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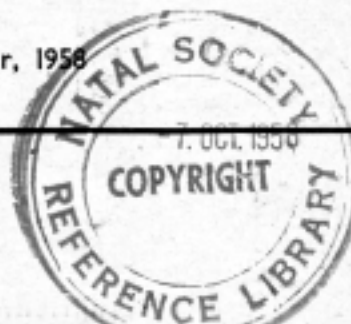
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says strikes
'legitimate'**



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PASSIVE RESISTANCE, STRIKES LEGITIMATE, SAYS PETER BROWN

THEY SPOKE TO
500 PEOPLE

DURBAN.—Passive resistance and strikes were legitimate methods of political action, the national chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Peter Brown, said last week in Durban at a public meeting.

In doing so, he boldly answered the question which has been begged by the more timorous leaders of other Opposition parties, and treated the Nationalist myth that extra-parliamentary resistance is necessarily subversive with the contempt it deserves.

Mr. Brown was replying to questions about a statement he had made during his speech. He had said that the attack against Nationalism must be made on two fronts, the first that of contesting elections and attempting to convince the electorate.

"We can also bring about change," he continued, "by building up such peaceful, extra-parliamentary pressures that nobody, the authorities or the voters, can afford to disregard them."

"If you have a Government which insulates itself from the normal democratic pressures, what else can one do?"

C.I.D. present

Mr. Brown's questioner was one of a small group which included two members of the Security Branch of the C.I.D. and a handful of well-known Durban Nationalists.

Another questioner, whose sympathies appeared to lie with the Non-European Unity Movement, tried vainly to persuade Mr. Brown that violence was the only remedy in the present South African situation.

"I am entirely opposed to any change brought about by violence," was the reply.

"If violence erupts, the blame will lie with the Nationalists—the Liberal Party's function would be to bring the warring factions together."

Question-time brought a boisterous mood to a meeting which however, remained orderly throughout.

Further points made by Mr. Brown were:

* "Since Union, South Africa has strayed farther and farther from the path of orthodox democracy into the gloomy byways of authoritarianism. It has done so largely by manipulating the vote. The manipulation has not been a Nationalist monopoly. The United Party has played its full share in this sordid process."

* "The Nationalists have no respect for the Parliamentary system. They have rigged it to ensure their automatic return to office every five years. Parliament is no longer a democratic organ. It is an institution which the Nationalists find convenient to use. But they hold reasonable argument and debate in contempt. Parliament is a rubber-stamp which gives the mark of respectability to their obnoxious laws."

* "As long as the political contest remains a contest within the white group, the Nationalists cannot fail to win. But once it moved out of the realms of circumscribed white politics, the

Nationalists cannot fail to lose."

Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the A.N.C., was one of an audience of all races, which was also addressed by Mr. Jordan Ngubane and Mr. Iswar Amin.

Mr. Ngubane said that South Africa's only solution lay in ensuring that white and non-white are bound together by values of life and loyalties which have a similar meaning on both sides of the colour line, in ensuring that the like-minded stand together in opposition to apartheid and its absurdities.

"We believe that the reason why the men of apartheid are so powerful to-day is because they are not opposed on a clear basis of principle."

"The United Party is little more than a wing of the Nationalist Party in matters of race. As long as it is committed to the delusion that it opposes apartheid by fighting it on matters of detail while agreeing with it in principle, South Africa will be a doomed country."

"To be effective, opposition to apartheid must be on clear principles, and we provide that."

The Nationalists, he said, were "the most efficient agents Moscow has in this country", because in preaching that democracy was not for non-whites, they surrendered the tactical initiative to the communists.

Enormous burdens

Mr. Amin told the meeting that no one who was not a Non-European could have any idea of the enormity of the burdens on his body and on his soul.

Contrasting black with white nationalism, he said that black nationalism did not seek the expulsion or subjection of the whites.

"On the contrary, it pleads for a share in a multi-racial society in which there will be no discrimination on grounds of race."

"I wonder how many of us realise how fortunate South Africa is in that non-white leadership is not anti-white? How vastly different from Kenya and Uganda. Must this opportunity be lost before it is too late?"

Civil liberties

The annual general meeting of the Civil Rights League will be opened on October 9 at 8 p.m. in the Metropolitan Methodist Hall, Cape Town.

The guest speaker, Mr. Leo Marquard, will speak on: "Civil Liberties at home and abroad."

A.N.C. protest against tax increases, new pass law

WHETHER it pleased the Government or not, he must protest in the name of the African people against the recent increase in taxes, Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, a Cape Town member of the African National Congress, told a meeting on the Grand Parade, Cape Town, on September 28.

The meeting was called by the A.N.C. Co-ordinating Committee to protest against the extension of the pass system to women, and at the increase in the taxes. It was attended by some 500 people of all races.

There were several speakers. Mr. R. Soguibba attacked the influx control regulations. "The Africans are useful in the cities," he said. They are called in to help work in the factories. Then they are harassed by the Government. Why call in the Africans and then try to chase them out again? It is nonsense."

Help needed

Stressing the non-racial approach of Congress, Mr. K. Nboza said that they needed the help of all. Everyone who has made his home in the country was an African.

Even for a short session of three months, M.P.s, he said, had to bring their wives to Cape Town, yet they expected African families to be divided for years.

Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, referring to greetings said to have been sent to Dr. Verwoerd by Africans on his appointment as Prime Minister, said: "Not a single African who is not an employee of Verwoerd's will wish him well. Their memories of him as Minister of Native Affairs are too vivid."

Nursing challenge to apartheid

The status of the South African Nursing Association as a discriminatory body is being challenged at the International Nursing Council. The world body has been supplied with full information about the non-discriminatory body (FOSANAM) which has been set up.

FOSANAM's aims include: "to avoid at all costs the further violation of the nurses' code of ethics" and "to promote and protect the interest of all nurses, irrespective of race, colour or creed."



Mr. Thomas Ngwenya (at the microphone) and Mr. R. Soguibba, two of the speakers at the well-attended A.N.C. meeting on Grand Parade, Cape Town, on September 28.

'Single-nation states are obsolete'

THE twin threats of world starvation and nuclear destruction had made single nation states and single race states obsolete, said Dr. David Thomson in the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture to the Institute of Race Relations on September 3.

"It took the enormities of Dachau and Auschwitz and Hitler's experiment in genocide to demonstrate that racial supremacy is unattainable without destroying civilisation."

Dr. Thomson, who is Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, described the belief that a society must be uniform in nationality or in race or it would perish as a "new superstition" that reached its climax in Europe and much of Asia in 1919.

Of the threat of world starvation through rising population, Dr. Thomson said that the world's population was increasing by 90,000 people every 24 hours, or by over 30 million people every year.

Whites fears

Enough of this increase came from Coloured peoples to aggravate white racial fears of being swamped, but the only hope of survival for both groups lay in their realising that in facing the impersonal threat of starvation they shared a common cause.

Nor did "the diabolical thought" that nuclear destruction would keep the world's population within bounds, bear examination.

"It is quite certain that nuclear war would so drastically diminish the production and distribution of food supplies that it would hasten, not retard, the coming of starvation in the world."

"By the end of this century — only 42 years away — the present world population of 2,500 million will have increased to at least 4,000 million, and may even have doubled to 5,000 million — and at present one-half the world's population is undernourished."

The best hope of preventing racial tensions from increasing to fatal proportions under the threat of world starvation lay in replacing the race-or nation-state by multi-racial and multi-national communities.

"It is a fact that the greatest

political power-units of our contemporary world are not themselves national or racial states. Not one is—or can attempt to be — other than a multi-national and multi-racial community, divided within itself by differences of every sort, yet they are also undeniably political entities of a highly effective kind held together by working political institutions."

"The tide of world affairs seems firmly set, therefore, against the predominance of the integrated nation-state or race-state, and in favour of decisive power lying with the multi-national and multi-racial communities. More and more divisions within the community are coming to be treated as unimportant in the eyes of the state, and irrelevant to the tasks of good government."

Through the dynamism of increased necessity, the future would see "a gradual shifting of emphasis and balance between what the state as we know it attempts to do on its own, and what it will increasingly find can be done effectively only in very close collaboration with other states."

"Of course these things might not happen. We may have nuclear war, and the effects of radioactivity so released may decimate the population, leaving behind an impoverished and suffering humanity. But I do not think they need to happen."

Dramatic challenges

"Let the energies, spiritual and physical, of even a majority of men and women within the world's Great Powers, be directed and concentrated more and more intensively on these common needs and ends—these dramatic and heart-stirring challenges to the very survival of mankind — and then I believe we could relegate our present obsessions with divisions of political ideology or of race to that category of relative insignificance where they properly belong in the second half of the twentieth century."

NIGERIAN NIGHT IN LONDON



Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria, and Mr. F. Ihenecho, the High Commissioner, receiving Mr. Edwin Ogbu, secretary for Nigerian student affairs in London, and Mrs. Ogbu, at a reception at the Dorchester Hotel, London.

ODEDE, PROMINENT MAU MAU SUSPECT, IS IN LIMELIGHT AGAIN

Kenyatta to be permanently restricted

CONTACT Special Correspondent

KENYA.—Following the public statement by Oginga Odinga, member of Kenya's Legislative Council, that the detainee Jomo Kenyatta was still "the leader of the African people" another Mau Mau suspect has come into the limelight.

A letter has just been published (in DRUM Magazine) which indicates that ex-Legco member Walter Fanuel Odede should have been brought to public trial some five years ago.

In March 1953 Odede was arrested for being implicated in Mau Mau and for attempting to spread violent Mau Mau methods from the widely affected Kikuyu country to his own Luo tribe. No official reasons were given.

The outcry in the Press at the time, about the arrest of a man who had publicly denounced Mau Mau practically every time he made a speech in Legco, and in his private conversations with his friends, was allowed to die down. The Kenya government never brought Odede to trial.

What Baring said

A letter which has recently been published, written by Councillor A. M. Ofaa (a loyalist supporter of the Kenya Government, who was later himself killed by Mau Mau) reveals that the Kenya Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, told him in a private conversation that he wanted Odede brought to trial without further delay.

It was a question of witnesses. If they agreed to come forward Odede "would soon be brought to trial. If on the other hand they refused to do so, he would have to wait a little longer".

That letter was written by Ofaa only six weeks after Odede's arrest but the witnesses who might have planted the information about him have still not come forward to be publicly cross-examined.

Freedom difficult

Odede is now restricted and it will be very difficult under current Kenya Government policy to let him go entirely free. Prisoners arrested under "emergency regulations" without a trial are gradually being let out of detention into "restriction". This means that the person is kept in some remote area where he is usually given a job, somewhere to live and the chance of seeing selected relatives. So far no outstanding African leaders have been entirely freed.

This is hardly surprising when one of the conditions of their release is that they should have nothing to do with politics of any kind. In fact they have to prove that they have lost their "political consciousness" while still in captivity.

The Kenya Government have announced that Jomo Kenyatta will never be entirely freed but will be permanently restricted when he finishes his current sentence next year.

SUDANESE VISIT TO RUSSIA

MOSCOW.—A Sudanese parliamentary delegation, led by Mohammed Shingeti, speaker of the House of Representatives, is visiting Russia at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet.

The delegation was met at Vnukovo airport here by a Soviet delegation, including Jan Peive, president of the Council of Nationalities, and Michael Georgadze, secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

GHANA GOVT. CONFISCATES ASHANTI PROPERTY

ACCRA.—The National Assembly has passed into law under a certificate of urgency a Bill which transfers all the property, rights and interests of the Asantehene to the Government of Ghana.

The law is based in the report of the Inquiry Commission which recently investigated the affairs of the traditional Kumasi Municipal Council, and also the Asantehene Council, the traditional council for all Ashanti.

The report concluded that the two councils had abused the trust imposed upon them, because they had used public funds to assist the former National Liberation Movement, and had "victimised people and other chiefs who were opposed to the National Liberation Movement."

According to the Opposition, the Ghana Government was using the Commission's report as a blind to implement its policy to seize control of all lands in the country from the traditional authorities, and manage and control them centrally.

NKRUMAH PLANS INDIA VISIT

NEW DELHI.—The Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, will visit India this winter, it was announced here.

The Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Secretary, Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, told Parliament that the visit would probably take place in December but that the exact date had not yet been fixed.

