coloured in this country is a sin—a sin which brings many punishments in its train.

2. Because of the punishments he must try to hide the fact that he is a sinner.

So the informer gets to work and the "smelling-out" begins. And a perfectly respectable member of society who did his work conscientiously will be declared as incapable of holding down that particular job. He can no longer earn the white wage to keep his family in comfort.

He can no longer give orders to white men. He can no longer ride in a white coach on the railways. He is ostracised by his white "friends." He has committed the unpardonable sin of being coloured.

Many of these people are ashamed of being coloured because of the disadvantages under which they suffer. Who has made them ashamed? To a great extent the law of the land: for the law has a legion of "Thou shalt nots" for a coloured man.

I am at present reading a History of the Cape Coloured People: 1652-1937, by J. S. Marais, Professor at Wits. University.

Some Excuse

It is a tale of the weakness, improvidence, laziness, etc. of the coloured people. I can find some excuse for them, for it was a complete change of method of living

for them—but for the rapacity, selfishness and sheer injustice of the whites I can find no excuse.

What did your friend hope to establish by asking the Indian whether he would like to live in his house with him or to go to a party with him? The Indian would have been an idiot if he had answered "Yes."

What would he do in your friend's house knowing that he would be looked upon with suspicion and dislike?

Or to go to a party where everybody present would openly or covertly show him that he was by no means welcome.

The mere fact that a man is white does not make him acceptable in my home. There are thousands upon thousands of whites who would feel extremely uncomfortable in my home—not because of the colour difference but because their standard of living and manner of living is quite different to mine.

Be Ashamed

I have been into a number of European homes, but the fact that they were Europeans has affected me not at all because my standard of living differed very little—if at all—from theirs.

Your friend must also remember that there are signs that the time is coming when coloured people will not want to go into any European's home because of the injustices which the whites are perpetrating.

I repeat: the whites have done much of which they should be ashamed. With the non-European's realization of what has been done to him (and what is still being done to him) has come a change from a feeling of awe, admiration and respect to one bordering on contempt.

Your friend considers that some progress in the right direction has been made in

personal relationships. In his case, and in the case of others like him who are prepared to treat a man on his merits, yes, I agree. But isn't it a pity if these personal relationships have to be destroyed by a series of "Thou shalt nots" by the law?

'Own Areas'

Your friend (like the majority of white people) seems to think that "separate development" is the only solution to the problem.

Where is this separate development to take place? In our own areas?

Remembering that the coloured population alone is over 1,000,000 as compared with the whites 2,000,000, take a map of the country (or even of the Peninsula) and find which are "our" areas. Compare the "white" ones with ours. Since 1948—or before—what legislation has been of benefit to the coloured man?

In this separate development I suppose the non-European will still be needed by the white man to assist in his separate development, except that he must live at some convenient (and sometimes inconvenient) distance from the whites.

You need his labour but not his company.

Will Disappear?

Assume for a moment that all colour bars were removed: what difference would it make to your way of living?

You are afraid that if all non-Europeans were given the vote we would have a black parliament. I am not at all convinced that that will be the case. But it is possible that in the first surge of victory many blacks or rather non-Europeans will be returned. There are still 2,000,000 whites and they must have representation.

The white man's favoured and protected position will disappear. But is that such an evil thing?

Had it not been for the arrogance and obstinacy of the whites this representation of non-Europeans by non-Europeans could have been a natural, gradual process. Now, I wonder if it is not too late.

Must the whites—as happens in so many countries—wish to retain power and authority until they are forced out?

Why should the good work they have done be nullified by their persistence in denying the non-Europeans a say in the governing of their country?

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