## LIBERAL NEWS FEBRUARY, 1954 VOL. I. No. 1. Price: 1d.

# NEW NAT. TRAP FOR VOTERS Liberal Pledge to Fight **New Act**

Mr. Swart has laid a trap for the voters of Cape Western — a trap which can mean that you lose your greatest democratic right, the right to be represented in Parliament.

In a new Bill, which will become law before the Cape Western election, if you vote for a named Communist you will be without a voice in Parliament. You will have nobody to fight for you in the House of Assembly.

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This Bill affects the position of Miss Alexander. She has been named under the Suppression of Communism Act, and, if she is returned to Parliament, she will never be able to take her seat, she will never be able to speak in Parliament, and, merely by being elected, she lays herself open to being put in jail.

Let there be no mistake about it. The Liberal Party will fight this wicked new Bill. It will fight it because Liberals believe that it is more important that you should have the right to vote than that you should vote for any particular Party. Here the Liberal Party differs completely from the Communist Parties. In the countries which appear to be so much admired by Advance, countries like Russia, Poland, Hungary and so on, you can only vote for one party. There is only one party, the Communist Party. You have no choice. That is what Communists mean by democracy.

#### LAWYERS AGREE

Liberal News agree that the news- no other way out that they choose

MISS ALEXANDER'S POSITION | papers have not understood the meaning of Mr. Swart's new Bill (The Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill, 1954). It does not mean that if Cape Western votes for Miss Alexander, and she is forbidden to go to Parliament, then the second candidate automatically becomes Cape Western's Member of Parliament. Miss Alexander's position is not the same as Mr. Brian Bunting's. If Cape Western votes for Miss Alexander, they will, in practice, have no M.P.

#### LIBERAL'S POSITION

Mr. Jimmy Gibson, the Liberal Party candidate, said: 'This is another Nationalist attempt to take away the people's rights. It will be a tragedy if Cape Western plays into the Government's hands by returning a named Communist. I pledge the Liberal Party to fight to scrap all these laws which are preparing the way for a Fascist state. But the answer to Fascism is not Communism. It is Liberalism. Hitler said: "My first enemy is the Liberals." And Malan is not afraid of Communism. He knows Leading lawyers consulted by the that it is only when people can see

Communism. Now there is a way out. There is the Liberal Party, cutting across the colour bar. The answer to Dr. Malan and Mr. Swart is to join the Liberals.'

## WHAT THE NATS. WANT YOU TO DO

'At the nomination of candidates for the election of a Cape Western Natives' Representative it was once again the old story. At the last moment Miss Ray Alexander, a named Communist, was nominated. . . . It is just like a serial story. Mr. Sam Kahn ceased to be the Cape Western Native Representative as a result of a decision of Parliament under the Suppression of Communism Act. In the resulting by-election Mr. Brian Bunting, a named Communist, was nominated at the eleventh hour. . . . He was elected and during the last parliamentary session he was also thrown out.

Now it is Miss Alexander. She was proposed by Mr. Fred Carneson who himself lost his seat in the Provincial Council under the Suppression of Communism Act.

These people obviously love to play these jokes. But if the Cape Western Natives choose for all practical purposes to remain unrepresented in Parliament I should be the very last person to object.'

Translation from Die Burger, 23 January 1954. Extract from 'Uit my Politieke Pen' by Dawie.

February, 1954

# **ONLY LIBERALS CAN SMASH COLOUR BAR**

—Jimmy Gibson

## **"NO TIME FOR** HALF-HEARTED **REFORMERS**"

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'Our main job is to smash the colour bar,' said Mr. Jimmy Gibson, the Liberal candidate for Cape Western. 'A lot of White people hate the colour bar-but that is not enough. You can only smash an evil like this if you are organized to do so.'

Mr. Gibson is a vigorous and outspoken man. 'Nobody except the Liberals can do this job he declared, 'because nobody else has both the guts and the organization. I respect the intentions of my opponents - but what possible good can they do if they get into Parliament? They are on their own, without a single organized group behind them."

Asked by a Liberal News reporter what proof he could offer to African voters of the sincerity of the Liberal Party, Mr. Gibson said: 'Just come to our meeting's. Some of our leading figures are Africans — and every day more Africans are joining the Party. Here is no colour bar. Here are black men, brown men, and white men, united to make South Africa a free and happy country.'

#### THE UNJUST LAWS

When our reporter asked what Mr. Gibson would do with the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, the Urban Areas Act, and the other Acts bracketed by the A.N.C. as the 'Unjust Laws', Mr. Gibson leant across his desk. 'There is only one thing to do with these Acts he said crisply, 'scrap the lot.'



Mr. Gibson is congratulated on his nomination by Mr. Daniel Tikili.

reformers', continued Mr. Gibson. 'It is not enough to propose that an African should represent African voters. We must stop thinking in terms of colour. I see no reason why an African should not represent European voters. The important thing is to elect the best man, whatever his colour. We in the Liberal Party are going to fight until the colour bar is just a bad memory, its only traces to be found in history books.'

Asked what he considered the most important reforms to be carried out, Mr. Gibson said, 'There is so much to do, all vitally important. We must build decent homes for our people. We must provide free education for everybody. We must smash the laws which divide us. We must make sure that the poor, the sick, and the old get the help they need. There

'I have no time for half-hearted is so much to do. It is fantastic that the Government should squander money on the Huguenot Memorial, or on giving us all identity cards, when the majority of South Africans are hungry. South Africa cannot call itself a civilized country while there are the hovels of Windermere, while children are turned away from school in tears because there is no room for them, while most of our people live on a basic diet of mealies.'

#### **GOVERNMENT A DISGRACE**

'The present Government is a disgrace', he continued, 'and the U.P. opposition hasn't the courage of a jackal. Let's get in and fight. Let us unite, African and European, and show the Government what a real **Opposition** looks like.'

(Continued in next column)

February, 1954

# WHY I SUPPORT MR. GIBSON

By Daniel Tikili

As an African I know what the colour har means. I know that this fence between the peoples of South Africa degrades both the black man and the white. I am a member of the A.N.C., and of the Institute of Race Relations. and now I have found in the Liberal Party the method of breaking down this colour bar - the way to put into practice the ideals of the A.N.C. and the L.R.R.

When I first met Mr. Gibson I realized that he was a man who thinks as I do about these matters. As I got to know him better I realized that he was a man who would do more than just talk — he was a man who would fight for what he believed in. In the Liberal Party men like Mr. Gibson — both black men and white men — have found a way to unite against the Nationalist Government. In this party there is no colour bar. Africans and Europeans serve alike on committees and decide the policy of the party. In this atmosphere of co-operation I am proud to work with Mr. Gibson, and proud to call him my friend. Cape Western is very fortunate in having the chance to send such a man to Parliament.

#### (Continued from previous page)

Our reporter remarked, 'That is what you want to do in Parliament?'

Mr. Gibson smiled. 'Yes,' he said, 'that's what I want to do in Parliament. But first I've got to get there. If Cape Western does me the very great honour of returning me to Parliament, I'll promise them one thing. I'll fight. And because we Liberals represent a huge cross-

PATRICIA'S COLUMN

## AFRICAN BEAUTY

An African woman has a natural grace that is sometimes lost when she indiscriminately adopts European clothes.

Her dark skin lets her wear bold colours which are impossible for white women. In fact, one of France's leading fashion designers now employs African women to model his clothes because he can use such wonderful colour schemes.

I am a dress designer, and I have sometimes noticed that African women do not make the most of their natural beauty. For example, the stouter woman should not wear patterned fabrics but should always wear plain colours. Of course, this does not mean that she must wear only subdued greys, blacks and brown — in fact these are three colours that a dark-skinned woman should not wear at all. Besides. there are so many other colours she can wear, many of them impossible for women with light skins. All red colours, from dark crimson to rose golden browns and yellows lemons and lime greens - all these look ravishing against a dark skin. But be careful with blues. Deep blues, violet, and the ever-popular powder blue are wonderful, but beware of purple. This is a difficult colour in any case, and very rarely looks well on an African beauty.

Next issue I shall tell you more about how to make the most of your beauty — the true African beauty.

section of South African opinion, white as well as black, that fight on Cape Western's behalf will not be just by one man, but by a whole, powerful Party. The one thing Malan is afraid of is Liberalism. He has said as much himself.'

And from the way Mr. Gibson looked, Dr. Malan will have a very tough opponent indeed, in Jimmy Gibson, M.P.

# The Strange Case of Mrs. Jonker-Fiske

We know where Mr. Jimmy Gibson stands. He is a Liberal, and stands on the Liberal Policy. We know more or less where Miss Ray Alexander stands. She enjoys the support of *Advance*.

But what of Mrs. Jonker-Fiske? Where does she come in? Who, if anyone, does she represent? Where does she stand? In an interview with the Cape Argus Mrs. Jonker-Fiske said that she was a member of The South African National Coalition, 'a body that is more of a goodwill group than a political party'. As far as we can gather. Mrs. Jonker-Fiske more or less is the South African National Coalition — and, besides, surely we need a political party to fight the Government rather more than we need a goodwill group.

She describes herself as 'Liberal'. Some of her letters to the newspaper's — Mrs. Jonker-Fiske is a great one for writing to newspapers - don't seem to be particularly Liberal, but nevertheless we of the Liberal Party welcome her presumed conversion. But what is she doing standing against a Liberal Party candidate? Why doesn't she stand down and throw her handful of votes in with the proper Liberal caudidate, Mr. Jimmy Gibson? Why waste her time, and confuse the issue on which this Election is being fought, by continuing to be a candidate?