Million names sought for 'Release Kenyatta' plea

NAIROBI.—At a mass meeting here, members of Nairobi's "African District Congress" decided to embark on a million signature petition to the Queen demanding the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and other African leaders of the Mau-Mau uprising.

The audience stood with upraised thumbs—symbolising "Africa for Africans"—while the Congress President, Clem Argwings-Khodes, intoned a prayer asking for deliverance from imperialist rule.

"We prefer a government of hell run by African devils rather than a government of heaven run by foreigners," he added.

Khodes, whose house was recently searched on a magistrate's warrant, is a lawyer. Last year he was disbarred when he was convicted of defalcation of an African woman client's funds.

"Kenyatta and his colleagues fought for us," said Khodes. "They are still our leaders. They must be released at once. Do not rely on help from other places, but let us fight for real freedom in our own way."

Europeans could not live on African soil and call it their own, he said, adding amid thunderous applause: "We must not worship them on account of their owning our land—we must get it back."

Nuclear plant for Tchad

GENEVA.—Prof. Francis Perrin, chairman of the Second International Conference for the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy, in an interview here, outlined a scheme for installing a small nuclear plant at Fort Lamy, Tchad.

The experiment, he said, would yield valuable data on atomic energy possibilities in underdeveloped lands.

CALL TO DEFY COLOUR BAR

SALISBURY.—The Southern Rhodesia African National Congress has called on all its members to declare "social war" and to defy the colour bar in all its forms.

The congress, meeting here, has decided that racial discrimination in all public places in Southern Rhodesia should be made illegal.

The congress's national executive will decide when and how the campaign is to be waged.

Ghana approves policy of neutrality

ACCRA.—The Ghana National Assembly has adopted, by a majority vote, a motion from Premier Nkrumah requesting the House to approve the Government's foreign policy. This policy is defined as positive neutrality and non-alignment with any ideological or military bloc.

The opposition advocated unequivocal alignment with the West. They pointed out that Belgian neutrality did not spare that country from invasion during two world wars.

They also stressed the ideological nature of the division between the Western democratic and communist ways of life. They felt that Ghana must side with the West whose way of life she knew and cherishes, because, in a conflict of this sort, there existed no half-way house.

Government speakers maintained that Ghana's policy should be one of friendship with all countries and enmity with none. Ghana wanted friendship with France, friendship with Britain, friendship with Russia and all countries provided that friendship did not fetter Ghana's independence. Ghana was neither pro-West nor Pro-East: she was pro-Africa and pro-peace.

Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information, explaining the Premier's statement on the referendum in French African Territories, took it to imply that if Ghana were in their position, she would vote for complete freedom.

Earlier in the debate the Opposition denied a suggestion by Mr. Quaidoo, Minister of Transport, to the effect that they disagreed with the Premier's declaration that all Africa would condemn France if she went on with her programme to test atom bombs in the Sahara.

TALKS ON FUTURE OF NIGERIA

LONDON.—Constitutional talks which are expected to have a vital bearing on the future of Nigeria have been taking place here with the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

On his arrival in London by air for the talks, Alhaji Balewa said: "Every political party in Nigeria believes that Nigeria, after attaining independence, should remain in the British Commonwealth. I see no reason why those views should change."

'A big dream'

Asked whether he foresaw a Commonwealth of African Nations, he replied: "It is a big dream of many people at the moment. I think the countries in Africa have enough problems to attend to rather than to have thoughts of those things right now. Let us solve our problems internally and then think of an African Union or a West African Union."

The Prime minister said that Nigeria wanted independence by April 2 1960.

BRITAIN'S 'LAST CHANCE' TO OFFER DEMOCRACY TO UGANDA

From RAWLE KNOX

CAIRO.—Mr. J. Kale, who not long ago was president of his national students' union at the East African University College in Makerere, Uganda, runs a Press conference rather as though he had been elected to do so. He is young, charming, immensely voluble and sincere.

He masks the repeated phrase "maniac colonialists" with a smile in the direction of the only British correspondent in the room and always protests his fondness for the British people. But he says that with Uganda's first direct elections coming up in a month's time the British people have perhaps their last chance to show that they want real democracy for Uganda.

Uganda is 94,000 square miles of British Africa sandwiched between the Sudan in the north and Tanganyika in the South and between the Belgian Congo in the west and Kenya in the east; and nearly 14,000 square miles of it is swamp and water.

The Uganda National Congress, which Mr. Kale represents, has decided not to boycott the elections to be held in October because it considers, on reflection, that to have some sort of direct representation is at least a step forward. "We are not extremists", Mr. Kale keeps saying. However the Uganda National Congress objects in principle to a Legislative Assembly which will have only 16 directly-elected representatives out of 62 and maintains its demands for at least a majority of elected members in the Assembly.

Congress secretary arrested

But at the moment the grandest wrath of the National Congress is reserved for the British colonial authorities who have arrested its permanent secretary Mr. Otema Allimadi on his return from Cairo via the Sudan.

I met Mr. Otema two months or so ago disposing of voluminous correspondence in the cause of Free Uganda. Unlike Mr. Kale he is neither young nor candid, but wears the tough, wary air of a man who has spent most of his middle-aged life bucking authority.

Now he has apparently been arrested on a charge of "importing prohibited publications" which, according to Mr. Kale, were scholarship forms for the International Union of Students (Communist-backed) and a pamphlet explaining the conditions of entry of T.B. patients to the Afro-Asian students' sanatorium of the International Union of Students. Mr. Kale did not say where the sanatorium is.

'Bid to cripple party'

The chairman, Dr. Muwazi, and the secretary of the Uganda National Congress are already charged in Uganda with "sedition". According to Mr. Kale the British authorities are deliberately attempting to cripple the party before the elections.

The National Congress has been connected with all the recent world conferences which most Westerners regard as "fellow-

travelling". Mr. Kale, in an ingenuous breath, described the Afro-Asian "peoples" conference in Cairo last December as though it were the authorised successor to the Bandung Conference — a sequitur which many Afro-Asians would not follow. However the National Congress sturdily denies Communist affiliations.

Vague about funds

I asked Mr. Kale recently where he got the funds to continue producing the formidable flood of literature in Cairo that tells Uganda's tale. "Of course, we have sympathisers", he said with a shy smile. "We have them everywhere".

The Press conference ends with Mr. Kale making an appeal on behalf of four political refugees from Kenya who have sought asylum in the Sudan and have written a letter to the Cairo-published *Uganda Renaissance*, "organ of the foreign mission of the Uganda National Congress".

The role of the Sudan seemed hedged with doubt, for although the Kenyans had taken refuge there Mr. Kale earlier voiced his strong suspicion that the Sudan Government had connived with the British authorities in having Mr. Otema arrested.

The conference over, an African girl with a red handkerchief round her head, rises from the back of the room and distributes pamphlets on behalf of the UPC (United Populations of the Cameroons).

Confidence and pride

These are not sad exiles, these energetic politicoes from Uganda, the Cameroons and Kenya, and though they ask for your sympathy they do so with confidence, pride and grace.

Cairo, the inevitable haven of those Arabs and Africans with a cause to plead, who cannot plead it at home without courting arrest, serves its purpose.

For although these exiles on occasion employ hyperbole and special pleading they are calling attention to facts which the colonial authorities would rather pretend did not exist. Those authorities can hardly complain if a little blood runs into the ink every now and then, or if passion grows somewhat fevered in the distance of exile.

N. RHODESIA PROPOSALS DISAPPOINT

LUSAKA. — The proposed constitutional changes for Northern Rhodesia, published recently by Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, have met with violent criticism from Europeans and Africans alike here.

Legislative Council independent member John Gaunt described the proposals as "a gross and deliberate betrayal of white civilisation in Northern Rhodesia". Two Africans would be appointed to the Executive Council "with no qualifications other than that their skins were black," he said.

Northern Rhodesia's ruling Federal Party leader, Mr. John Robert, said the British scheme was considered unacceptable, particularly because it omitted a provision for the ultimate elimination of racial representation. He said he was calling a special caucus meeting to decide what line the party should take when the proposals came before the Legislative Council.

Policy 'futile'

The opposition Dominion Party leader, Mr. Guy Van Eeden, said the proposals proved the futility of the policy of appeasement with the Colonial Office.

An African member of the Legislative Council, Mr. S. H. Chileshe, a supporter of the African Congress, said the proposals would probably come as a great disappointment to most Africans in the territory.

S.A. RECEPTION DOUBTED

KAMPALA. — Doubts about their reception in South Africa were expressed by African members of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce during discussions with Mr. Z. Swanepoel, Trade Commissioner for South Africa, at a meeting in Kampala recently.

Mr. S. Kulubya, Secretary of the Chamber, remarking that in Uganda there was a friendly racial atmosphere, asked whether a Uganda co-operative society delegation would be welcome in the Union and whether it would be free to negotiate. Other Africans asked about their freedom to patronise hotels and other public places.

Mr. Swanepoel replied that South Africa catered for visitors interested in trade rather than politics and said that both Africans and Asians had been guests at a leading hotel in the Union.



Mr. Benedict Enwonwu, the Nigerian sculptor, who has been working in London since January on a statue of the Queen for the House of Representatives, Lagos, received the R.B. Bennett prize of one hundred guineas recently for the most outstanding contribution to the promotion of arts, agriculture, industry and commerce.

Kenyatta is centre of new storm

STILL serving his prison sentence in Lokitaung, Kenya's remote Northern Frontier District, Jomo Kenyatta, the 66-year-old detainee who was convicted of managing Mau Mau, has now become the centre of a bitter political controversy between Kenya's new African Elected Members.

Mr. Oginga Odinga, member for Nyanza Central, delivered a speech in the Legislative Council in which he claimed that Kenyatta was still the leader of the African people. Kikuyu and Embu members Dr. J. Kiano and Mr. J. Nyagah tried their best to make him withdraw this provocative statement, but Mr. Odinga repeated and emphasised it.

The Kikuyu, Embu and Meru members whose people have suffered the hardships of restrictions, curfew and collective fines under "emergency regulations" since the days of the Mau Mau uprising, took the view that to say Kenyatta was the leader of the African people would provoke the Government and stop the lifting of the "emergency".

But Mr. Odinga had already committed himself. When the Kenya Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, repeated the Government pledge that Kenyatta would never be allowed to return to the "scene of his former criminal activities" Mr. Odinga realised the political possibilities of his stand.

Returning to his home country, Nyanza, he persuaded his District Association to pass a vote of confidence in his statement. Later his opportunity came for a showdown with the rival African elected members. Dr. Kiano and Mr. Nyagah. During their in-

vestigations of the Government's Land Consolidation policies in Kenya's Central Province they challenged Mr. Odinga's statement publicly.

Mr. Odinga came back with a violent attack on the Kikuyu members and their "so called associates" (probably a way of referring to Mr. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour).

The significance of Mr. Odinga's action is that he has opened up the first major crack in the unity of the new African elected members. He has done this by raising the bogus issue of Kenyatta's leadership (a year before his release is due) and has captured the imagination of the majority of Africans in doing so.

Challenge to Mboya

The leadership of his fellow tribesman, Mr. Tom Mboya, has been effectively challenged, for Mr. Mboya takes the middle view that the Government should take a lenient attitude to the aging Kenyatta by letting him return to take his normal part in politics after his sentence, while feeling that it is pointless to wreck African unity over the leadership-status of a man still in prison for Mau Mau. Mr. Mboya thinks that if Kenyatta is a leader, it is only he who will be able to show it.

A SPIRITUAL 'GREAT TREK' FROM RACE REALITY?

But Nats. have nowhere to go

IN his broadcast to the nation, shortly after his election as Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd made the pledge that his Government would seek to "find means of co-operation which would take into account the circumstances and difficulties" of the other states and territories of Africa.

Against the background provided by the establishment of the Solidarity Council in Cairo and the conference of African peoples which meets in Accra in December, the Prime Minister's qualified pledge could very well be a bid to launch a spiritual Great Trek in the face of the new realities that are creeping into the relations between black and white.

One of the determining influences behind the Great Trek was the desire to give to liberty a meaning that would not expose the Afrikaner to the threat of being swamped by the economically or numerically superior peoples. With the interior unexplored, the Boers could go as far north as they could. If the discovery of gold checked this, the granting of independence to the Union of South Africa gave scope for the ideological expression of the desire inspiring it.

For about half a century Afrikaner nationalism found itself largely free from internal and external interference with its march to its declared goals. It grew into a powerful force and gave direction to the course events took in the country.

Trouble started when Asian countries freed themselves and rose to positions whence they could raise their voice at international assemblies. That meant a narrowing down of the area within which Afrikaner nationalism could flourish without being seriously challenged.

Asians' voice

That was not too bad since the Asians could not do much more than bark beyond the ocean. But when Ghana won her independence, a wholly new situation arose. A new power had come into being whose emotional reactions to things like apartheid was similar to that of the Africans in the rest of the continent. Ghana's emergence meant that that the revolt against white domination and the desire for self-determination, to which it gave rise, were going to be given a new type of leadership—at governmental level.

The situation was not of Ghana's choosing or making. To most Ghanaians their liberty was not complete as long as men and women of their race remained in bondage in that Africa where Ghana was free. The oppressed, in turn, looked to her for decisive help.

This happened at a time when both the free and communist worlds were involved in a life-and-death struggle for ideological ascendancy in Africa. Working from Cairo, the communists set up the Solidarity Council to move events rapidly to a climax on the plane of relations between black and white.

From Accra, Dr. Nkrumah realised that a bond of unity in-

spired by the traditions of solidarity as observed at the Cairo conference could very well create conditions on the continent which could destroy Ghana's freedom. He countered by enunciating the "African Personality" doctrine, by which he sought to create a world within which the despised and unwanted African could feel that he was both wanted and appreciated; an emotional cosmos within which he could feel that he was among his own.

Ironic twist

By a strange twist of historical irony, Dr. Verwoerd had for years told the African people that they should turn their thoughts away from a life in which they could be bound together with the white men by ideals and values of life which had a similar meaning on either side of the colour line. He had advised them to stick to what was their own. Bantu Education, Ethnic Grouping and the Native Laws Amendment Act, to mention only a few, had all been

imposed in the African to impress on him the importance and necessity of developing along his own lines.

Gandhi's methods

From Accra now comes something which is his own on a grand scale.

The December conference has been called to co-ordinate the African people's revolt against race oppression. Its sponsors have made it clear that it is not designed to launch an anti-white campaign on the continent. So keen are they to keep out violence and race hatred that they have announced that they will use Gandhian *satyagraha* as the basis on which to discuss plans for a social order on the continent in which every man and woman shall be free to make the best use of their lives. Dr. Nkrumah has even gone on record as saying that in Africa are blended traditions from very many civilisations.

WE BUILD TOGETHER



by
JORDAN
NGUBANE

The difference between the Cairo Council and the Accra conference gives added importance to what is the African's own. The Solidarity tradition brands the European as, to quote Cairo Radio, the "dirty white pig." It relies partly on Russia and China to give reality to the fist-shaking which is its proof of solidarity with the African.

Rights for all

The "Personality" tradition starts from the premise that all human beings have the right to a place under the African sun; that security for all is possible only in circumstances where there is agreement on goals. Peaceful, persuasive pressures will be exerted, obviously not to drive the white man into the sea, but to extend

the area of liberty in the unfree parts of the continent.

Little room

It was this extension which was, in African eyes, one of the causes of the Great Trek.

For Dr. Verwoerd there is no more territory into which to flee to preserve white civilisation; there is little room within which the ideological angularities of apartheid can flourish unchallenged. Everywhere on the continent the African is rising, demanding recognition of his right to self-determination. This urge determines the "circumstances and difficulties" of all the non-white peoples of the continent. At Accra they will attempt to overcome these difficulties.

Three choices

In the face of this situation, Dr. Verwoerd can do one of three things: he can continue to tell the Africans to stick to what is their own and encourage them to turn their minds to Accra, rather than to Cairo, and make a statesman-like bid to make the delegates to Accra feel that he is not their enemy. Or, he can dismiss the gathering as another agitators' corner and stop any African going there. Or, he can swallow all he has said about the African developing along his own lines and admit that in the final reckoning apartheid is nothing more than a negative influence whose chief concern is to frustrate the will of the African in order to keep the white man in the position of *baas*.

The Africans wait anxiously to see what he will do.

ECONOMICS

TALKING BUSINESS . . . with RALPH HORWITZ

A strange new essay in economic apartheid



IF all Afrikaners were to withdraw their money from other building societies and invest it in Afrikaans societies they could place the Afrikaans economy on a sound footing, Mr. J. J. Broekman is reported to have declared to the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuur Bond in Bloemfontein recently.

"The savings of Afrikaners," went on Mr. Broekman, "are being used for the benefit of non-Afrikaans societies, and the Afrikaners are only getting a few pence as interest on their money."

At which highly interesting point in the development of his economic theory, Mr. Broekman and the chairman appealed to the Press not to report the address. It is not indicated whether this appeal — rightly ignored — was made because Mr. Broekman felt any sudden doubt as to the validity of his economic doctrines or whether the chairman of the

Afrikaans Taal en Kultuur Bond experienced some qualms as to the relevance of this excursion into economic nationalism before a society for "Taal en Kultuur"?

The child-like and childish character of Mr. Broekman's comment hardly merits analysis. None the less, how important is Mr. Broekman?

His views were certainly promptly repudiated by authoritative leaders of Afrikaner business opinion, but Mr. Broekman is none the less a senior executive of an important financial institution. Presumably he believes there would be not the slightest disturbance to the country's economy if his advice was followed. Evidently he thinks that if many millions of pounds were withdrawn from the country's major financial institutions, not a ripple of financial repercussion would follow.

Supposing Mr. Broekman's figures are in any way real, he be-

lieves that £200,000,000 could be withdrawn from non-Afrikaner building societies in South Africa and invested in Afrikaans societies "and thereby" the Afrikaans economy would be placed on a sound footing.

Someone should tell Mr. Broekman that the shock of any such action would not only dent the non-Afrikaner building societies but would assuredly wreck the "Afrikaans economy" completely. When Mr. Broekman begins to comprehend that the "Afrikaans economy" is very much part of the South African economy as a whole, completely integrated and dependent on Afrikaners, Englishmen and Africans, he will perhaps regret not only the Press publicity but the speech itself.

In asking how important is Mr. Broekman, informed financial and business opinion inside and outside South Africa is unlikely to pay much attention to Mr. Broek-

man. What will possibly concern them, however, is that a highly respected and highly influential Afrikaans financier has recently made a number of appeals to "Afrikaner sentiment" in relation to achieving a greater measure of economic independence for South Africa.

Dr. M. S. Louw would of course not countenance for one moment the nonsense of Mr. Broekman. But is there not a warning to Dr. Louw of the unwisdom of lending his authority and prestige to statements about "sentiment" in investment and in purchasing which are so easily exaggerated into the rantings of a Mr. Broekman? What, for instance, would be the reaction of Dr. M. S. Louw and Mr. Eric Louw if Mr. Broekman's appeal to "all Afrikaners to withdraw their money from other building societies and invest it in Afrikaans societies" was published in the responsible financial Press of Britain, the U.S.A. and Europe?

THE ARGUS DECIDES TO IGNORE JOOST DE BLANK

Symptom of a Press malady

AT noon on Tuesday, September 23, Archbishop Joost de Blank, who had returned the previous evening from his 3½-months trip overseas, held a Press conference at Bishops court, Cape Town. One searched the columns of the local evening newspaper, the *Cape Argus*, in vain that evening for any reference to the conference or to what the Archbishop said.

Sole coverage of a highly important news story was a 15-line paragraph mentioning the enthusiastic reception accorded to Dr. De Blank at the airport, a full report of which had appeared that morning in the *Cape Times*.

There was ample time for the *Argus* to have carried a full report of the conference, at least in its second edition. An *Argus* reporter, in fact, was present and wrote a report. This was "spiked" on the instructions of the Editor.

Such a cavalier action, to my mind, offends not only against principles of fair play, but against all the canons of good journalism.

It matters not a pile of *Argus* returns whether the Editor of that newspaper—or the management of the *Argus* Printing and Publishing Company—approves or disapproves of Archbishop De Blank and his actions and utterances. His return was news, and ought to have been treated as such. Instead, the story was suppressed, and *Argus* readers, who were entitled to have been told what answers the Archbishop made to his critics, had to buy the *Argus's* morning contemporary the next day if they wished to find out.

Overseas tour

Columns of print, it will be recalled, had been spilled all over the pages of the South African Press, including the *Cape Argus*, concerning Dr. De Blank's public statements on South Africa's colour policy during the course of his lecture tour of the United States. Violent controversy was stirred up by his alleged attack on the dogma of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the leader and correspondence columns carried thousands of words of denunciation or praise of the Archbishop's speeches.

Senseless fiat

One of the strongest points of criticism was that he had chosen to make his remarks outside the country. How in the name of editorial responsibility, or even common sense, can the fiat go forth that the first occasion on which he had the opportunity to repeat or deny, in South Africa, the controversial things he was supposed to have said overseas was to be completely ignored?

Can this be the beginning of a blanket boycott, by the moguls of part of South Africa's Press empire, on reporting the activities of the Archbishop, who is, of course regarded in some anti-Nationalist circles as an embarrassment?

If so, it is symptomatic of a malady from which our English-

by
**RONALD
LEGGE**

language newspapers are suffering: the malady of "monopolitis". Lack of serious competition—and the impenetrable barricade erected against the intrusion of potential competitors through the unholy alliance between the newspapers, the internal news agency and the distributing agency—has induced a state of complacency verging on torpor.

Gradual drift

The South African Press is managerially controlled; the country has few, if any, "great" journalists, and those of more than ordinary calibre who emerge, gradually drift from their profession to the kindred callings of authorship, advertising or "public relations" because they are more remunerative and offer greater opportunities for personal advancement.

The hierarchy of management, most of whom have had only the most superficial acquaintance with the physical job of writing and producing newspapers, do not want brilliant journalists on their staffs; they are too apt to jib against "toeing the party line". The managers prefer expendable "stooges" who are content to accept a closed Civil Service-type system, in which they are "graded" by managers and compete in a mild-mannered, genteel way for the few jobs at "super-senior" rates of pay which are awarded, generally speaking, on length of service rather than experience or aptitude.

The rates of pay, incidentally, are minima achieved over years of negotiation between the Society of Journalists and the proprietors, and these minima tend, because of the lack of competition, to become maxima.

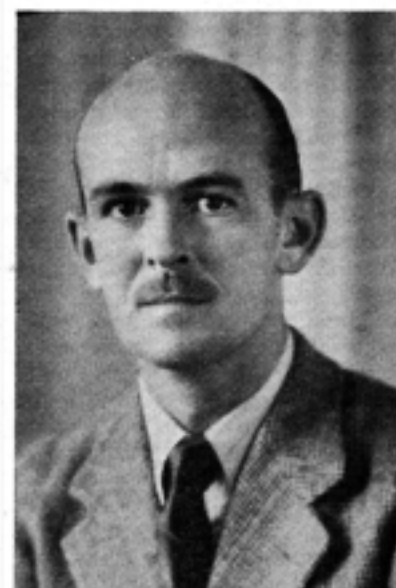
'Yellow Press'

The South African Press Review and the English *World's Press News* recently prominently featured a scathing indictment of the British "yellow Press" by Garry Allighan, a former top-ranking Fleet Street newspaperman who now lives in this country. Mr. Allighan expressed admiration for

the sober treatment and presentation of the news by the majority of South African newspapers and praised their sense of values, especially when set against the vulgarity, sensationalism and triviality of the "popular" British dailies.

He was, of course, right, and nobody with any regard for the dignity of journalism would like to see our newspapers try to emulate the mass-circulation purveyors of punk and pornography that prompted his scorn and contumely. But Mr. Allighan told only half a story.

From a purely technical point of view, South African newspapers cannot hold a candle to even the "yellowest" of their overseas counterparts. And when it comes to a comparison with the best that Britain has to offer—such journals as the *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Observer*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Scotsman*—one realises the immense gulf that yawns between the skill engendered by the necessity to survive in a jungle of competition and the mediocrity fostered by comfortable tenancy of an oasis in a desert created by monopoly.



ASHBURNER

A valuable corrective to the complacency which Mr. Allighan ought to have known better than to encourage is to be found in a book of satirical verse, entitled "Gentle Men of the Press!", by W. F. Ashburner, now on sale in South African bookshops.

It takes its keynote from the epigram coined by G. H. Calpin in "There are no South Africans", which the author quotes on the fly-leaf: "In South Africa, news-



DE BLANK

papers are not sold; people buy them."