Mrs. Jonker-Fiske, we are sure you mean well. We are sure you are sincere. But the best thing you can do is to stand down in favour of Mr. Jimmy Gibson, who stands for the best of everything you do, who is a particularly fine candidate, and who represents a powerful political party, not a goodwill group. He, and the Party he represents, alone can smash the colour bar. Mrs. Jonker-Fiske, in the interests of what you believe — withdraw.

The Liberal.

#### **AROUND THE RINGS**

## **SLUMBER DAVID WINS AGAIN COULD HE CATCH JAKE TULI?**

So Slumber David succeeded where Jake Tuli failed. He knocked out Kid Bogart in the ninth round of their fight in Durban on 22 January. And Tuli just couldn't land a knock-out punch on Bogart in fifteen rounds. But we must remember, when we judge David against Tuli, that the Tuli-Bogart fight took place on a bitterly cold night in the open air. It looked to me as though Jake was too cold to really get going.

been told to stay the distance, and he did this by keeping out of range as much as possible.

In the Durban fight Bogart was pretty clearly ahead on points when David's terrific right landed.



ALBY TISSONG

Perhaps Bogart was over-confident: perhaps he also felt that Tuli's t.k.o. over Slumber David would have softened him up. But a series of fights between these three should be very interesting.

On the same Durban bill Elijah Makone, the feather- and lightweight champion, knocked out challenger Young Seabela with only

In addition, Bogart had obviously two seconds to go in the last round, I know just how tough Seabela is and I know how accurate Makone's left is, and how powerful is that wicked right cross of his. A terrific fight, was everybody's verdict.

#### WONDERFUL FIGHT

Speaking of Makone, what a wonderful exhibition he gave against Seldom has a Alby Tissong. straight left been seen to such effect. Quite early Tissong must have realized that only a knock-out could give him victory. That last round was just about the most exciting I have ever seen, anywhere in the world. Tissong was almost berserk, trying to catch Makone with one of those rights that have won him so many decisive victories in England. Tissong was due to return to England after the fight. It will be interesting to see if he still makes the trip, minus his title. But Tissong is a grand little fighter, and with him in the ring the customers always get value for money!

A boy I am watching with interest is the Transvaal featherweight, Jerry Moloi. Rarely has a newcomer shown such skill in picking his punches, and he has a lovely right to the body. He is a class fighter, and Cape Town wants to see more of him.

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## AFRICANS OF TO-MORROW



A healthy African baby is a joy to its mother and to everyone who sees it, so fat, so strong, and so happy. But many of these babies get sick and die. Last year 360 African babies died in Cape Town, which is about twenty out of every hundred babies born. In the country the number of babies born is not known, as many of the births are not registered, but very many babies die, and most of these could have lived if they had had proper care and the right food. Of European babies born in South Africa, and in the various European countries, only two or three of every hundred babies born die before reaching their first birthday. There must be a reason why so many African babies die, while in some other countries only a few babies do. In these countries 100 or 200 years ago, the position was just as bad as it is to-day in Africa, and many of the babies born died in infancy. But for the past 100 years doctors and scientists have been studying disease, the cure of disease, and how to keep people healthy.

The people in these countries of Europe have learned from them, and are now able to bring up nearly all their children strong and well. Every issue of *Liberal News* will tell you something about how to keep children healthy and strong. And, if you want free advice on how to bring up your baby, just write to 'Africans of To-morrow," Liberal News, Box 3618, Cape Town. Box 42

# VOL. J. NO. 2. Price: 1d. FACT AND FICTION

# The Real Story of the Election

In the latest issue of *Advance*, dated 18 February, certain comment appeared. The *Liberal News* publishes this comment in its entirety, and, beneath it, publishes the facts. We challenge *Advance* to deny that their comment is, to put it mildly, wildly inaccurate. We dare them to deny that what we publish here is the fact.

#### What Advance says —

'While record meetings all over the Western Cape are enthusiastically approving Ray Alexander, the People's Candidate [sic], her two opponents, Mrs. Jonker-Fiske and Advocate Gibson, have been laughed and hooted into silence almost everywhere they have dared to appear.'

#### The facts -

Advocate Gibson has, almost without exception, received as large, or audiences than Ray larger. Alexander. In only one case has a meeting of his been broken up. That occurred at Langa where a small crowd of members of the Unity Movement (not Miss Alexander's supporters) created such a row that the meeting had to be closed - and the vast majority of the audience, numbering over 250, were unable to hear Advocate Gibson. The disturbing element was a very small percentage of the total audience. Miss Alexander's meetings have been anything but 'record' either in size. number of electors, or degree of support. For example, at Wynberg Town Hall the audience was about twenty.

#### What Advance says -

'At one of the biggest meetings in Paarl's history last week a unani-

mous vote of confidence in Ray Alexander was adopted amidst scenes of terrific enthusiasm. Speaker after speaker, among them workers at Paarl factories who have known Ray for years, promised that not a single Paarl vote would go to Jonker-Fiske or Gibson.'

#### The facts ---

No doubt Miss Alexander is not responsible for what her more hotheaded supporters may say. Does she seriously believe that Advocate Gibson will get 'not a single Paarl vote' — especially as we already have the names of a considerable number of Liberal supporters in Paarl?

#### What Advance says —

"Swart can try," said one worker, "but he cannot force us to vote for candidates who help him against us.""

#### The facts —

This is, of course, ludicrous. Anyone who has ever heard Mr. Gibson, or read his speeches, his interviews, or his letters to the press, knows perfectly well that the last thing he could be accused of doing is helping Swart against the Africans.

What Advance says —

At meetings in Worcester, Cape Town, Simonstown, Langa and Nyanga the slogan "Vote for Africa — Vote for Alexander" has caught the imagination of the people.

#### The facts ----

This rather feeble slogan does not seem to have caught the imagination of the large audiences addressed by Mr. Gibson. For example, at Nyanga this audience was larger than Miss Alexander's meeting the week before, and all his meetings, with the one exception noted above, have been remarkably successful.

#### What Advance says —

'There has not been a single vote opposing the confidence motions at any of these meetings, as against the many thousands who have raised their hands in favour. And at the Cape Town Banqueting Hall Mr. Daniel Tikili, whose photograph has appeared in all the Liberal publications shaking hands with Gibson and congratulating him, was among those who raised their hands to vote in favour of the confidence motion in Ray Alexander!'

#### The facts —

In this meeting the share of the 'many thousands' consisted of about thirty people in a hall which can accommodate four hundred. Mr. Daniel Tikili did indeed raise his hand — as a joke! The audience was so small he knew the speakers would recognize him as a known Liberal. But, as Mr. Tikili sadly observes, 'They have no sense of humour'.

A few days after the meeting, Miss Mary Butcher, of Advance, called on Mr. Tikili, to interview him. Mr. Tikili made it quite plain that he did not, and would not dream of supporting Miss Alexander (Continued on page 2, col. 1.)

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(Continued from page 1.) and that he was 100 per cent behind Mr. Gibson. Despite this, Advance carried the story we print here, implying that Mr. Tikili supports Ray Alexander. This is, to say the least, very bad journalism. The kindest interpretation we can imagine is that they were inefficient enough to lose Miss Butcher's story.

#### What Advance says -

'It has been one of the most encouraging things of all', said Mr. Greenwood Ngotyana, Ray's election agent, ' that the few opponents who have come to our meetings have in every single instance become convinced at the meeting of the correctness of supporting Ray Alexander.'

#### The facts -

Mr. Tikili is, in himself, an answer to this claim. And at the Banqueting Hall meeting Mr. Tikili was accompanied by a friend who remained likewise unmoved. Surely no one believes that at any political meeting one can expect nothing but supporters and converts. This seems too politically naive to be true.

#### What Advance says -

'Meanwhile Advocate Gibson (who incorporates anti-Soviet, anti-Communist propaganda into his campaign) has gone on record in a statement to Advance that in the event of Miss Alexander being forced out of the election by Swart he will not take a seat in Parliament unless the voters record their full confidence in him.'

#### The facts -

Advocate Gibson has indeed said that Communist talk about justice is merely to fool the people, pointing out that there is virtually no justice in any Communist-run country. As for the second part of this paragraph, a Liberal News reporter was present during the interview which Advocate Gibson gave to the The report in Advance Advance. is a complete misinterpretation of what he said. What he actually

(Continued in col. 2.)

# The Liberal Voice

let the people hear the voice of liberalism. The liberal voice is a free voice. It is not tied to any foreign ideology. It is not at the beck and call of moneyed groups, whose identities groups are shrouded behind financial trusts. Liberalism is not answerable to hidden men. It is answerable to the people, to history, and to God.

Where there is injustice, where there is oppression, where there is poverty, there is the need for militant liberalism, and for a free, unchoked liberal voice. In the liberal spirit have grown the great civilizations of Europe, their freedom, as Tennyson put it, 'broadening down, from precedent to precedent'. In our country the voice of liberalism is a hated voice. It is hated by Dr. Malan and his followers, because they know that the enemy of blind nationalism, of bigotry and of racial hysteria, is reason and courage -- the weapons of liberalism. And liberalism is hated by the Communists, too. Communism, like a fungus, thrives on disease. Only where the society is rotten, where men are desperate, will they turn to the violent tyranny of communism. By making the con-

(Continued from col. 1.) said was that if Miss Alexander was returned with an overwhelming majority (which, added Mr. Gibson, would not happen) and that if he came second with a very small percentage of the votes (which, he remarked, again would not be the case) he would not take the seat in shown to be against him.