Mr. Ashburner, who for 20 years worked for the South African daily Press and held a number of executive posts, earned some of the highest distinctions his profession can bestow. He is a past president of the Society of Journalists and in 1942 he was chosen Kemsley Empire Journalist from this country. To-day, although even his detractors would not contest that long ago he "sold his soul to the old black art", he has turned his back on daily journalism and has joined the advertising department of the Shell Company, four of whose publications he edits at its Cape Town head office.

Ingenious rhymes

"Gentle Men of the Press!" has created quite a stir among those at whom its shafts are aimed. But it deserves a wider audience, and the casual reader will certainly be rewarded, not only by amusement at the ingenious rhyming, but by being given an insight into a state of affairs that he almost certainly does not know exists.

Mr. Ashburner spares nobody the lash of his scorn, from the manager

... a sort of god, please note,
With the mind of clerk, who, if
he ever wrote,
When dealing not with various
debts and creditors,
Might plaintively appeal: "But
why sub-editors?"

to that "journalistic Municheer",
the editor ...

Pink buttocks pressed upon his
padded chair,
He fashions all his comment with
great care,
And pours it, an anaemic ten-point
torrent
(which only he could never find
abhorrent)

Into a maw contrived of thick-
hewed steel,
Where gastric ink attacks the
tasteless meal,
Until by writhing coils of colon
halted.

Then, all the organs reaching
satiation,
The final phase: metallic defeca-
tion.

His role, of course, is largely
incidental,
Yet with his comments wan he's
instrumental
In keeping standards low and
profits high
(There is no other paper there to
buy).

Lack of proper training for the
craft is noted in these lines:

Thus beardless boys we see grow
up in plenty
(Matriculants, recruited from the
"gentry")

And, thanks to managerial appara-
tus,

Within a year or so they've senior
status.

Writing should never even be their
hobby,

But soon they're in the Parlia-
mentary Lobby,

Giving their own naïve interpreta-
tion

Of vital matters apropos the
nation.

'Better men'

Read this book in the know-
ledge that such things can happen
as the deliberate suppression of
the Joost de Blank story and you
will know why Mr. Ashburner
makes a bunch of his carousing
characters sing:

We are the *Argus* Wonders,
And we wonder why we are,
They're breeding better men to-
day,
Oh, better men by far.

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of exceptionally valuable and
interesting books was sold out
within a few days.

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thing important well before
Christmas, so if you are not
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CONTACT

EDITORIAL

Liberal Party can be suppressed, but...!

ON September 18, speaking in Parliament, in the course of enunciating his policy, the new Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, said: "When South Africa becomes a republic there will be a different orientation, for at that time there will be no place for liberal or similar parties, which wish to place white and non-white on an equality."

This statement is perhaps not quite clear, but, with his record, the Prime Minister cannot complain if it is read as a threat to suppress the Liberal Party.

What do we reply to the Prime Minister? We reply that although it is, of course, possible for him to suppress any party, at least temporarily, yet that will not help him much. The Liberal Party stands for an idea which is far greater than the idea which he represents. The Liberal Party stands for the unity of the human race, his for its incompatibility. Does it take so much intelligence to realise that in the modern world the human race must unite or perish?

Rule of law

The Liberal Party stands for the rule of law and the triumph of justice. Can anyone read history with insight and not fail to see that, in the long run, men cannot live together without justice? You get tyrants and conquerors. You get acts of national robbery. But the need to live at peace with one's neighbour always heals the breach. A new set of people arises, and peace with justice is declared.

Our party stands for the fact—that Dr. Verwoerd can never wish away—that South Africa is part of Africa, that all 14 million of us are at the same time South Africans, and Africans, and that unless the white people reach a decent settlement with the Africans they can have no future.

United S.A.

Our party stands for a united South Africa, on a basis of equality. Dr. Verwoerd stands for a partitioned South Africa. On our side we have South African history. In our three centuries we have had many real frontiers between white and black, many Bantustans. Whenever the whites have come up against such partitions, it is they that have made short work of them and pulled them down. And as soon as they have done this the Africans have streamed across to join the whites in the more modern economy that the whites have built. Think back to the conquest of the Transvaal tribes, to the Zulu war of 1879, to the frontier wars in the Cape.

Not only history, but economics are on our side. White and non-white are already integrated in one economic system.

And as is nowadays recognised on all sides, in the end the economic system shapes the political. It follows that all South Africans, irrespective of race, are destined to be members of the same political system too.

The Liberal Party therefore stands for great truths and great ideas.

So even if Dr. Verwoerd turns the rigour of the law on to us, he will find that these ideas will find some other channel of expression. Dr. Verwoerd's personality is the sort that through arrogance and autocracy breeds enemies. He will not for long hold the Afrikaner people together, and if by his fear of liberalism he has shown that this is his Achilles heel, he will find that his Afrikaner opponents will be liberals. The beginning of this dynamic development is already visible.



"Well, apartheid is certainly making a lot of changes in our social structures."

A MURDER A WEEK IS 'TAME' IN AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

THE newspapers had said that the police had cleared up Alexandra's gang war. Both the Spoilers and the Msomis were reported to be in jail. So Mieta thought one could breathe freely again, could walk the streets of the township without fear again.

During those terrible days when the Spoilers and the Msomis were butchering each other, and also any bystander who happened to be in the way, she and the rest of her family had fled to the Free State. Her brother was a Spoiler, and when he went to jail, the Msomis threatened that they would finish off the rest of the family. That is why they fled.

But now everybody said the nightmare days and nights were over, and Mieta decided that she would return to the "Dark City". She was pregnant and hoped to contact the boy responsible. Her grandmother tried to warn her not to return to Alexandra, but Mieta was determined to meet her boy.

Visited by thugs

Within three days word had gone around and soon the thugs paid her a visit. She knew what it meant when they told her to go in a car with them, and she begged them to kill her at her home. Nevertheless, they took her into the car and drove her outside the township. There with knives and axes they hacked her to death. Then one of them insisted on taking her back to her home. With a chuckle, he said: "After all she wanted to be killed at her home."

That is one example of the violence with which we have to live in the townships—violence that is near impossible to make believable to white people, even though the "crime wave" has hit

the centre of Johannesburg city.

Yes, the townships are crime colleges with pretty advanced courses in murder, robbery, thug-gery, rape, housebreaking, theft. And soon the industrious pupils, filled with pluck after many get-aways, and skilled in technique after constant practice, graduate to the city for bigger prizes, more violent assaults.

Theft condoned

But we do not have, in the townships, the society that will frown upon these things, discipline, restrain, educate. Indeed, crime has become an institution. Especially theft. Many, rather decent, people condone theft if it is done to whites. There are "respectable" thieves who boast that they never steal from Africans.

Moreover, that fountain pen a teacher uses, his set of expensive books, his drapery, his musical records, everything almost in his house have come to him by the "back door". The back doors of Johannesburg shops and business houses. And there is not one twitch of conscience.

So stop wondering how the urban African manages to square his budget on his miserable pay. You pay them half-decent wages; they buy goods at half marked prices. Simple.

There are people who actually do not like to work at establishments with unsaleable commodities even if the pay is comparatively high. Said one chappie to me once: "I left my £8-a-week job because they only deal in office filing cabinets. There's nothing a guy can steal."

But theft is the only "respectable" side-line of hardworking urban Africans. The incidence of

the other, more brutal iniquities is staggering. A murder a week is thought normal—tame. Half of our womenfolk can expect to be raped at least once in their lifetime. Robbery, beatings, knifings, shootings, climb on a crescendo from Friday (with its many pay packets about) to a savage climax on Sunday night.

What has brought all this about? There are large reasons and little reasons, revolving in their orbits of vicious circles within vicious circles, in which the whole community is helplessly churned and tossed about. One of the major large reasons is the hopeless economic plight of so many people.

From the other side we hear nothing but talk of the whites' "permanent superiority", of his need to maintain the upper hand "at all costs", of his having the power to compel acceptance of his wishes. In a lower undertone many township folk have come to speak violently, too.

Hushed whispers

So another of the large reasons is the rough talk of violence all over the air. In political circles and political study groups, there is a frightening surrender to the concept of national violence. Still in hushed whispers, but they talk about "the day of reckoning", "the blood-bath", "the revolution". There are many who still passionately believe that the path of violence should be avoided. But there are probably as many who say in South Africa we are doomed to destroy each other. People are toying with rough ideas.

And in townships like Sophiatown with their new permit raids,

the police have not been endeared by their task of having to kick open doors at night and haul off people in their pyjamas.

Other reasons are the break-up of family life, the loss of parental control, the tricky game of finding jobs because of pass requirements, the day-to-day stresses in race relations, the fairly general impression of injustice and oppression, the anaemic efforts of churches, multi-racialists, "liberals". The land is gripped by a sense of fear, unfriendliness, suspicion, discourtesy, discomfort, and some of it has drifted into the townships. Walking their streets with our lives in our hands, we feel danger and hostility all around us, and, at best, disinterest from our bosses in town.

Gaiety, too

I have written only of the violence that permeates life in the townships. There are other things: the vigour and gaiety, the spontaneous song and dance, the shebeen guzzling that may break out into a knife fight or a police raid—who cares any more?

Or a vigil over the body of a dead brother where we hear excellent tsotsi tenors and the sopranos of tarts. Or "Zionists" in their white togas thumping frantically at their drums down the street.

It is a teeming, whirling life, full, exciting, colourful, where futility has gained a name, a reality, some kind of a negative content. But of these things I would rather write some other time when the bitterness of the violence has cleared from my mouth.

CAN THEMBA

ALAN PATON takes

. THE LONG VIEW



Raise production by treating African labour humanely

NO sensible person objects to the taxation of African citizens of the Union. No sensible person objects to their being taxed as lightly or as heavily as anyone else. But the increase of the basic tax from £1 to £1 15s., on all African men earning from £0 to £180 per annum, will be a serious matter.

There may be some who consider that an increase of 15s. can hardly be a serious matter, and who consider that in any case a political writer of my views must be expected—under almost any circumstances—to belabour the Government. I hope to convince such persons that the increase in the tax will be an unendurable burden to the poor.

One hundred and eighty pounds per annum is £15 per month. There are many Africans who do not reach this level, but who as unskilled labourers earn from £8 to 10 per month working for our municipalities. On the average, a man, woman, and at least two children have to live on this £10 per month. Many European householders of average means spend that amount on feeding—not extravagantly—two domestic servants. But the married labourer must in addition clothe himself, his wife,

and his children, he must pay for rent and transport, and for the schooling. His children, unlike other school-children, must pay for their own school equipment (except for readers which are supplied).

It has been estimated that £25 to £27 is the absolute living minimum for such a family, to give them enough of the right kind of food to keep them well, to keep a roof over their heads, and decent but inexpensive clothing on their bodies.

These estimates have been made by responsible persons and authorities. The Town Council of Benoni estimated £16 14s. 9d. as an "absolute minimum", and its Senior Welfare Officer estimated that £24 a month was necessary if the family "is to live and not merely exist". This Council pays almost £10 per month to its labourers, which is the approximate average for all municipalities.

The Johannesburg Council pays most so far as I know (nearly £13 per month) and so it should; but it is paying only half of the amount required for an austere life, with none of the luxuries enjoyed and deserved by all who work hard for a living.

It is not surprising when human nature rebels, and grasps the luxury at the cost of some essential need. Yet when it does, the gulf between income

and expenditure becomes more unbridgeable, the hope of achieving a balance dies away, and liquor perhaps helps one to forget it all.

Seen against the background of these facts, the Congress campaign for £1 a day is absolutely justified. It is seen as a reasonable request, and an appeal that humanity should heed.

It is said of course that economics cannot justify such a wage, that production must increase and improve. All of us would agree that the standard of production should be raised. But there are two important reasons why it is difficult to raise; one is the colour bar, the other is because the worker is beaten by it all; he cannot buy enough food, he cannot buy the right food, his spirit is broken by a struggle against the odds that never get less.

Raise the wages and some will drink and gamble more—they are a loss already; but others will do what so many have done before them, eat better food, wear better clothes, keep children longer at school, take a little pride in the house, feel a little more joy in being alive.

And South African enterprises, especially the food and clothing industries, will take us another step forward in our struggle for a better life for all.

No town-dweller earning from £0 to £180 per annum should pay any tax at all. He is not able to feed and clothe his family as it is. To add another 15s. to his tax is to place on him an intolerable burden. People who are eating too little already will have to eat yet less.

One hears that the Cabinet is considering ways and means of

raising the wages of the very poor. May this be true.

When the wages of the poor white labourer were raised, the argument was humanity, not economics. And it worked.

Let humanity be the argument now. It will work too.

In my last LONG VIEW but one, entitled "Hooliganism reveals the true nature of apartheid", I referred to Professor P. V. Pistorius as an "apartheid". The Professor has written to me pointing out that such a description is untrue.

I apologise humbly to the Professor. If I had not known better, I should have guessed better; for the chances are negligible that a white person defending the rights of Indians under the Group Areas Act could be an apartheid.

FAIR COMMENT

by Patrick Duncan

SIGNS of abject and complete surrender by the United Party to the Nationalists continue to crowd in. There was a satisfied leader in *Die Burger* announcing that the "Ten Years' War" from 1948-1958 was over. "The great battlefields of the 'Ten Years' War' were the republic and everything connected with it, and race-separation . . . But frontal attacks on these fields have been absent in this session."

The leader of the U.P. in the Senate welcomed Minister De Wet Nel when he was asked by the Prime Minister to pilot a bill through the upper house, and said that he hoped he would be the next Minister of Native Affairs.

As Professor Pistorius said: "The U.P. is one of the main assets of Afrikaner nationalism."

The Government can't afford any further shrinkage in the U.P. So, before the next general election, perhaps there will be a "South Africa Act Further Amendment Act" to load constituencies 15 per cent in favour of the towns!

FENNER BROCKWAY'S many friends in Africa will rejoice with him to see that the British Labour Party have now decided to introduce a bill to outlaw race discrimination. He has been pressing for this for many years, and has at least twice introduced a private member's bill to this effect. Up to the Notting Hill riots he could never persuade his party to back him.

I SEE that both the *Sunday Express* and the *Argus* have begun to use the word "Bantu". I hope that they do not think that this is an acceptable way out of the "African-Native" controversy. If "Native" is a word soiled by generations of approval by white South Africa, "Bantu" is already far more objectionable, far more soiled. Why? Well, it has become the signature-tune of the Prime Minister himself.

ON another page we publish a review by Dr. Martin Versfeld of Mr. James Bailey's book "National Ambitions". This review brings together two of the most remarkable people in the country. Dr. Versfeld is an Afrikaner Roman Catholic, teaching philosophy at Cape Town University, who has profoundly influenced several student generations, and to whom not a few conversions are due. Mr. Bailey will be known to our readers (*Newsname* of August 9), and to the many readers of *Drum* and *Golden City Post*.

The book has quite a history. Mr. Bailey was a fighter pilot in the war. By all the statistics he ought not to have survived—most of his age-group among fighter pilots in the Royal Air Force were killed. He did not expect to see it out, but towards the end of the war he suddenly realised that he had a chance. He then made up his mind that if he were offered a second chance he would begin, right at the bottom, to work out his own philosophy. So, when he was demobbed, he went to Oxford, and, in contact with the best modern minds and the thinkers of history, began to think out where he, and the human race, stood. This book is the result.

Mr. Bailey married a couple of weeks ago, and I take this opportunity of wishing him, and his wife, on behalf of CONTACT, all the best.

"BIGGER Salaries for Railway Workers . . . Teachers . . . Civil Servants . . . Police . . . Health personnel". And all in the last six months.

What have these lucky people all got in common? I will give you three guesses.

When the Administrators were considering the increases for teachers, they did not even bother to put salaries for non-white teachers on their agendas.

After this no one could ever doubt that the vote is the key to everything. First you render the Coloured people powerless by taking away their votes. Then you dispose of them as you will, and ignore their rightful demands.

SOUTH AFRICAN LOOKING - GLASS

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

BARKING UP THE WRONG TREE, TOO!—In its latest annual report the South African Information Service (new name for the State Information Office) describes itself as a "body of insignificant size and of limited woof".

NAPOLEON OF NOTTING HILL.—Dr. Verwoerd said that the only immigrants the Union could take were people who could be economically and socially absorbed by the local European population.

With the present liberalism in many parts of the world it would be impossible to find sufficient suitable immigrants.

"Did Sir De Villiers perhaps have in mind people who created trouble in Notting Hill as possible immigrants? In that case I would have at least some sympathy with his suggestion."—News item.

Prizes: 10s. for the first entry and 5s. for each of the others printed.

CONTACT

4th October, 1958.

NEWSNAME

JULIUS K. NYERERE — TANGANYIKA'S NEW LEADER

Landslide winner of election

TANGANYIKA has just held its first general election, in five constituencies covering about half of the 360,000 square miles of its territory.

The result was an overwhelming landslide in favour of Julius K. Nyerere and his Tanganyika African National Union. Every single candidate elected was either a member of TANU, or had TANU's backing. All the other candidates were heavily defeated.

The result was a disappointment for the British Government. During the last few years of Sir Edward Twining's tenure of office tension between the Government and TANU grew, till this year Nyerere was convicted of sedition, for having published intemperate criticism of one District Commissioner in his newspaper *The Voice of TANU*.

The result was a disappointment, too, for the United Tanganyika Party, led by a South African industrialist named Ivor Bayldon. This party is multi-racial, most of its members being Africans. It backs the "parity system" of voting, though, which TANU opposes.

The result has crushed the other group, the African National Congress, led by one Zuberi Mtemvu. He left TANU about a year ago, hoping to benefit from Nyerere's known moderation, and his tolerance of the "immigrant groups" (whites and Asians). He set up his Congress, and took an extremist line particularly against the immigrants. Early this year there was a feeling that he might displace Nyerere as the principal nationalist leader.

Qualified vote

Let us look at some of the results in detail. There were, in all, 36 candidates for the five constituencies. According to the "parity system", each voter is compelled to vote for one candidate of each of the three races. Thus, each constituency returns one African, one white, and one Asian. There is a qualified franchise, open to all adults who can prove a small income, and who are literate.

The country is divided into eleven constituencies, so there remain six in which elections will be held in February next year.

Voting took four days, from September 8-12. The area is vast and sparsely populated. The results took several days to come in.

In Tanga the leader of the A.N.C., Zuberi Mtemvu, was defeated by a TANU candidate, getting only 53 votes, and forfeiting his deposit. In the Southern Highlands Province, Ivor Bayldon, leader of U.T.P., was heavily defeated by Lady Marion Chesham, who was backed by TANU. And in the Eastern Province Julius Nyerere won an overwhelming victory in an 80 per cent poll over one George Patrick Kunambi. The voting there was 2,628 to 802.

Another successful candidate was young Amir Jamal, one of the most intelligent Asians in the country. He too was backed by TANU.

by
**PATRICK
DUNCAN**

Nothing succeeds like success, and it is now morally certain that when the remaining elections are held TANU will achieve just as big, if not a bigger, victory.

If this happens, then it is likely that within two years Julius Nyerere will be Prime Minister of Tanganyika.

The new Governor, Sir R. G. Turnbull, has shown signs, since taking over in May, of trying to make friends with Nyerere. Perhaps he has decided that his job is to be the Arden-Clarke of Tanganyika.

If Nyerere succeeds, what will happen? His party aims to make Tanganyika into a democratic state, with a time-table for constitutional, economic, and educational development, and the africanisation of the civil service. He will encourage the "immigrant communities" and will try to attract foreign investment to develop the country.

He will have a difficult task, as among the people of Tanganyika are perhaps more primitive tribes than can be found in any other African territory.

Who is this Nyerere? I think that I must now speak personally.

A few months ago I went into a hotel in Dar-es-Salaam and asked the way to the TANU office. "You don't need any address," said the reception clerk, "just ask any taxi driver. It's the best-known office in this town." I did so, and was soon speeding out of the stately centre of the town, still as German-looking as it was 40 years ago, into suburbs which looked much more African.

Painted notice

In one of these the taxi stopped. I was shown a small building. Above the front door was a notice, painted by an amateurish hand "Tanganyika African National Union". I asked the taxi-driver to wait, as I did not expect to spend more than ten minutes there.

I knocked at the door, and opened it. It was made of odds and ends of wood. Inside were benches and several patient callers sitting on them. A bright-eyed clerk who spoke excellent English asked me what I wanted.

"I would like to meet Mr. Nyerere's deputy. I believe that

the President is still in Ghana."

The clerk asked me who I was and where I had come from. Then, leaning confidentially near to me he whispered, with excitement in his voice, that Nyerere had returned the evening before, and that he would show me in.

I followed him into a simple, mud-built room, furnished with the cheapest benches and tables, and met a small man with a toothbrush moustache. We talked freely and frankly for a good half-hour. The fact that I came from South Africa seemed to make no difference to him.

He told me of the backwardness of his country, and of his hopes. He told me about his party, which then had a paid-up membership of well over 100,000. That this was no empty boast has been proved by his ability to call up, almost anywhere in Tanganyika, mass meetings of upwards of 60,000 people. Not even his opponents try to question the fact that Nyerere has achieved a genuine mass-following.

Crowd followed

I then asked if he would help me to meet a member of the Asian community, and he gave me an address. The taxi was still there, and I went out to get into it. As I got into it, a small crowd came towards it from the TANU offices, and when I looked at it I saw that it was led by Nyerere.

He signalled to the taxi to wait.



He came to it, and smilingly offered to come with me and show me the way. On the way we talked, and by this time he was bubbling over with good humour and talkativeness. He told me how lucky Tanganyika had been to have its immigrant communities. "Without them Tanganyika would never have developed," he said. "But I am happy that we did not get too many. If we had... well, you know South Africa. Perhaps you will understand what I mean."

I spent the rest of the day with this truly remarkable man and with some of his Asian friends. I left Tanganyika feeling that it was the happiest of all African territories, and that part of its happiness lay in its having this man as its greatest nationalist.

What is he? The son of a chief, he was born in about 1921—there are no records—at Musoma near the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. He spent the first 12 years of his life among his fellow Zanaki tribesmen, herding goats and cattle. He then went to school in Tanganyika and Scotland, and returned from Edinburgh with an M.A. in history and economics in 1952.

In 1954 he founded TANU, which has grown dramatically ever since.

He is a close personal friend of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and is close in his ideas to Dr. Hastings K. Banda, the new President of the Nyasaland African National Congress. Perhaps because of this similarity of policy Dr. Banda

has announced that he will try to bring his country, Nyasaland, into a federation with Tanganyika, when it secedes from the Federation of the Rhodesias.

He told me that he hoped that Tanganyika would find its way to independence in the very near future, and that it would do it in such a way that it would show the way out of Kenya's present difficulties.

Perhaps he will establish, not only a free government in his own country, but also a great East African state, including Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi. Such at least is supposed to be his aim.

If he succeeds, this great new country would surely be one of the most beautiful and fertile in the world. It would contain the great peaks of Kenya and Kilimanjaro and the Mountains of the Moon; three giant lakes, Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyasa; unlimited water-power; vast forest and agricultural reserves; the finest wild life in the world, and one of the most beautiful coastlines.

Political peace

And to match its physical beauty, it is possible that TANU may create political peace over vast areas of tormented Africa. The land-rich whites, from Kenya right down to the Cape, are afraid that Africans, when they get power, are going to act like savages. Nyerere told me that he hoped that TANU's moderation would help Kenya's whites and Asians to achieve a new, happier relationship with the Africans.

In the recent general election Nyerere has decisively defeated the sinister threat of black racialism, just as the Mboya group in Kenya, and the moderate A.N.C., led by Banda in Nyasaland, have defeated it in their own countries.

Is it not possible that the wisdom of these men will do much to bring back to reality the more unwise and unbending whites in Africa? If this should happen, Africa, and humanity, will owe a great debt to Julius K. Nyerere.

BALANCE OF PROGRESS

Credit

CANADA announced at the Commonwealth economic conference here yesterday that she would double her subscription to the World Bank.

This would involve an additional commitment of £116,025,000.

AN African student, Mr. Stephen Gitau of Fort Hall, has arrived in Delhi on a scholarship from a Kenya Indian doctor to study for a medical degree.

His benefactor is Dr. M. C. Patel of Thika, who has undertaken to pay his expenses for seven years—two years at the pre-medical course and five years for M.B.,B.S.

THE Appeal Court ruled that the recent Act of Parliament enabling the death sentence to be imposed for armed robbery is not applicable to crimes committed before the Act came into force.