The Liberal News was founded to | ditions for the mass of the people of South Africa steadily more degraded, the Nationalist Government is fostering communism, not curbing it.

> Liberals hate tyranny, Fascist, racial, and Communist alike. The weapons of tyranny are the same whoever uses them. The clumsy beginning of press censorship in South Africa has made the law a laughing stock. But in Communist countries, Russia, Poland, East Germany and the rest, there is no press freedom at all. There is no one to stand up and tell the Government where it is wrong - and no government can be infallible all the time. There is no opposition, because the law allows no opposition. Hitler did his best to smash liberalism. Stalin and his successors tried, as well. We need not be surprised that the enemies of Liberalism in our own country, too, use falsehood, fear, hysteria, and half-truth against us. These are their normal weapons. They will not succeed. While there are men born who are free, there will be liberalism. While there are men born who will fight for their freedom, and for the freedom of others, the liberal voice will be heard. For the liberal voice is the voice of freedom.

> > The Liberal.

Parliament if the Government altered the law so that, instead of the seat remaining vacant as it would under the present conditions, the second candidate was declared elected. This is the remark of an honest man. He felt unable to claim the position if the people's will was

# 'ADVANCE' IN RETREAT

In the editorial of *Advance*, dated 18 February, the following report and comment appears:

'Our shameful little Parliament is sitting nattering hate. Barlow and Waring outdo one another in sinking the myth that "Afrikaner" fascism is one whit different from "English-speaking" fascism. Strauss repeats his un-ashamed appeal that "Communists" be hanged as traitors instead of only losing their citizenship rights. Liberal leader Mrs. Ballinger keeps in line. It's all very well to ban Sam Kahn, she says, but not the others, "the obscure Natives, who mostly have no idea of what Communism is about "

B for bunkum, Mrs. Ballinger. Those banned Africans are not "obscure Natives". They are leaders of the people. They are Congress officials and trade unionists. They are alert, honest and courageous citizens. They know what they are doing — They are fighting for freedom.

No, Mrs. Ballinger, you've got it wrong. They are not obscure.

You are one who is obscure! In the fight for freedom in this country you are so obscure that you cannot be seen anywhere. You are leaving the struggle to the "obscure Natives" whom your words show you despise.'

When this editorial was brought to the attention of Mrs. Ballinger, M.P., leader of the Liberal Party, she wrote:

'This report is a wicked distortion of what I said and gives an absurd impression of Liberal policy. It is ludicrous to pretend that the Liberal Party is "in line" with the present or past colour policy of the United Party. Perhaps it is too much to hope that *Advance* will check up what their opponents actually say by reading *Hansard*. If they did they would find that what I actually said was this:

legislation as if he were denting simply with Mr. Sam Kahn. The MINISTER OF JUSTICE : To his party. Mrs. BALLINGER : No. to Sam Kahn, not the party. The hon. member for Namaqualand gets up here and says that if we had not had this legislation. we would never have been able to catch Sam Kahn. To be quite candid. I think it would have taken a long time to catch him, because Sam Kahn is a very able lawyer and a very clever man. But he is not the person whom this measure is designed for. But we go on legislating in this way, as though we were dealing with Sam Kahn and Sam Kahn only, whereas the people who are being covered by this Act are a great many small people of nothing like the calibre and nothing like the activities of Sam Kahn. You are legislating here not simply for people who are self-confessed members of the Communist Party. You are legislating for hundreds of people, including persons of all races, who never were members of the communist Party and who do not have Sam Kahn's ability to defend themselves against the sort of accusation this Government can level against any of us. . . . . A great number of the people who have been dealt with alrendy under this Act are obscure Africans and other non-Europeans who never harty and do not cven know what Communism is



about. It is no good the hon. Minister shaking his head. He has banned numbers of Africans under this Act, and many of them not even leaders of the African Congress, but obscure teachers and ministers of churches. All sorts of people of that kind have been banned under this Act, have lost their jobs, and have been penalized in their personal liberties."

'As anyone can see, the *Advance* report is not only out of context but actually inaccurate. I consider it highly defamatory to suggest that I, of all people, "despise Africans" I only hope that my record in Parliament and out shows that I realize that the future for this country lies in the brotherhood of men, black, white and brown alike.

#### **RIGHTS OF PEOPLE**

'I do not wish to claim for myself an undue share of the limelight. I would only say that for eighteen years I have consistently fought for the rights of the African people. Now I am happy that liberal hopes have been realized in the creation of the Liberal Party. I am sure that it will enjoy the same degree of confidence from Africans throughout the Union that I have enjoyed for these eighteen years from the African voters in my constituency."

# What the Mendi Celebrations Mean to us To-day

### By The Rev. S. T. LEDIGA

The story of the sinking of His Majesty's Troopship Mendi is a short and a tragic story known well to our people. That day in 1917 the Mendi collided with another vessel and 600 souls, sons of Africa, died as she sank. They died with discipline, with dignity, and with incredible courage.

Those men, faced with death, knowing there was no escape, died as heroes. They died performing the traditional dances of our people. And as they danced the white officers on the bridge turned to salute them. That is the story of the loss of the troopship *Mendi*.

What does this mean to us to-day? Why, in our churches and in our hearts, do we remember it every year? The men who died in the Mendi were Africans from every part of our land. Zulus, Basutos, Xhosas, Pondos - all the peoples of our race were represented in that ship. They were not just war material, but human beings born of people. They were the loved sons of our people - chieftains and their subjects, pastors and their charges, men of all social ranks in their beloved country. These were they who answered the call.

Did they really die in the English Channel? No! No man is dead while his memory lives, and we shall remember those heroes of the Mendi as long as there is Africa. We shall raise a stone in their memory - yet we know that a hewn stone has no use but to remind passers-by. Let us, according to the African custom. place a stone as we pass by this memorial, in painful memory of those men. But chips of gravel will not build a sanctuary for eternity. Wisdom would be to erect a memorial to be born in the very lives of the present and coming generations. Not with stone or sand shall we build it, but with the coins with which we shall erect the Mendi | Africa.'

Memorial Scholarship Fund to bring light into the lives of our children and our children's children. This will be a living memorial for ever.

The Mendi service will be with us for ever. It has become a national day of mourning. But, unlike so many other of our days of memory, it is not sectional. Black men and white men share in this memory. For children of black men and white men alike died in that ship. Mendi is the meeting-point of all races of our beloved country.

#### MR. GIBSON AT MENDI

At the Mendi service Mr. Gibson paid tribute to the memory of those heroes in these words: 'I am deeply honoured at being invited to address you to-day. But it is with a sense of the deepest humility that I come before you to pay homage to the memory of those great heroes.

It is from a younger generation I come, a generation which has known the blood and tears of a great war. In that war African and Europeans died together and I have seen them dying, united in the defence of freedom against tyranny. For there is no colour bar in dying — a man is just a man.

But those men did not die in vain and the men of the *Mendi* did not die in vain for they have become a symbol, and the spirit of that symbol will live when we here to-day are long dead and forgotten. That spirit cannot die, for it is the spirit of Africa.'

#### PATRICIA'S COLUMN

#### AFRICAN BEAUTY

To-day I want to talk about a few misconceptions — wrong ideas which stop so many African women from looking their best.

To start with, there is a widespread belief that the large woman cannot wear costumes — she must always wear dresses. This is quite untrue. Many stouter African women look their very best in costumes, with the simplicity and dignity of a costume's line.

And far too many African women wear large, complicated hats. In practically every case simple hats, without large brims and excessive decoration, look much better. Never wear a black eye-veil.

#### HOW TO CHOOSE JEWELLERY

It is a strange fact that African women, who have inherited some of the most beautiful jewellery in the world, often choose to wear the worst kind of bazaar jewellery. African beads and bangles look lovely as necklaces and bracelets against a black skin. The rough guide to wearing jewellery is to put on the amount of jewellery you want to wear, then, in front of a mirror, take half of it off again. In fashion photographs you will see how attractive jewellery can look - and this is simply because so little of it is worn.

If you are going to wear flowers always wear fresh flowers, and only a few of them. Artificial flowers never look very attractive.

#### **HIGH HEELS**

Most African women have naturally lovely postures, partly the result of their own grace and partly because they wisely refuse to wear the uncomfortable, unhealthy, highheeled shoes affected by European women. But there are still some girls who ruin their whole appearance by tottering along on highheeled shoes.

If you have any fashion problems, or want advice on the designing and making of clothes, do write to me.

#### My address is:

PATRICIA, P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

26 February 1954

#### LIBERAL NEWS

# What Racial Equality **Means To Me**

#### By CHIEF NJOKWENI

(As told to a Liberal News Reporter)

A great deal of nonsense is talked in South Africa about racial equality. Many black people believe that equality is all that is needed to solve all their problems. Many white people believe that it means the disappearance of all the best that Europe has produced over the past two thousand years.

This is, of course, rubbish. Racial | tendency of a people to stick equality will not in itself do away with poverty and hunger and bad housing, but it will help. And no thinking African wants to lose the benefits of the civilization of Europe — he wants to get more of them, not less.