The court upheld the appeal of an African, Henry Mazibuko, against the sentence of death passed on him by the Supreme Court after being implicated in an armed robbery.

Debit

MR. LE ROUX, "Coloured Rep.", asked in Parliament for apartheid to be imposed between Africans and Coloureds in the Cape. He asked in particular for the Mixed Marriage and Immorality Acts to be applied as between Africans and Coloureds.

IN June 1956 Constable Visser, S.A.P., was sentenced to 10 years' hard labour for killing Transvaal Indian leader Solly Jooma, who had just won a civil judgment against him for £9,000 for assault.

After serving only a few months' sentence Visser has been moved out of jail to Valkenburg Asylum, Cape Town, where he has freedom to go and come as he pleases. It is said that he suffers from epilepsy, though no word of this was mentioned at his trial.

FOUR youths, with two teenaged girls in the car with them, went for a joy-ride through the streets of Brixton and Auckland Park one night, robbing two Africans and assaulting a third by stabbing him in the face with a broken bottle.

Odds are against world war over the Formosa situation

MAO NEEDS INTERNATIONAL TENSION

From DENNIS BLOODWORTH



NOBODY still dares venture a straightforward answer to the question: Will Communist China still try to take Quemoy by force and thereafter threaten an assault on Formosa? But some conclusions can be reached by examining the motives which prompted Peking to set this match to the cold war, and the trend in Chinese foreign policy that creates those motives.

For the political observer who has recently been to Peking there can be only one point of departure: the irrefutable proposition that Chinese foreign policy is subordinated to internal requirements.

China's communist leaders are, first and foremost, concerned with the business of building their country into a colossus, a modern, highly-productive state of more than 600 million people, far outstripping all others in power.

But for the ambitious plans to be fulfilled in the shortest

possible time there must be no opposition from those millions and no pausing to straighten the aching back. This Stalinist phase of relentless development requires of the Chinese unthinking conformity to rigid Marxism-Leninism, and the constant stoking of nationalistic fervour in an atmosphere com-

pounded of external threat—notional or otherwise—crisis, and struggle.

Translated into terms of foreign policy this means that Peking wants international tension to continue and no reconciliation between the two world blocs which might lead to the spread of debilitating democratic influence. Furthermore, as China grows in strength, her leaders and many of her people begin to prick with complexes. Humiliated by foreign states in the past, she is hypersensitive to any indignity inflicted by the "puny" Western Powers. She has already shown herself scornful and uncaring of foreign criticism in many instances, even when it comes from neutralist states which she seeks to influence.

Putting pressure on Hong Kong

Peking will publish in full adverse comment from New Delhi without bothering to refute it. The movements of foreign diplomats in China are restricted and their servants arrested without warning or explanation. Chinese propaganda attacks in outrageous terms the Western Powers and any other state Peking may find temporarily offensive. China abruptly severed commercial negotiations with Japan's Conservative regime, ostensibly over a minor incident involving the Communist Chinese flag, and she is putting almost insupportable economic pressure on Hong Kong.

Yet at the same time she accompanies her successful drive to expand Chinese political and economic influence in Asia with much anodyne flattery, coupled with tempting offers of benefits. She is plugging the trade gap left by Japan by negotiating with Western, including British, business, and has agreed that the Federation of British Industries should organise an exhibition in Peking in 1960.

Ducks and drakes with foreigners

But amid a mass of such contradictions a simple pattern can be traced. China plays ducks and drakes contemptuously with her foreign relations because she feels herself more and more in command of the situation. Her leaders appear to believe that when dealing with a frightened yet acquisitive world they can with impunity talk business to-day with those they insulted yesterday.

They are prepared to deal with anybody provided China gets what

she wants but, and this is most important of all, they will not make the smallest sacrifice of their political principles nor compromise in any way their political plans.

Chip-on-the-shoulder arrogance

Given this chip-on-the-shoulder arrogance, it can be seen that, apart from any threat the Nationalists in Formosa may pose, their presence becomes daily more unbearable. China's exclusion from the United Nations, moreover, the failure of many states to accord her recognition, and the Western embargo on the export of strategic goods to her ports, all make of this nascent nation a resentful giant anxious to turn the tables on past and present tormentors. It is this which provides an unknown factor in the present situation—the possibility that in their eagerness the Chinese may over-estimate their strength to-day and take the irrevocable step that could plunge the world into war.

Nevertheless the odds are against such mistiming. Chinese foreign policy may be disconcerting because Peking does not play according to club rules. For the Soviet Union, the United Nations is still an international forum; for the Chinese it is merely a front organisation for American imperialism. To Mr. Khrushchev, East-West talks may seem genuinely desirable; to Mao Tse-tung they may often be no more than a threat to desirable world discord.

China needs era of peace

The fact remains, however, that Chinese economic development is still in its early stages and there is perhaps no country in the world that can profit more from an era of peace. To maintain international tension is one thing, but to risk those awe-inspiring plans for internal reconstruction which have captured the imagination of every thinking Chinese and which should, in the long run, give China an undisputable supremacy, would be quite another. Successes of United Nations forces against the North Koreans forced the Chinese to intervene in Korea, it is true, but in the present instance the initiative rests with Peking.

The Middle East crisis provided a golden opportunity to extend the cold war offensive to keep the imperialists at bay to an

area where its development would primarily further Chinese interests. For the Chinese it followed naturally that if tension relaxed in the Middle East, as it did, it must be increased in the Far East, and it is now evident that Khrushchev, whatever his reservations, agreed.

U.S.A. called the first bluff

Nothing could better have suited the Chinese. With a preponderance in all arms, Peking might well feel reasonably confident of over-running Quemoy. A threatening facade of preliminary barrages and sea engagements could always be translated into full-scale assault if circumstances proved favourable and Peking could be certain of sympathy from the neutralist and even much of the Western world.

Raising the bid too high

The operation would test the toughness of the Nationalists and—far more important—the reactions of the Americans. The more the United States looked like intervening, the more America would be divided from her most important allies. Washington having called the initial bluff by making it clear that United States forces would enter the lists the moment the Chinese attacked, Peking can still retire with honour "in the interests of world peace".

Fomenting the Quemoy crisis has constituted for China a gamble that might come off and so assuage a clamorous *amour propre*. It enables Peking to extort even more effort and nationalistic loyalty from the millions on the mainland. It is a natural development of China's recent muscle-flexing. It maintains international tension and it may be used to enhance China's prestige while dealing a hard blow at that of her enemies. The temptations were too manifold to be missed.

The United States could either act so firmly that there would be no question of a Communist assault—and could in fact raise bidding so high that China, faced with the alternative of staking eight years' of reconstruction on the game, must throw in her hand. Or the United States could quietly sign away Nationalist control of Quemoy. Anything in between merely serves to increase tension, and that immediately serves China best.



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Economics, not colour, is the key to U.K. immigration problem

TO most people, Brixton is the name of a South London gaol, or a long hill leading out towards Croydon and the Brighton road. But turn left out of the swarming traffic by the Town Hall, and you will find yourself in a street that might be in Kingston, Jamaica, or Fordsburg.

It is a mean, dirty, narrow street—a street lined with cheap cafes, barbers, pubs, newsagents, flashy clothing shops and a billiard hall. Outside the hall lounge a posse of white teddy boys in tight jeans; some elderly white women are shopping near the market.

But what first strikes the newcomer is that most of the people in sight are black. About two dozen black men, most of them in the flimsy, bright clothes that denote their recent arrival, are waiting near the labour exchange.

Entering this enclave, a white South African might be tempted by its apparent familiarity to judge the whole situation in South African terms. He would be further confirmed in this judgment by the news of "race riots" in Nottingham and Notting Hill Gate.

He would be wrong. Or at least he would be gravely oversimplifying and distorting the basic features of the British situation. For what he sees in Brixton is a part not of a racial situation, but of a highly fluid and dynamic immigrant situation, complicated if you will by colour differences, which have made these particular immigrants more immediately noticeable and more strange than others.

Let us take a closer look at the Brixton scene, which is fairly typical of the new migrant settlements in Britain. First of all, Brixton itself. Built little over a century ago, with many wide roads lined with fine, large merchants' houses, Brixton had by the 1930's become a shifting, cosmopolitan area.

Feel superior

The attitude of Brixtonians to foreigners and outsiders generally is that of the average Londoner—one of vague aversion and tolerant superiority.

A colonial past, perpetuated by outmoded history and geography books, has left the impression that coloured people live in African jungles, and are primitive, savage, promiscuous and inferior. Missionary efforts still promote the idea that coloured people are all heathen.

Perhaps the most definitive attitudes towards coloured people are the rather limited first-hand ones acquired by men and women who first met coloured people in the capacity of servants or labourers during their wartime service overseas. This "Wog complex" is usually one of contemptuous hostility. It crops up from time to time in the lower administrative and managerial grades in London: "Lazy lot of monkeys, these niggers; the South Africans have got the right ideas about how to handle them."

Most South Londoners do not however use the word "nigger," which most of them recognise as

by

SHEILA PATTERSON,

author of "Colour and Culture", a study of the Cape Coloured People, and "The Last Trek", a history of the Afrikaner people.

being offensive. They call the newcomers "coloured people" "Jamaicans", or with no unfriendly intent, "darkies" or "blackies."

The war with its bombings, evacuation, and requisitioning of houses gave residential Brixton another push down the road to dilapidation.

Reception centre

It soon became an unofficial reception centre for the West Indian migrants who arrived in London. By 1958, West Indians had bought several hundred houses in the area, and were letting furnished rooms out to their own compatriots at £2 to £3 per week. In the nearby districts of Camberwell, Lewisham, Deptford, Battersea and Chaptham, smaller settlements were also being set up.

In Britain, census and other official statistics take no account of colour. At the most conservative estimate, however, there must be over 6,000 coloured people, mainly West Indian, in Brixton alone. The district, like others in South London, has attracted the more respectable working-class migrants, many with their legal or common-law wives and children.

The Brixton police compare the coloured newcomers crime-rate favourably with that of the native population. Domestic quarrels and week-end violence are the main source of trouble.

These Brixton migrants are par excellence economic migrants. They have come to Britain—to the streets paved with gold—and their intention is to return home after a few years with some capital, or with added working skills, or simply with metropolitan experience. Like most migrants in the early years of settlement, they have little time, energy or money to devote to non-economic ends.

In shops and offices, staff take all comers in turn and address all as "Madam" or "Sir" or, in Brixton Market, as "dear." A number of foodshops in or around the Market have begun to stock West Indian foods: brown rice, pigeon peas, peppers, aubergine and green

bananas, dried codfish, tinned yams, ackee, mangoes and spices; the record shops have calypsoes and expensive radiograms on hire purchase; the smaller tailors advertise: "Suits made to measure in American, Edwardian or West Indian style."

In the pubs, these cliquey refuges of the elderly Cockney, acceptance has been slower. But after one or two incidents, West Indians found locals where they would be sure of a welcome.

When closer social contacts are concerned, developments have not gone so smoothly. As we have seen, the average Londoner regards coloured people not only as outsiders but as low-class.

The average Londoner does not shudder at the mere idea of sex-relations between black and white. He is more concerned to prevent his own daughter from being de-classed, and forced to live in a pattern which is distasteful and alien to him. This attitude does however keep a vicious circle in operation. Coloured men, entering the country at the lowest level, have been forced to seek female companionship amongst declassed white women. This has perpetuated the stereotype that only bad women go with coloured men, although a number of successful mixed marriages in Brixton and elsewhere disprove the proposition.

In Brixton, unlike such areas as Stepney and Paddington, the situation has also been eased by the arrival of a large number of West Indian women. They have brought companionship and some stability to the settlement, have improved its living standards, and have given it a certain respectability in the eyes of local people.

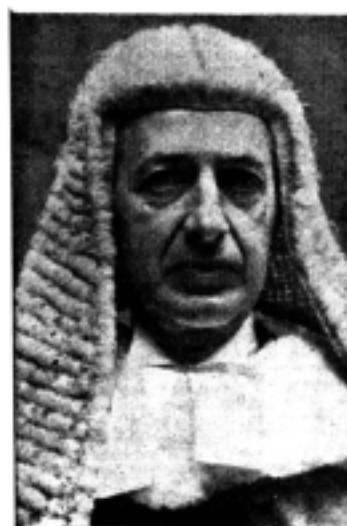
An understanding

So the West Indians and the people of Brixton have over the last decade achieved a tentative sort of accommodation to one another.