#### PROUD TO BE AFRICAN

I am proud to be an African. I am proud of the great men my race has produced. And I see that where black men are able to take a full part in political and social life they add to the happiness of all the people - white and black. Dr. Ralph Bunche, a Negro, brought peace to Palestine, when all other men had failed. Dr. George Washington Carver gave much to the world — and he was born a slave. In our own country we are proud of men like Dr. Moroka and Professor Matthews. But we cannot give of our best if we are fenced in by Apartheid. Only under conditions of freedom can black men or white - fulfil themselves.

When I talk about equality I do not mean domination by Africans. I do not want the right to thrust myself into white people's homes if they do not want me, in the same way that I do not want white people to be able to gatecrash my home, when I do not wish to meet them. Most of my friends are Africans. This is inevitable. My own language is Xhosa, and my background and associations are mostly finked with other Africans. In the same way the friends of most white men are also white. What is absurd is to try to make a law out of this natural African, rather than as an African.

together.

My people have learnt a lot from Europe. And here, in this country, our country, the white man needs Without our labour South us. Africa would be bankrupt.

#### WE ALL NEED EACH OTHER

So, when all races need each other, why should our children grow up in hovels, kept apart from the white children? When they play together they are happy. You have to teach children to hate other children whose skin is a different colour - it does not come naturally. Why should my people be told 'so far and no further' when they are climbing up the ladder towards full civilized manhood? Have the white people forgotten how much they owe to men of other races? I have seen words written by a white man, a minister of religion, where he said that Christ himself would not be allowed to travel first class on the Blue Train because his skin was too dark. Why should so many of the children of my people have to live without the education that the white man has brought us because there are no schools? All the scientists say that there is no difference in the inborn intelligence of the different races of men. We do not want to swamp the white man, to drive out the best that white civilization has brought to Africa. We have our own traditions, and we have our pride. We want to produce a nation using the best of all the races that make up our people. I want to be allowed to think of myself first and foremost as a South



AFRICANS OF

In the old days people realized that some sicknesses could be passed on from one person to another, that is to say that a child with measles could give it to another child, but they did not know how.

About 100 years ago a brilliant French scientist named Louis Pasteur discovered that there are extremely small, living creatures present wherever decay or putrefaction are going on, and that certain kinds of these bacteria (as they were later called) cause disease. Since then a great deal has been found out about bacteria. They are so small that they can only be seen with a very strong microscope, and are little bits of jelly of various shapes, some of which can swim about. They are present in enormous numbers, for instance, in sour milk or bad meat. A cup of sour milk contains more bacteria than there are people in the whole of South Africa.

Only some kinds of bacteria are harmful to people, for instance those in the bad meat would make anyone who ate the meat very sick, while those in properly made sour milk do not do any harm. Bacteria which cause disease usually live in the nose, throat or bowel of the sick person, or in inflamed wounds, sores, or discharges. Next time we shall discuss how they get from one person to another.

And remember, for free advice on how to bring up your baby so that he will be strong and healthy, write to 'Africans of To-morrow', P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

#### AROUND THE RINGS

## WHAT'S THE FUTURE FOR MAKONE? By RINGSIDE

So there is every indication that Elijah Makone will be returning from England without showing the English boxing fans just how good he is. A great pity that. While appreciating that *all* boxing fans like thrills in their sport, Makone's good upright stance, allied to his 'English' straight left, would have been especially popular overseas.

Makone's religious convictions may, of course, be misunderstood, but we hope he will continue to take on all and sundry when he returns to the Union. A return bout with Alby Tissong should be the first on his agenda.

Cape Town is due for a good night's sport on Friday, 26 February, when Mighty Goliath meets Julius Caesar in the main bout.

Leslie MacKenzie was originally scheduled to go in with Julius Caesar, but wrist trouble has caused the last-minute switch.

Instead of having a big weight advantage, Caesar will now be at a reach disadvantage. and it will be interesting to see if he overcomes the obstacle.

Since MacKenzie gave weight away to Fondy Mavusa when losing his welter-weight title, we consider he was taking a risk in agreeing to meet Caesar, who, though an in-andout performer, is nobody's fool.

Other useful performers on the bill are Bevil Erispe — a bustling feather-weight, Johnny Stansfield, and young Roberts of Port Elizabeth. These last two should provide real thrills. Roberts had the misfortune to sustain an eye injury in a recent Cape Town outing.

One return fight quite a lot of people want to see is between Sugar Makalolo and Gunboat Zee. Their last 'do' was a real hundinger, and general opinion was that the fifth round stoppage by the referee was rather premature.

Finally, what has happened to Percy Wilkinson: has he decided to 'give it up'? We hope not, since he always gives value for money. Come on, Percy, let's hear from you.

Johnny Stansfield — tipped by Tiger Kid Shaik as a future S.A. champion.



## Liberal Postbag

#### Dear Sir,

I should like to congratulate you on the appearance of the first issue of *Liberal News* and to wish you every success in the future. It is a valuable new addition to the Party's armoury in our battle for freedom and justice.

Yours sincerely,

MARGARET BALLINGER.

#### Dear Sir,

I do not wish to take up valuable space in *Liberal News*, but I do want to say how much I welcome its appearance. Long may it continue to work for healthy race relations and for sane economic policies !

May I, at the same time, express the sincere hope that the voters of Cape Western will rally to the Liberal Party and will vote for Mr. Gibson? They will thus be the first voters in South Africa to return a Member to Parliament who stands for the Liberal Party programme. Yours faithfully,

L. MARQUARD.

#### Dear Sir.

I was interested to read your new paper, and, although I do not agree with all the policies of the Liberal Party, I am sure that the *Liberal News* will be a valuable addition to the newspapers and journals of this country.

Could you tell me how often the Liberal News is going to appear? Is it to be monthly, or what? And would it not be possible to increase its size?

#### Yours, etc.,

CUBIOUS.

[Thank you for your letter. We always hope that a lot of people who are not Liberals will read the *Liberal News*. At first we propose to bring out the paper once a fortnight. Later, perhaps, it will appear once a week. And you will notice that the first step towards enlarging the paper has already been taken this issue has six pages.—En.]

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## Box 42 BERAL NEWS Vol. I. No. 3. 19 MARCH 1954 Price: 1d.

# **Alexander Suffers Biggest Defeat**

## **Vigilance Committees Refuse to be Bullied**

The attempt by Ray Alexander's supporters to dragoon the Vigilance Associations (Iliso Lomzi) of the Western Cape into supporting her candidature suffered a disastrous set-back on Tuesday night.

Mr. Dalgetti Nonkonyana, Chairman of the Athlone Association, defied the efforts of Ray Alexander supporters to turn the Vigilance Associations from a non-political body fighting in the interests of Africans into a political body fighting for Ray Alexander. A motion of no confidence in Mr. Nonkonyana was proposed by Mr. Z. Malindi and Mr. Greenwood Ngotyana, two of Miss Alexander's best-known supporters. Amid scenes of great excitement the meeting, representing the APARTHEID AT ITS Athlone, Welkom Estate, and Crawford Vigilance Associations, and the Athlone branch of the National Council of African Women, contemptuously rejected the motion by 43 votes to 8.

## **Greatest Set-back**

Association's Vigilance Nyanga refusal to toe the Alexander line last Thursday, constitutes the greatest set-back that Ray Alexander has suffered in this election. The African people are showing that they will not allow the Vigilance Associations to be used as a political instrument.

#### MR. NONKONYANA'S STATEMENT

In a statement to Liberal News. Mr. Nonkonvana said. 'These votes are a victory for the right of all Africans to make up their own minds about politics. It is not the job of a Vigilance Committee to try to force the people to vote one way or another. They must fight for all African people, not for just a few of them. This is why

This defeat, following upon the formed in the past, and we have shown that attempts to destroy the right to free thought and to democracy in our Associations are doomed to failure.'

## Mr. Gibson says . . .

After commenting on the action by the Vigilance Committees, Mr. Gibson, the Liberal candidate for Cape Western, said: 'An attempt by a section of African opinion to misuse the Vigilance Committees for their own political ends has suffered a welcome and decisive defeat. This is further proof that the African is wide awake politically. The Vigilance Committees have shown how highly they value democracyand by this action they have proved to the Government and to the Communists alike that they will the Vigilance Associations were fight for the right of free speech.'

ALAN PATON WRITES ON PAGE 3

# WORST

A particularly unpleasant incident has been reported from the Transvaal. In a hospital there an African had to undergo an operation. One of the European nurses refused to help the African doctor who was to perform the operation, despite the orders of the European Sister in charge, because of the doctor's colour.

To make this matter more revolting, a few white patients at the hospital wrote to the paper Transvaler, praising the action of The Liberal News is the nurse. happy to report that when the matter was raised in other papers a large number of Europeans wrote in expressing their disgust at the nurse's action. A number of these correspondents were of the medical profession.

This is one of the ugliest incidents we have ever heard about in connection with apartheid, made worse because it besmirches the reputation of one of the noblest of professions.

19 March 1954

# UNITY ... OR BUST

Every aspect of political opinion has its lunatic fringe. There is a sizeable chunk of intelligent and informed African opinion which believes that the best thing to do in the Cape Western Election is to ignore it — to boycott the polls. We do not agree because we believe that in a fight for justice you should use every legal weapon you possess. And the vote, weighted though it is against the African, is still one of We his most important weapons. believe you cannot win a battle by running away from it. Nevertheless, we respect the motives, the integrity and the intelligence of many men who believe in the boycott. Unlike Communists we believe that it is possible for people to disagree with us without being either half-witted or traitors.

#### SILLY YOUNG MEN

But the boycott movement has its lunatic fringe. It has those teams of silly young men who believe that the way to show that Africa has come of age intellectually is to open their mouths and emit a steady, meaningless howl, whenever one of their opponents tries to speak. We do not howl down our opponents because we believe that everybody has the right to be This is the basis of heard In the words of the democracy. greatest of all French philosophers, Voltaire, 'I may disagree with every word you say, but I will fight to the death to defend your right to

say it.' How different is the attitude of the little boys who howl. They do not understand a word you say and will whine to the death to stop your right to say it.

What alternative do these silly little boys offer to the people of Africa? Some of them can be heard muttering 'Mau-Mau' — as though the answer to a crisis forced upon the people by intolerance is savage barbarism.

#### COLOUR BAR

These little boys believe in the colour bar—they believe that whatever came out of Europe, including people like Albert Schweitzer and, in our own Cape, Oscar Wollheim, who have dedicated their lives to helping people of other races, is worthless. The only difference between their colour bar, denying everything that is white, and Dr. Malan's colour bar, denying everything that is black, is a matter of shade.

They talk about revolution but look at them. Do they look like the leaders of a revolution --- do they look like the heroes of tomorrow? It does not require brains or courage to howl. It only requires a voice. Hyenas have a voice. But it does require brains and courage to express your opinions man to man with your opponents---it requires more brains and courage than those little boys seem capable of mustering.

The Liberal.

## PATRICIA'S COLUMN

## AFRICAN BEAUTY

So many of us envy the woman who is able, after buying a printed pattern, to make sense of it. There are snags — but if you know how to overcome them you will save a lot of money.

Here are a few things you should know about patterns for home dressmaking.

Various countries publish these patterns. Each of these countries has its standard sizes, based on surveys carried out to find that elusive being 'the average woman'. Because patterns of the different countries vary in their measurements, the standard sizes of the patterns also vary.

When you get your pattern, first read all the directions very carefully. It will tell you how many yards of material you will need, but this yardage does not always include allowance for the seams. Consequently the pattern may be too small. It is always advisable to pre-shrink your cloth before laying out your pattern. If you are making your dress in a fabric with a stripe pattern, or a check, you will need more material than it says on the pattern if you want to match the pieces correctly. This results in a certain amount of waste, but this waste is unavoidable.

#### USE REMNANTS

Incidentally, these waste bits can be kept aside with other remnants and used in many ways. Apart from the ever-popular patchwork quilts, cushions, and tea-cosies, you can make clothes from them. The other day I saw in a Cape Town shop a lovely skirt made from strips of material of various colours. It had been made so beautifully that at first I thought it was a striped material. The price was anything but moderate.

In the next issue I shall tell you more to help you make home-dressmaking easier and pleasanter. And if you want advice, just write to me. My address is 'Patricia', P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

# THE BIG CHANGE

By

## **ALAN PATON**

Everybody except the Nationalists and the Nationalist U.P.s knows that South Africa is due for the Big Change. Whether the Big Change is coming is not really the question. The question is, how do you help it to come? How do you bring it about, decently and intelligently?

The Liberal Party has its answer to that question. It urges the widening of society to include more and more people. It urges that the widening should be reasonably fast, but not catastrophic. It does not shirk the consequences of its own franchise policy.

There are about 1,600,000 white voters in South Africa. The Liberal Party qualification would enfranchise 500,000 non-voters at once. Is that honestly a trifling step forward? Does that honestly show a new kind of deceitfulness?

The Liberal Party believes in education, more education, better education. The number of nonwhite voters would not stay at 500,000. Does that look like deceit? Or lack of generosity? Or lack of sense?

But a Liberal Party government would teach the children of South Africa to stop thinking in terms of colour and race. It would teach them that the franchise was being

extended to people, not because they were non-white, but because they were people. It would teach them that the children of South Africa had in the first and most important place South African interests, and only thereafter white and black and coloured interests.

A Liberal Party government would try to develop all the human resources of South Africa. It would be a great experiment to help all the people of the country to live a better, happier, more responsible life. It would not want to wipe out all the differences between people, but it would help them to think less about them, and to think more of the things they had in common.

Mr. Gibson is fighting this battle for the Liberal Party. If you help him to win, you will be doing a great thing for South Africa. You will show to the whole country that there is still lots of hope, because there is a cause that is greater than a white cause or a black cause or a coloured cause.

It is the cause of a united South Africa.

## Alan Paton

## WE BUILD A NATION

In this issue the *Liberal News* presents the first of a new series — excerpts from the press of the Union which are just too silly to be allowed to escape. We offer a prize of 5s. for every cutting which you send in, and which we print. Stick your cuttings on a post-card, mentioning the name and date of the paper, and send them to — 'We Build A Nation', P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

Here are two cuttings from Cape Town papers to give you an idea of what we want:

'The Verkeerdevlei Farmers' Association has decided to give £25 to the University of the Free State to "dispose of the theory of evolution".'

Remind your maid, if necessary, that she is largely responsible for the success of the evening. Let her taste the sauces when they are being made. Allow her to eat a portion of what is over. (There should be very little if your guests are really appreciative.) She will then take a vast interest in the whole evening.'

19 March 1954

# A CHALLENGE! 'MY OPPONENTS WON'T ANSWER THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION'

## -Jimmy Gibson

In a statement to the *Liberal News*, Jimmy Gibson said: 'There is one question my opponents leave unanswered. And, for the electors and the people of Cape Western, that is the most important question of all.

'What good do they think they will do if they get elected? I am fed up with vague promises and confused policies. I challenge Miss Alexander and Mrs. Jonker-Fiske to answer that question. I challenge them to tell the people in what way their election will help the African in his struggle for justice.'

Mr. Gibson continued: I know that a lot of Africans are being driven to distrust every White man. One of the most important facts about the Liberal Party is that all the races of our country can learn to work together. But what happens to the supporters of Miss Alexander and Mrs. Jonker-Fiske? How can they work together?

#### NOT RESPONSIBLE

Miss Alexander has no legal political party behind her. She is not responsible to anybody. If she changes her policy, there is no one to express the views of the people who elect her — except, perhaps, for the whining of Advance. And, as for Mrs. Jonker-Fiske, she is even more a voice crying in the wilderness. If anybody wants to join her South African National Coalition — which she herself says is not a political party — they have no means of determining the policy of the Coalition, if indeed it has a

policy. If you join her Coalition the only thing you do is double its membership.

#### COME INTO THE OPEN

This is my challenge. Let Ray Alexander and Mrs. Jonker-Fiske come out into the open and say what they will do for the African - and how they will set about doing it. It is not enough to make pie-in-thesky promises. It is not enough to shelter behind the names of men who have worked in the past for the African. I do not shelter behind the name of Donald Molteno, though he has done more for the African than almost any other man. If Ray Alexander is elected she will not and cannot become a member of Parliament. A vote for Alexander is a vote for silence. If Mrs. Jonker-Fiske is elected, who knows what she will say in Parliament? She changes her policies so often I would not dare predict what it will be by the day of the election.



Jimmy Gibson

#### MOST VITAL QUESTION

I challenge my opponents to come on to a common platform with me under a neutral chairman and discuss this question — the most vital question in the election what will you do for the African if you are elected, and how will you do it?

#### BEST OF ALL RACES

I believe that in order to smash the colour bar you need a party incorporating the best of all races in the Union, and you need an organization strong enough to fight for justice whenever necessary. The time for Independents is past. I believe the Liberal Party represents the voice of tolerance, understanding and progress in our country. And I believe that the electors of the Cape Western agree.

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19 March 1954

## LIBERAL PORTRAIT

# No. 1 ADVOCATE DONALD MOLTENO Q.C.

When Donald Molteno announced, in 1948, that he did not intend to seek re-election as the Member for Cape Western, the African people as a whole, no less than the voters in the constituency, lost an outstanding fighter in their cause. For ten years, together with Mrs. Ballinger in the House of Assembly, and Dr. Edgar Brookes in the Senate, he was member of a team which а distinguished itself for the vigour and quality of its contribution to debate, its untiring struggle against injustice, and its constant concern to ensure that the existing rights of the African people were safeguarded. Many of the present voters in Cape Western knew Donald Molteno during that period as one who was always ready to assist in solving the countless personal problems which they brought to him.

#### SKILFUL DEBATER

In the House he was known as a skilful debater and a formidable opponent of any measure calculated to harm the interests of his constitutents in particular, or opposed to the welfare of the African people. Throughout his parliamentary career he was untiring in his attacks upon the system of separate representation for Africans. He maintained then, and has continued to do so in contributions to the press and from public platforms, that this system has prevented the African from having a just say in the affairs of his country, and has been a denial Klapmuts.



Advocate D. Molteno, Q.C.

of the fundamental principles of democratic government.

Donald Molteno did not desert the cause to which he had devoted most of his life, nor did he cease to participate in the struggle for African advancement, when he left Parliament in 1948.

He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations for some years.

He was an original member of the S.A. Liberal Association and when the Liberal Party was formed last year he became a National Vice-Chairman.

#### (Continued from Column 3.)

defeating the Natives to do so. What does the Native contribute to this country? I will tell you. Nothing, except unskilled labour. Every white man carries ten black on his shoulders. Without us they would still be savages.

You Liberals are the greatest threat to the traditional colour policy of our country. If you, Mr. Editor, are a Native then you should go back to your reserve where you belong. If you are a European, which I hope you are not, then you should be thrown out of decent society.