The wider problem of differing social and cultural patterns, as between a status-conscious urban lower-middle-class society and an alien, part-rural proletariat, will not perhaps be solved in a single generation. But this is the normal pattern for all migrants, and there is no need for undue pessimism. Ugly incidents provoked by anti-social gangs may for a while occupy the headlines, and may increase the West Indian migrants' characteristic colour-consciousness and chip-on-the-shoulder attitude.

But they may also have the positive effect of moving the great majority of law-abiding British to

A NEW DECLARATION OF LIBERTY



MR. JUSTICE SALMON

THE following is the text of an historic judgment delivered at the Central Criminal Court, London, recently by Mr. Justice Salmon when he sentenced to four years' imprisonment each of five young men, aged 17 to 20, who had pleaded guilty to charges of wounding coloured men in the Notting Hill and Shepherd's Bush districts of London on August 24.

These were grave and brutal crimes. You formed yourselves into a gang and set out on a cruel and vicious man-hunt. You armed yourselves with iron bars and other weapons.

Your quarry was any man, provided that there were not more than two of them together, whose skin happened to be a different colour from your own. Your object was to instil stark terror and inflict as much pain and grievous injury as you could.

No provocation

During that night you savagely attacked five perfectly law-abiding citizens without any shadow of excuse. None of them had done you any harm. None of them had offered you the slightest provocation. Indeed you knew nothing about any of them except that their skin happened to be a colour of which you apparently did not approve.

Two of them were lucky enough to escape from you before you were able to inflict other than apparently minor injuries. The other three you left bleeding and senseless on the pavement.

It was you men who started

the whole of the violence in Notting Hill. You are a minute and insignificant section of the population, but you have brought shame upon the district in which you live and filled the whole nation with horror, indignation, and disgust.

Everyone, irrespective of the colour of their skins, is entitled to walk through our streets in peace, with their heads erect and free from fear. That is a right which these courts will unfailingly uphold.

As far as the law is concerned, you are entitled to think what you like, however vile your thoughts; to feel what you like, however brutal and debased your emotions; to say what you like, provided you do not infringe the rights of others and imperil the Queen's peace.

But once you translate your dark thoughts and brutal feelings into savage acts such as these, the law will be swift to punish you and protect your victims.

Savage attack

I bear in mind what has been said on your behalf. You are young and have no previous convictions. Your victims—the grievously injured ones—have sufficiently recovered after two or three weeks in hospital to be allowed to return home and it is unlikely that they will suffer any permanent physical ill-effects from your savage attacks.

But for these facts I would have imposed much longer sentences. As it is, I am determined that you and anyone, anywhere, who may be tempted to follow your evil example shall clearly understand that crimes such as these will not be tolerated in this country, but will inevitably meet with the punishment in these courts that they so justly deserve.

Reports from London state that Mr. Justice Salmon's heavy sentences on the young men, who went on what one of them described as "a nigger-hunting expedition", has done more to stifle race hatred in Britain than all the political theorists, and that the judge has become the most talked of man in the country. Newspapers hailed his judgment as a "new declaration of liberty".

Appointed a judge of the Queen's Bench Division only 16 months ago, Sir Cyril Salmon was presiding at the Old Bailey for the first time.

overcome their reserve or influence and to show the newcomers a more definite friendliness.

The main factor that will decide the outcome is however the economic one. The migrants came to Britain in search of work, at a time when British industry was desperately short of unskilled labour, and when years of full employment had weakened the British workers' fear of and hostility to imported labour.

The minor recession since the credit squeeze and the Suez crisis

has however given a foretaste of what could happen if a major slump were to develop.

On the British side, there is much that can be done by individuals and groups to further good relationships and gradual integration of the migrants. Perhaps the most important pre-requisite is to stop seeing the situation in terms of colour alone. Those who, obsessed by the South African and Deep South situations, talk in the same breath of "Britain's colour problem" are in fact helping to create one here.

THE FIRST REBELLION OF THE 'EDUCATED AFRICAN'

Truth behind the legend of John Chilembwe

LIVINGSTONE'S
HEAD HUNG
ON THIS
CHURCH

Independent African, John Chilembwe and the Nyasaland Rising of 1915, by G. Shepperson and T. Price (Edinburgh University Press).

WHITE rule in Africa has been opposed, right from the beginning, by risings and rebellions. These can be divided into two sorts: the earlier sort which involved the rebellion by a traditional tribe or nation; and the later sort, in which men of various tribes and nations combined as *Africans*, to resist violently the oppressors as *foreigners*.

The first of this second sort of rebellion was the rebellion of John Chilembwe who organised a war against the British Nyasaland Government in 1915.

It was a small affair, but it was planned secretly over a long period. Its leader and his mission were nourished from abroad, both by support from American Negroes, and by contact with the less conformist Christian missions. It was planned intelligently and it maintained surprise until the moment of its outbreak.

The authors have produced a remarkable book. It is scholarly, containing no fewer than 1,192 references, 21 pages of bibliography alone, the whole work containing 564 pages. It is almost a handbook of African revolution.

The reason why so much care has gone into this book is that the long-dead Chilembwe is in danger, to-day, of turning into a legend. There are some who believe that he will return. And the authors believe it is important that the truth be recorded before too much myth is invented. They fear a false history of nationalistic rebellion. That their fears of false history are justified can be checked by looking at some of the books used in South African schools.

That these fears are not unjustified in Nyasaland is shown by a quotation from the book: "One story . . . told of how Chilembwe was chased into his church by the troops who came to attack his village. They saw him enter the church, and, when they emerged at the other exit, saw his footprints in the wet ground outside. They followed those footprints with a hope of catching him. Soon, however, they found that one footprint of each two was replaced by a hyena's footprint, and then both became those of a hyena."

Hot-gospeller

This incredible and romantic book begins when an ex-agnostic, Joseph Booth, who became a hot-gospeller in Australia, was challenged in public by an atheist lecturer to sell all and serve the heathen. "Have you forgotten this Christ's message to men of possessions: 'Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor'? When is the sale coming off? When shall you start to be a Christian?"

Stung by this Booth *did* sell all. Alone, a widower with two small children, he set out for Nyasaland. There he lived his belief in equality, and became a sort of Michael Scott of the nineties. He set up an "Industrial Mission" which was strongly influenced by European socialism and the doctrines of equality.

The old-established Scotchmis-

sions resented him, as did the Anglicans. He paid wages four and five times as high as the white settlers, so that with them, too, he became unpopular. Alone, ostracised by the whites, suspected by the Africans, almost dying of fever and at the mercy of his thieving servants, he and the children suddenly turned the corner of despair. John Chilembwe came into their lives. John was to save all their lives, and years later was to nurse Booth's son Edward when he died of fever. John served them faithfully, and built Booth up till he became a figure of importance in Nyasaland. In return Booth built up Chilembwe, and took him over to America.

When they reached America, Chilembwe parted from Booth. Booth had an instability that dogged him through all his life, and that made transient all his associations and friendships. Chilembwe parted from him as a friend, and never quarrelled with him. But Chilembwe had seen that he would never make his own way, so long as Booth's weaknesses overlay his own strength.

Founded a church

A Negro church—the National Baptist Convention—took up Chilembwe and trained him to be a minister. When he was ordained he returned to Africa, and founded his own church, the Providence Industrial Mission. He was to prove a missionary of tremendous ability.

He built a flourishing mission and ruled his flock strictly. He and they constructed a church of gigantic proportions out of brick, with huge towers, in size a cathedral. All this was done by determination, and with the help of a few hundred dollars from the Negroes in the States.

His mission was next door to the largest white-owned estate in Nyasaland, the huge Bruce Estates. Naturally Chilembwe and Livingstone, the manager, did not get on well, for Chilembwe represented the educated African, and Livingstone the feudal colonist.

Chilembwe ruled the Providence Industrial Mission. Then, in about 1909, the Watch Tower movement reached Central Africa. It had something to do with Chilembwe and with Booth (exiled from Nyasaland, then living at Cape Town). Then the war. Then, in 1915, suddenly, without warning, the Africans of the country rose. Chilembwe was their leader. The first act of the rebellion was the murder of

Livingstone. The rebels beheaded him and decorated Chilembwe's church with his head.

The rising was not limited to any one tribe, and included members of the Yao, the Tonga, and the Nyanja peoples.

It was, however, not immediately successful. The Government took energetic steps to quell it, and succeeded. As soon as the people saw the way the wind was blowing they withdrew all support from Chilembwe. The leaders were shot or hanged. The revolt was over.

'Bitter cry'

This was the first rising of "the educated African". In connection with this rising, Sir Harry Johnston, the founder of Nyasaland, wrote his moving "Bitter Cry of the Educated African". Johnston, who had no sympathy with Lugard's "indirect rule" or for any idea of holding back the Africans, and who on the contrary wanted to bring Africa as quickly as possible into the modern world, wrote: "The white man who controls in every direction the Negro's destinies would in his collective opinion like to thrust the Negro back into helotry and into exclusively manual work of a more or less unskilled kind, in connection with land, with mining, and the general development of the money-making resources of Africa, the money-making to remain chiefly with the white controller. In short, all governments, most Government officials, and nearly all the masters of Europe's trade and industry connected with Africa, would prefer if they spoke their utmost thoughts to re-establish slavery all over Africa . . . But the time for such a phase in African history has gone by . . . the missionaries have sown the dragon's teeth of education . . ."

No longer true

True enough 40 years ago, these words have ceased to be true everywhere in Africa except in Southern Africa. Can anyone fail to see the staggering similarity between this "cry" and apartheid and "Bantu Education"?

But "the time for such a phase in African history has gone by". Let all note this well. As well try to re-create the Aztec civilisation of living human sacrifices as to set the clock back in Africa.

Thank you, Shepperson and Price, for one of the really great books in the African field.

P.D.



The huge church built by Chilembwe and his flock. It was demolished in 1915.

A rational analysis of human progress

National Ambitions, by J. R. A. Bailey, (Basil Blackwell).

AS a professional philosopher in constant revolt against the sesquipedalianism of some professional philosophy. I have been charmed by this brisk and clear piece of writing by a non-professional philosopher. It moves quickly and engagingly, and while crammed with erudition and feeling for the past it is of and for our own day.

Mr. Bailey has tackled an old subject in a fresh way. There have been many analyses of the idea of Progress. But Mr. Bailey has not only collected a great deal of stimulating and sometimes unusual material but has formed an original pattern with it. The merit of his book is to take the notion of progress as a functional conception, and subjecting it to careful rational analysis, to ask what use we can make of it in guiding the destinies of a continent ahead of which great changes lie.

Progress deified

If we look at many eighteenth and nineteenth century attitudes to Progress we find that Progress, with a capital P, is hypostatized, deified, treated as a force or power. No doubt it was an idea which performed an important social function but it was not used functionally. It was regarded as a reality, not as a concept to be limited and rendered precise as a tool of analysis rather than as an object of belief.

Mr. Bailey is not a believer in Progress but he does hold the sober conviction that we can make progress the better for understanding how ideals operate in society. The analysis of progress in ship-building on pp. 30 ff. are an excellent example of this fruitful sobriety. There is often a pleasant sound of pricked bubbles popping.

I stress this point because there is far too much *a priori* political thinking in South Africa. In saying this I am not singling out any section for particular mention. Whether the premises be theological or anti-theological one is rightly suspicious of political positions which are merely deduced from them. They will tend to be unrealistic and to build up into ideologies for which the only cure is a patient realism, which in the long run will prove to be a much higher wisdom than deductions from a Truth about Human Nature which we do not pause to

examine. It is heartening to find the cause of empiricism in competent hands.

The criticism which I should make of Mr. Bailey's general position would, in fact, arise from the elements of dogmatism which are not infrequently discernible in his book. Let me give an example: "There is no better evidence for a future state of human perfection than there is for a heavenly one. There can be no doubt about this: there is not a shred of worthwhile evidence for either". I do not think that this is any less dogmatic than Herbert Spencer's statement that progress is a truth more certain than that all men will die. It is simply Spencer's dogma turned upside down.

Again, Mr. Bailey's thesis that ideals are projected by wants does not seem sufficiently justified by the evidence. One could adduce evidence that it is a lingering remnant of Nietzschean or Feuerbachian psychology.