A. M. HANEKOM. P.O. Box 14,

#### LIBERAL POST BAG

#### Sir,

How can I learn more about the policies of the Liberal Party? What is your educational policy? Is it true that you have to have Standard Six education before you are allowed to join the Liberal Party? I should like to join, but I never reached Standard Six.

#### P.P.N.

[We hope to explain the policy of the Liberal Party in future issues of the *Liberal News*. It is not true that you have to have Standard Six education before you can join the Party. It is open to all.—ED.]

#### Sir,

Can you not make the Liberal News broader? Most of us are interested in politics — but not all the time! I should like to see the Liberal News become a paper full of interesting articles and stories about all sorts of things.

Having said that, may I congratulate you and wish you well. I think the medical articles are very helpful. In conclusion, although I am not a voter, may I say that I heard Mr. Gibson speak, and I thought that what he said was the truth.

J. LUKER.

#### P.O. Box 21, Wynberg.

[No one would like the *Liberal News* to be broader than I would! Unfortunately we only have six pages at the moment. When we grow we shall greatly increase the scope of the paper. Perhaps other readers would like to write and tell us what features they would like to see in the *Liberal News* of the future.—ED.]

Sir,

A copy of your paper fell into my hands, and I should like to know what you think you are doing. Surely you realize that it is the destiny of South Africa to become the home of White Civilization south of the Equator. What do you think will happen if you go around telling Natives that they are entitled to equal rights?

Europeans built this country,

(Continued at foot of Column 2.)

19 March 1954

#### **AROUND THE RINGS**

# HAIL CAESAR!

#### **By RINGSIDE**

At the City Hall, Cape Town, on 26 February, Julius Caesar came, saw, and certainly conquered! It took him but one and a half rounds to dispose of Mighty Goliath, who deputized for Leslie MacKenzie at fairly short notice. Caesar must have realized early on that he had not much to beat; Goliath was too flat-footed to be able to poise and make good use of his very long reach. Until Goliath learns to balance properly his reach is going to be useless to him.

We were unsighted for the knockout punch, but believe it was a right 'chop' on the side of the jaw. Goliath dived as if pole-axed, and, although he did get up just after the count he was swaying like a drunken man.

Caesar is now lined up for a middleweight title fight with Jolting Joe in June. He must expect a much tougher fight than he had against Mighty Goliath.

#### PRELIMINARY FIGHTS

The preliminaries were all well contested, particularly the main supporting bout (for the Cape Province welterweight title) between Young Roberts of Port Elizabeth and Johnny Stansfield of Cape Town. The latter won on points after a most exciting battle, although he received the crowd's displeasure by 'back-handing' and hitting after the gong.

Young Roberts fought a very courageous, if unwise, battle; he was outweighed seven pounds, and should have relied on his boxing ability instead of struggling it out with Stansfield.

Bevil Erispe gained a narrow points win over Fighting Piet (the decision, a just one, did not meet with Piet's approval) and A. Keno was given the decision over Javry Naidoo. This verdict was most unpopular with the crowd, possibly because Naidoo was the lighter man by 8 lb. In addition, Keno was put down twice, although he got up on both occasions without a count.



Young Roberts lands a hard right on Stansfield's head

#### A FEW SUGGESTIONS

Tiger Kid Shaik must be congratulated on a very successful evening, and we should now like to offer the following suggestions for future shows:

- Jerry Moloi (Transvaal) v. Bevil Erispe or Fighting Piet.
- Percy Wilkinson v. Johnny Stansfield.

Leslie MacKenzie v. Johnny Stansfield.

Javry Naidoo v. Sugar Makalolo. Alby Tissong v. Young Seabela.

#### AFRICANS OF TO-MORROW



In the winter time when you breathe out, you can see a little cloud of steam coming from your mouth. This consists of thousands of tiny drops of water breathed out from your lungs. The same thing happens in summer, but the steam is invisible in warm weather. Bacteria present in the nose. throat, or lungs of a sick person, or a person with a cold. are carried into the air on these little drops of water. In a closed room a healthy person breathes the same air, and so breathes in some of these bacteria, which then live and multiply in his nose or throat. and he 'catches' the illness.

Bacteria which live in the bowels and cause 'running stomachs', typhoid fever, or dysentry, are carried on the feet of flies, which first feed in lavatories, or on babies' dirty napkins if these are left lying about, and then sit on food or milk that is uncovered, or on the baby's mouth, or dummy or feeding bottle.

These sicknesses can also be carried from one person to another on dirty hands, by touching food without first washing or by dirt and dust getting on to food. The matter from sores and discharges, which is full of bacteria, can infect another person by someone touching the sick person, or soiled clothes or bandages, without being careful to wash at once. Flies can carry the matter from sore eyes from person to person.

If you have any health problems regarding *your* child, do write to me for free advice. My address is 'Africans of To-morrow', P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

# No. 1, NOR AND DESCRIPTION OF THE BIG SWITCH

# Gibson Sweeping to Victory EX-OPPONENTS PLEDGE SUPPORT

The past two weeks have been the most momentous in Advocate James Gibson's vigorous election campaign. As 21 April draws nearer meeting after meeting is acclaiming this now highly popular candidate. To give only one example of the people's attitude towards Gibson and the Liberal Party, the candidate received full votes of confidence from big meetings held at Worcester, Maitland, Nyanga and Kensington over a period of four days earlier this week.

#### 'NOW WE REALIZE . . .'

'At one time we were not interested in you or your party and did not want to hear you', one former supporter of Ray Alexander told Advocate Gibson. 'But we now realize that you are the only candidate with a proper policy and that you and your party can do much to achieve freedom for the African people. Your meeting to day at Worcester has convinced me and many of my friends that we should vote for you on 21 April.'

This voter voiced the opinions of many hundreds of his fellow-Africans who have attended Gibson's recent meetings. The big switch started a few weeks ago and Ray's agents are worried men to-day as they see more and more of their supporters disappearing.

"We do not want to play into Swart's hands by electing a candidate whom they can throw out right away', they say. 'We are not against Ray Alexander personally, but we feel that her sponsors did not think of the interests of the African people when they nominated her for this by-election.'

#### **OPPONENTS CONVERTED**

The proof that the group behind Ray Alexander is losing face among the African people came at Athlone a short time ago. At that meeting Greenwood Ngotyana was laughed out of the hall after Advocate Gibson had devastated his fatuous questions in a few sentences. Several of his former followers raised their hands in the vote of confidence in Gibson at the end of the meeting.

#### WRECKING TACTICS

With their system of attack by who can remain in Parliament, and question defeated by the strong case do the job he was elected to do.'

of the Liberal candidate, some of Miss Alexander's men are now resorting to wrecking tactics at Gibson's meetings. They tried very hard to ruin the Kensington meeting. The audience, however, wanted to hear the candidate and said so. His opponents then staged a walk-out but so few people followed them that they had to return.

It was fortunate that they did come back for they tried to push a motion of no confidence in the candidate at the end of the meeting. The few hands that were raised showed the true feelings of the audience.

At Nyanga one Ray Alexander agent who has succeeded in doing more harm than good for his candidate by his ridiculous questions also tried a no-confidence motion. Although his few associates had to raise both hands they still only represented about one man in five at the large meeting.

In an interview with Liberal News, Advocate Gibson said that the African people in Cape Western were realizing the futility of an empty gesture of defiance. 'By electing Ray Alexander they are neither boycotting the election nor are they returning a member to Parliament. An increasing number of voters are now making up their minds not to give Swart a chance to throw out another of their candidates. This time they want someone who can remain in Parliament, and do the job he was elected to do.'

15 April 1954



#### **ALEXANDER CHASED OUT**

Although her newspaper tells of her huge meetings and enthusiastic audiences, Ray Alexander is not finding it too easy in many important areas. To give only two examples, first she was chased out of Cooksbush when a pro-Gibson audience resented her attack on the Liberal candidate. She received another and even more severe setback at Nyanga last Sunday when more than 250 people said, 'Go home Ray - you cannot do anything for us and we don't want you'. For more than two hours the Alexander supporters attempted to get a hearing for their candidate, but the people were not interested. Afterwards Ray's supporters accused the Liberals of arranging

accused the Liberals of arranging the attack on their candidate. However, James Xaba and other leading Liberals at Nyanga were away at another meeting and only arrived back in time to see the final breakup of the meeting.

According to outsiders who attended the meeting, it was broken up by Africans, who were not organized followers of the Liberal Party candidate. The whole thing was a spontaneous demonstration by the voters of Nyanga that they. want nothing to do with Ray Alexander and the organization which supports her.

# Liberals in Athlone Alexander's Supporters Routed

Raiding what was once considered a Ray Alexander stronghold, Advocate James Gibson had one of his best meetings at Athlone on the evening of Thursday, 25th March. The people came from all over the very widespread area, and many travelled miles by bus or on foot to hear the candidate.

Advocate Gibson was introduced by his African friends and by Dr. Oscar Wollheim, Warden of Cafda, and a leading Liberal. All speakers received a good hearing and the few hecklers were quickly silenced by the audience.

#### LAUGHED OUT OF HALL

But the highlight of the evening came at question time when Ray's supporters rose in the packed hall and made their usual attack-throughquestion on the candidate. Like the old gramophone that had to play one tune on and on for lack of anything better, they hurled insults with their queries. More than ever before Advocate Gibson made these people look absolutely ridiculous. Even their own supporters had to laugh at them. The best sight of all was a leading supporter who shouted and nearly screamed with rage at the candidate's replies. Like a whipped schoolboy he made for the door, and then turned to shout one last feeble insult at Advocate Gibson as the audience laughed him out of the hall.

After watching this flight of one of their leaders, a great number of Ray Alexander's men remained to cheer the Liberal candidate and to pass an overwhelming vote of confidence in him at the end of the meeting.

#### THE LIBERAL FRANCHISE POLICY

#### By JIMMY GIBSON

I am often asked at my meetings what exactly is the Liberal Franchise Policy. Some of our opponents are spreading odd ideas about this, and it is important that the people should know the truth.

First of all, let there be no mistake about it, our aim is a universal franchise, a vote for every adult man and woman. That is our declared aim. The question is, how to go about getting it.

The Liberal Party proposes, as a first step, that, in addition to all the present voters everyone, irrespective of race, who has reached Std. VI education, or who occupies an important place in society, should be given the vote straight away. This will add about another halfmillion voters to the rolls. That is stage one.

But there is more to stage one than just this. Coupled with the Liberal Party franchise policy is the Liberal Party education — free, compulsory education for all up to Std. VI, and beyond it for all who are capable of using higher education. So that, as you will see, the Std. VI qualification coupled with compulsory education to Std. VI, means, inevitably, a universal franchise, stage two of Liberal policy.

#### 15 April 1954

LIBERAL NEWS

# **AN OPEN LETTER TO THE VIGILANCE** ASSOCIATIONS

Mr. Dalgetti Nonkanyana.

## We Build a Nation

Here are two more contributions for our column of press cuttings which are too absurd to be allowed to pass unnoticed. There is a five shilling prize for the sender of every excerpt we use. Just paste your entry on a postcard, giving the name of the paper it comes from and the date of publication.

Senator J. J. van Rensburg (Nat.) said that all the communist trouble in South Africa to-day was caused by the agitation among Natives by the Natives' Representatives.

Senator H. van Zyl (Nat.) said in the Senate yesterday that he had been told some days ago that South Africa would not get the Protectorates from Britain while the Union was out of step with the rest of the world.

'I would like to know whether it is not perhaps the rest of the world which is out of step with South Africa', Senator van Zyl said.

#### By DALGETTI NONKANYANA

Just two weeks ago I led the first successful attempt to free the Vigilance Associations (Ilizo Lomzi) of the Western Province from domination by one political group composed of Ray Alexander's supporters. Since then, supporters of that group have attacked me from all sides - in their newspaper, in speeches and in conversation. They seem to think that the venom of their attack should by now have reduced me to a humble, cringing wreck of a man for daring to fight for the freedom of my people. Instead I have found new friends all over the Cape Peninsula. Other Vigilance Associations have approached me and asked me how to break with Ray Alexander's supporters. Of course many of them still like Ray, but they hate this evil desire of several of her supporters to gain personal power at all costs.

Like my many friends on the Vigilance Associations, I have my political beliefs. Quite openly, I support the Liberal Party, because I believe that this is the only party offering a real solution to the problems of my people. But when I enter a meeting of my Vigilance Association, I leave my politics on the doorstep.

#### THIS IS OUR JOB

As voluntary organizations entrusted with the welfare of their people the Vigilance Associations are doing outstanding work among Those that have kept Africans. above politics are respected organizations. When they argue their They have voices are heard. influence and they accomplish much that is good. But once the political men creep in, the Associations start collapsing. Each meeting becomes a political squabble and often only the loud-mouth braggarts are heard. Meeting after meeting passes, and soon the' Association is no longer any use in its area.

Vigilance Associations of the Western Province, you have a duty to your people! They appointed you to help them --- to ease their misery and to bring some hope into their lives. They look on you to remove much of the squalor from their | time is short and the need is urgent.

homes, to protect their right to live where they wish, to see that the sick are cared for and that the dead are buried. You have a duty to poor and starving children, to the penniless widows and to the helpless cripples.

#### PLAYING WITH POLITICS

When you start playing with politics you must neglect your other work. And then you become the tool of ambitious men. and you can no longer serve as you were meant to serve.

Drive politics from the Vigilance Associations — let that be our slogan. Join the Associations that are already free and let us all combine to create a new and better group in the Western Province. Let us create a group that will work for the people and not for a political organization. Join us, brothers and sisters, and join us soon, for the

15 April 1954

# THIS THING CALLED JAZZ THE STORY OF A FOLK MUSIC

#### **By TAILGATE**

First of all, what is Jazz? It is not the mass bleating of saxophones. It is not any music that is loud, or any music that is fast. It is not any music that is raucous. Jazz is, quite simply, the folk music of the North American Negro. It has its origin in slavery, in the most appalling treatment a 'civilized' people have ever inflicted upon another. And by its influence it has transformed the music of the Western world.

#### THE ROOTS

One of the roots of jazz can be found in the 'Work Song'. This was song devised by the slave to make a monotonous job less dull. Usually the song was about the work the gang was doing - which is why so many songs are about railways, and the construction of railway tracks. A little-known fact is that the worksong was often used to pass on information to escaped slaves. The warning was incorporated in the words, telling the slaves when the coast was clear, or when the bloodhounds were around.

The rhythms of jazz are simpler than the rhythm of West Africa where the slaves came from, and other influences, both musical and rhythmical, crept into this folk art. Many Methodist hymns gave tunes to jazz, and, believe it or not, Tiger Rag started as an 18th-century French Quadrille.

The Spirituals owe a lot to the revivalist movements religious which the White man brought to the South. Most people have never heard a real Spiritual. The emasculated versions sung by people like Paul Robeson have nothing of the fervour, sincerity, and haunting quality of the true Spiritual.

The Blues have been called the secular type of Spiritual. This is not strictly true, but is not so wildly absurd as the Communist description of the Blues as 'The Negro's music of Revolt . The very Storyville. One of the greatest

essence of the Blues is that there is no revolt — there is only the lyrical acceptance of unhappiness, of poverty, and of loneliness. The actual words of the Blues vary from the unusual -

'My mamma's got a house,

She lives right back of the jail:

My mamma's got a house,

She lives right back of the jail';

to the ironic comment --

- 'He was a good man, such a good man,
- But the hangman had to cut him down ',

to an unusual and strange type of beauty ----

- 'I went into the room for to hide my face.
- But the room cried out, "No hiding place "

#### THE GREAT PERIOD

The great period of jazz started in the 1890s in New Orleans. New Orleans had long been regarded as a 'liberal' city and the oppression of the Negro had traditionally been less marked in New Orleans than in the rest of the South. Jazz was not, as its opponents say, born in the It was forced into the gutter. gutter by the fact that it took polite society thirty years before they would accept it. Even then it took White men, copying the Negro music, to make it socially respectable.

In the meantime jazz lived in the 'Red-light' district of New Orleans,

figures of jazz, Jelly Roll Morton (his name does not refer to any type of pudding, but to a part of his anatomy), wrote a famous tune called 'Strip'.

#### THE INFLUENCE SPREADS

Despite this dubious environment jazz was beginning to make itself felt. In 1919 Stravinsky, later to be hailed as one of the greatest of all modern composers, called Sidney Bechet, a Negro jazz clarinetist, 'the greatest musical influence of our time'. Later Constant Lambert, the well-known English conductor, composer, and musical critic, called the Blues 'The only new art form of the 20th century'.

It is interesting to note what actually is meant by the term 'hot' music. 'Hot' music has nothing to do with a particular type of music. or with the speed or volume at which it is played. It is simply a way of playing. This is difficult to describe, but the Negro trumpeters, in particular, have a warmth in their tone which can be recognized on first hearing. Incidentally, the term 'Tail-Gate Trombone' got its name from the early habit of the bands driving around the streets of New Orleans on a lorry. In order to get that joyous whoop of the jazz trombone the tail-board or 'tailgate' had to be lowered to allow the trombone slide enough room.

#### JAZZ MOVES NORTH

Jazz moved up the Mississippi through St. Louis and Kansas City, to Chicago, where the second great period of jazz took place in the late 1920s. Chicago is always a windy city, and life in Chicago in that period was not only windy but violent and dangerous. That was the period of the great Chicago gangsters and mobsters, headed by Al Capone. In Chicago jazz took on some of the qualities of its new home. It became more rancous,

(Contd. on p. 5, col. 1)

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One of the many leading Africans who support Advocate Jimmy Gibson is Chief Njokweni.

#### (Contd. from p. 4)

noisier, more staccato. A lot of the early warmth and beauty of New Orleans' jazz was lost. In the 1930s the great decline of jazz took place, when the public decided they preferred the mass orchestrations of White (often Jewish) musicians to the simple improvisations on traditional melodies which is the true jazz. In other words, swing had arrived.

Happily for the public ear the shallow superficiality of swing began to wear thin, and around 1940 the jazz revival started. Once again jazz was returned to its true sources and the musical world is a great deal better for it,

#### (Contd. from col. 3.)

it because it uses part of the air itself, the oxygen, for its growth; therefore the baby's head must never be covered up with a blanket, as it so often is in the mother's bed and on her back.

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#### PATRICIA'S COLUMN

#### **AFRICAN BEAUTY**

Many of us do not realize that a great deal of worn-out clothing can still be used for something else. Before you throw away that torn shirt, or those hopeless-looking trousers, think if you can use the material to make clothing for your baby, or your child.

For example, this is the way to make a skirt for a girl about 10 years old from a pair of old trousers. There are a few things you must do first before you make up the new garment — and don't skip doing them because they make all the difference.