Over-confidence

A last example: there is an over-confidence in statements like this: "The strong other-worldly outlook of the early Christians is a perfectly correct interpretation of the Gospels. The increasing tendency to enter into the world . . . was forced upon the later Christians by circumstances." I wonder how many modern Biblical scholars would agree with the earlier part of the statement. And if it falls, as on a proper understanding of incarnation I think it must, the values of the words "world" and "circumstances" in the latter part must be radically readjusted.

It is a pity that Mr. Bailey did not translate more of his citations. There is a certain piquancy in finding, say, quotations from the Fathers embedded in a context of lively modern English, but it might have been amusing to Mr. Bailey and kind to his readers to translate them into the same idiom.

MARTIN VERSFELD.

4th October, 1958.



THE DANGER TO MANKIND OF MASS THINKING

Persecution of a religious sect in the Congo

The Undiscovered Self, by C. G. Jung (Routledge & Kegan Paul)

ONE of the most alarming prospects facing modern man in a world full of alarming prospects is the declining status of the individual in a highly organised, scientific age which tends to give an unrealistic and irrational picture of man and the events through which he lives.

Even in the West the ordinary man is surrendering more and more of his moral, spiritual and intellectual freedom to the suffocating forces of a mass society.

The tendency everywhere is towards mass thinking and mass believing. To use Dr. Jung's own words: "Where the many are there is security; what the many believe must, of course, be true; what the many want, must be necessary and therefore good..."

And at the highest point there is the abstract idea of the state as the symbol of political reality, its policies taking the place of the moral responsibility of the individual.

The individual is becoming nothing more than a "marginal phenomenon". Under the influence of mass thinking, men have suffered a levelling-down process which, according to Dr. Jung, has distorted the picture of reality into "a conceptual average", despite the fact that it is still the individual who is the authentic carrier of reality, not the normal, average statistical man.

Even the Church, whose function is the salvation of the individual soul, is resorting to mass action "to cast out the devil with Beelzebub", despite the elementary axiom of mass psychology that the individual becomes morally and spiritually inferior in the mass.

"I can see it only as a delusion," Dr. Jung says, "when the churches try, as they apparently do, to rope the individual into a social organisation and reduce him to a condition of diminished responsibility, instead of raising him out of the torpid, mindless mass and making it clear to him... that the salvation of the world consists in the salvation of the individual soul."

Great danger

He sees this whole process as one of the greatest dangers facing modern man and in his latest book he has devoted himself almost ruthlessly to the problem, setting himself the task of awakening the individual to a new life of self through self-understanding and self-realisation because he believes that ultimately it is on the individual that everything depends.

He is convinced that the time has come when responsible people should ask themselves exactly what they are herding together and what makes up the nature of the individual, the real man. He does not pretend to know all the answers but he does show a way.

Human dilemma

In doing so Dr. Jung asks questions which go to the core of our human dilemma and because of their complete honesty and sincerity they are a challenge to many of man's most cherished ideas about himself, his relationship to God and his concept of evil.

Man has become the victim of the machines that have conquered time and space, and lives in mortal fear and danger of the weapons he himself has created to protect his very existence.

But his achievements have diminished him. His knowledge has outstripped his faith leaving a gulf which is part and parcel of his dualism. Man the great creator, inventor and law-giver remains an enigma to himself; the human psyche remains a frightening puzzle.

Yet it is the psyche which gives the individual his worth and importance. As a pre-condition of being, "the psyche is endowed with the dignity of a cosmic principle which philosophically and in fact gives it a position co-equal with the principle of physical existence".

Old atrocities

Dr. Jung says that one of the main difficulties man must face in order to understand himself is that the crimes committed in the last war were the culmination of all the atrocities committed by our ancestors.

Apart from the bloodbaths the Christian nations prepared for one another, the European has something else to answer for—the barbarities he has committed against the dark-skinned people of the world during colonisation.

The evil in man is of gigantic proportions and when the churches trace original sin back to "Adam's relatively innocent slip-up with Eve", they are a very long way off the point.

"The evil, the guilt, the profound unease of conscience are there before our eyes," Dr. Jung says. "Man has done these things; I am a man who has his share of human nature, therefore I am guilty with the rest and bear unaltered and indelibly within me

the capacity and inclination to do them again at any time.

"None of us stands outside humanity's black collective shadow. Whether the crime lies many generations back or happens to-day, it remains a symptom of a disposition that is always and everywhere present."

To those who might think this a needlessly grim and ruthless picture of man, Dr. Jung will reply that only a fool can permanently neglect the conditions of his own nature and that it is this very neglect which makes man an instrument of evil.

Though it is in the Christian tradition to shut our eyes to evil, to neither touch it nor mention it, it would be folly to keep up such sanctimoniousness. To postulate a metaphysical principle of evil is, in Dr. Jung's view, merely an attempt to ease one's conscience by fobbing evil on the devil.

But to face evil and recognise its existence, leads to the modesty, honesty and true soul-searching that humanity needs to acknowledge its imperfections. This ruthless self-examination and attempt at self-understanding is the first step, according to Dr. Jung, towards the salvation of the individual and the world.

Well organised

He sums up his case like this: "Resistance to the organised mass can be effected only by the man who is as well organised in his individuality as the mass itself."

In his attempt to analyse the predicament of modern man and to make new explorations into the nature of evil, Dr. Jung has undoubtedly taken an important step forward in Western thought and given the world a book of incalculable importance.

B.B.

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PROTECTORATES 'INCAPABLE OF SEPARATE NATIONHOOD'



All races are potentially cultural equals

SIR,
In the course of business I recently had to refer for certain information to "Pears Cyclopaedia" (66th Edition, 1958) and, in doing, I came across the absorbing Section "Human Society" which, *in toto*, is profoundly provocative of deep thought. As a point of interest, however, I append hereunder one or two excerpts from the item as they seem to me to epitomise the spirit of **CONTACT** — to which be fuller circulation and length of days!
Page 187:

"It is quite wrong to suppose, as many people do, that primitive people are 'backward' because they are stupid in comparison with ourselves. On the contrary, mental tests have shown that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that any existing tribe or people is inherently intellectually or physically superior to any other... (Incidentally, one of the highest intelligence-quotients ever recorded was found in a Negro girl in one of the Northern States of America.)..."

"Whether a tribe or people or race show a 'high degree of culture' depends hardly at all upon biological or racial factors, but (a) upon the... materials available to them for building up a culture, and (b) upon the extent to which they have been able to borrow from others... The fundamental point is that all scientists are agreed that there are no significant intellectual differences between any of the races in existence today, and that the reason why some peoples are relatively backward is either because the raw materials necessary for technological advance have been lacking in their environment, or because by a historical accident their country has been out of contact with the general flow of civilisation."

Inter-marriage

"... Since all races and peoples are equal in potentialities, what about the problem of inter-marriage between races? Is there any evidence that race mixture is bad? Briefly, the answer is that no such evidence exists; for although there may be social reasons... in the existing state of society... there are no biological reasons against it whatsoever... 'In South America,' writes Dr. Olivera Lima, 'our experiences of centuries has taught us that there is no real understanding except the one that comes through the fusion of races.'"

Further comment is surely superfluous!

V. C. HOWARD,
Durban.

SIR,
Your newspaper advances the proposition that the Nationalist Government is opposed to Britain's policy of granting greater autonomy to Basutoland and the other protectorates. Yet Dr. Verwoerd makes it clear in his latest statements that he is actually in favour of increased independence for Africans within their own territories and seems to see eye to eye with the British Government in this regard!

True, he has advanced claims for their incorporation into the Union, as have previous governments, yet the noble Doctor does not appear to be prepared to undertake a serious struggle for the protectorates. Indeed it is very doubtful as to whether the Nationalist Government is capable of such a struggle, which, I think, could only be undertaken by a government able to rely on the support of the majority of the South African people. This the more so because the inhabitants of the protectorates would in all probability welcome incorporation into a non-racial democracy—the only form of government which could rely on the support of the broad mass of the nation. I doubt whether Dr. Verwoerd is unaware of these things.

Progressive step

If, however, this Government were to succeed in incorporating the protectorates it would have taken its first progressive step. These territories are obviously incapable of independent national existence and were created by Britain as reservoirs of cheap labour for the gold mines; integrated into South Africa's economy. Britain retains full political control and will continue to oppose any call for incorporation, not because she desires to preserve the rights of the Basuto, Bechuana and Swazi but because it is her policy to support tribal self-determination—the old policy of dividing and ruling.

This is also why she fails to positively oppose present-day Afrikaner chauvinism (there is full co-operation between the British and Nationalist Governments), which, whatever its past history, has now degenerated into tribalism and, disregarding the rest of the nation, sees only the Boer people.

'Imperialists' lackeys'

Britain and the oppressive government which she maintains in South Africa support ethnic and tribal separate development with a view to dividing and thus weakening the national democratic forces and delaying the rise of a common South African patriotism. The process of incorporating the protectorates would create for the imperialists and their lackeys difficulties of a kind which would bring great benefits to the forces of democracy.

But let us not pretend that the protectorates are lands of milk and honey. In this respect I should like to quote a recent statement by Mr. Ntsie Phaholi,

branch secretary of the Basutoland African Congress in Mafeteng:

"Much has been said by British officials about improving the political status of the Basuto people, yet nothing has been done to improve the economic and social conditions in the territory."

Starving families

"Because those in authority—the Paramount Chief, Resident Commissioner, chiefs and Government officials—are getting their fat share, the fact that thousands of Basuto families are starving always passes unnoticed." (British capital gets its chief rake-off from Basutoland via the tens of thousands of Basuto workers it is able to employ at starvation wages in the gold mines.)

He continues: "That is why although politically subject to harsh laws in the Union, the Basuto are unwilling to come home because they are economically and socially better off there than in their own country."

No one who advocates dividing the South African nation, and I include the inhabitants of the protectorates, on tribal or racial lines has the interests of the people at heart. Such division can only lead to our people being weakened in their struggle against tyranny.

PETER R. DREYER,
Cape Town.

New union offers thanks for abattoir publicity

SIR,
On behalf of the South African Meat Workers' Union, I wish to thank you for the publicity given in **CONTACT** to the horrifying conditions at the Cape Town abattoirs and also the inaugural meeting of our union.

Off-prints of your exposure of the conditions of the workers in the meat industry distributed amongst the workers greatly assisted in the success of our meeting.

The effect of the publicity you gave our work—your paper was the only one to have done so—emphasises the important role a democratic newspaper can play in worker organisation, even in merely giving publicity to the struggles and working conditions of the workers who are the forgotten people of South Africa today. However, a newspaper can play a far more important role than this. It can assist positively in organising the workers and uniting them in non-racial trade and industrial unions to build a modern democratic labour movement in South Africa. And in this we welcome the fact that your report completely reflected the non-racial spirit in which we are proceeding.

Pauper wages

Finally we are confident that the development of a democratic non-racial labour movement will not only put an end to pauper wages and intolerable conditions of work but will be a school for democracy and play an important role in ridding South Africa of the curse of apartheid.

(MISS) H. RUITERS,
Claremont, C.P.

'Extravagant' report on Verwoerd, jr.

SIR,
The report on Dr. Verwoerd's son, Daan, in your issue of September 6 was unworthy of **CONTACT**; details were, I hope unconsciously, excluded, and unwarranted conclusions were drawn.

To say "His actions have been even more spectacular than those of his father" (in the previous week) is extravagant, for it was in that week, perhaps with less publicity, that Dr. Verwoerd was preparing for his caucus coup.

While Daan Verwoerd's refusal to speak at the Wits. debate was disappointing and inconsistent with his presence at the Luthuli meeting, the tone of **CONTACT**'s report was distasteful ("Playing the role of Afrikaner intellectual...").

And the implication that the Pretoria students took over the digging of Strijdom's grave to prevent its being dug by Africans is at odds with the students' statement to the contrary.

The crowning distortion is the headline, "Like Father, like Son." Would Dr. Verwoerd have attended the Luthuli meeting? **CONTACT** should give credit where it is due; there is still only one Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd. Surely that is enough!

PETER RODDA,
University of Natal,
Pietermaritzburg.

[We agree with this letter, and regret having published the news item on Dr. Daan Verwoerd (junior), to whom we wish to apologise.—Editor.]

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PERSONAL

For Cretan. Why were you not at September meeting? We are angry. There is only one more chance. Gregor and Sylvia are with me. October 17. Remember the lines after "here is no continuing city...?"

MYLAE.

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