#### FIRST THINGS FIRST

First examine the old trousers carefully and remove all stains with some cleaning fluid. Then, with a razor blade, carefully unpick the garment, removing all the buttons and fastenings. Brush all the pieces and then wash them. This washing will not only clean them, but may also shrink them — some manufacturers do not pre-shrink their fabrics before they use them. Then iron all the pieces.

Now we are ready to lay out our pattern. I suggest you make a simple panelled skirt — you can make this in two or four panels, as you wish. To make the pattern, measure the waist of the girl and then her hip measurement (the widest point of the hips is normally about 8 inches below the waist). Then measure from the waist down for as far as you want to cut. Divide the waist and hip measurements in half (for a two-panelled skirt) and cut out your pattern from these measurements, remembering to allow for a seam, and don't forget that the top and bottom of your skirt should be cut out curved so that it will lie flat while going round the curved body of the girl.

The waistband should be approximately 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> inches wide. This folds over, making a double thickness. If you find you have any material left over, either from this cloth or from some other, put on a gay patchpocket.

Do let me know if I can help you personally with any hints about home dressmaking. My address is: Patricia, P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.

#### AFRICANS OF TO-MORROW



When a baby is born, it is absolutely clean, it has never breathed air and never drunk any food, so its body has never had to defend itself against any kind of infection. A baby therefore catches colds and other sicknesses much more easily, and gets much sicker, than an older person would do. As the child grows older its body becomes more used to disease-producing bacteria, but as a small baby it must be kept away from sick people and people with colds.

The air which a baby breathes must be clean and fresh. When a number of people have been sitting together in a closed room, the air becomes full of the fine steam or water vapour which they breathe out, and carried by this watervapour are the bacteria of any colds or other infections of the nose or lungs which any of the people may have. The room will feel hot and stuffy, but as well as making a baby uncomfortable, this stuffy air is dangerous for babies to breathe, as they so easily get sick with colds, bronchitis and pneumonia. Babies then should not be taken into crowded rooms or buses, and should have as much fresh air as possible. Every baby ought to have its own basket or cot, or even a wooden box got from the grocer, and should sleep in a room with the window open, or outside in the shade if it is a nice day. In this way the baby will get the fresh air it needs, and not stuffy air which may be carrying colds from older people.

Air, as well as being clean, must be fresh, and a baby needs plenty of

(Contd. in col. 1.)

## AROUND THE RINGS FLURRY AMONG THE 'FEATHERS' By RINGSIDE

Now that Elijah Mokone is back in the Union there is a possibility that we shall shortly be treated to more of his polished displays.

Mokone has expressed a wish of meeting top-ranking fighters; we think that after a warming-up bout he should give Alby Tissong a return; if he gets over that hurdle satisfactorily, he should be ready for the Empire featherweight champion, Roy Ankarah.



"Ringside' would like to see Moloi fight Bevil Erispe, here seen (right) beating Fighting Villem.

Incidentally, a bout between Jerry Moloi and Aukarah has been mooted. Readers of these columns will know that Moloi is considered one of our brightest hopes; we cannot see, however, that any good will be served to Moloi in this instance. Ankarah is known to be a 'human buzz-saw and we believe him to be too 'cagey' and experienced for Moloi at present.

We were pleased to see that Moloi acquitted himself so well at Durban; to be able to go ten rounds with Tissong proves our contention that he is a 'class' boy. It is hoped that the experience acquired in the Durban bout will stand Moloi in good stead.

We feel he would now have nothing to fear in meeting Fighting Piet, Bevil Erispe (Cape Province champion), or Game Richard (Transvaal champion).

Now that Julius Ceasar has captured the Cape Province 'middles' title, why not give him a tilt at Jolting Joe Maseko's title? Or a warming-up bout with Simon Greb? Coming down the weight scale, how about Black Hawk meeting (Contd. at foot of col. 3)

#### LIBERAL POST BAG

Dear Sir,—You may be interested in a report in a recent issue of Advance of a meeting to discuss opposition to the Native Resettlement Bill. The report bears the subheading "Liberal" Sabotage', and purports to state what took place at this meeting.

Their Transvaal correspondent was not present at this meeting, and evidently got his 'information' at second hand. He has been very badly misled, as the following points will indicate:

1. This was an informal meeting of persons in their private capacities, and decisions were taken on an individual and not on an organizational basis.

2. No decision was taken at this meeting on the participation of individual non-Europeans, but only on the inclusion of official representatives from the African and Indian Congresses.

3. The most insistent and vehement speaker *against* the inclusion of the African and Indian Congresses was one of the most important office-bearers of the Congress of Democrats. In view of the fact that this was a private meeting, and in deference to his position, I am not quoting the name of this speaker here but my statement can easily be verified.

4. Finally, in opposition to what appeared in their report, not a single one of the Liberal Party members present voted against the resolution for the inclusion of these non-European representatives.

It is clear from the above that the impression which was created by *Advance's* report is a completely misleading one, and in several important respects not in accord with the facts. It is unfortunate that their correspondent relied on reckless hearsay statements when the true facts could easily have been obtained.

J. ISACOWITZ, Chairman, Transvaal Provincial Committee, Liberal Party of S.A.

#### (Contd. from col. 2)

Johnny Stansfield? Or Young Roberts of Port Elizabeth? And we should also like to see a return between Sugar Makalolo and Gunboat Zee.

Vol. I, No. 5.

JUST HOW LIBERAL IS THE UNITED PARTY

"Box 42

LIBERAL

#### or

#### WHICH U.P. SOURCE DO YOU READ?

<sup>•</sup>There is nothing practical the *new Liberal Party* can offer which is not being worked for within the policy of our own United Party', — Mr. Lewis C. Gay, United Party M.P. (South Peninsula).

The disappointing feature of Dr. Malan's theory that the United Party has gone completely liberal is that he constantly repeats it in spite of being quite unable to prove it -The Prime Minister at Epping declared that since the 1953 election Mr. Strauss has capitulated to the liberals, that the party had accepted liberalism. Yet all that this contention rests upon is a far-fetched Nationalist interpretation of Mr. Strauss's speech of last February.

'No true liberal would find his ideals fulfilled in the practical and circumspect outline that the Leader of the Opposition traced then - or in the party's rigorous policy for controlling in the urban areas those Natives who become integrated. Before trying to attach the liberal label to the United Party the Nationalists should judge the party by their own favourite touchstone of the franchise. For the United Party would go on restricting non-Euronean representation to its present form' - Cape Argus leading article, 9 July.

There is one great thing about the Liberal Party you know where it stands! This seems to be more than can be said for the United Party.

# 

'After years of United Party control, the health facilities in the Cape are a disgrace', declared Advocate Charles in an interview with *Liberal News*. 'You don't have to take my word for it. Recently the Western Province branch of the Medical Association of South Africa described the outpatients facilities as "a public scandal". A joint deputation from Peninsula hospital boards has made urgent representations to the Administration about this whole subject. What has been done about it? Nothing.'

#### VITAL ISSUE

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper.)"

30 JULY 1954.

Advocate Charles emphasized that in his opinion the health services in the Cape were one of the most important issues in the South Peninsula election. 'The demand for out-patient facilities has doubled in five years. The whole system of administration is practically unworkable and needs a complete overhaul. Out-patient services which are attached to general hospitals are the responsibility of the Province. Detached outpatient services, like clinics, are under the detailed financial control of the Union Government - but they are administered by the Province. Yet again, other health services fall under the local authorities. The result is what you would expect - chaos, paralysis, and endless "passing the buck". I propose to work for a unified system of health administration, under Provincial control, assisted by an adequate block grant of money by the Union Government.'

#### NO TRAINING FACILITIES

Pointing out the dangerous the electors of South Peninsula it's shortage of nurses, Advocate) time for a change -- for the better.'

Charles said that the main reason for this position is that insufficient Coloured nurses are being trained. 'Only one hospital in the whole of the Cape Peninsula is training Coloured nurses - and last year only one-fifth as many Coloured nurses completed their training as European nurses. Three new hospitals are being opened this year, yet not one of them will train a single Coloured nurse. It is no use the United Party saying that ill people should be nursed by persons of their own race, if they neglect to provide the training facilities necessary. There are plenty of suitable Coloured applicants, and there is a real need that they should be trained. At the moment the European nurses, and the few Coloured nurses who are available, are grossly overworked.' 'Remember', said Advocate Charles, 'these things are not hap-

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pening in a Province run by Nationalists, they are happening in a Province where the United Party has had a majority ever since it was founded. That is why I say to the electors of South Peninsula it's time for a change -- for the better.'

# LET'S FACE THE FACTS



Those of ns whose work consists of doing what we can to help the under-privileged in this great country know how real is the problem. Yet it often seems that neither the Government nor the Provincial Administration .are prepared to face the facts.

Round the great cities of the Union are some of the most appalling slums in the world. These slums have grown up largely because the Natives and Coloured workers have been drawn to the cities from the countryside to work in the factories. The country needs their labour — without it the great industrial development of our country over the last twenty years could not have taken place. Many of them live in houses which are completely unsuitable for animals, By

## OSCAR WOLLHEIM

Dr. Wollheim seen with families rendered homeless by recent floods.

let alone human beings. The biggest cause of these slums is the fact that successive governments and local authorities have simply refused to face the facts. They have said: 'Legally these people ought not to be here, therefore they are not here.' Because they have refused to recognize the existence of the people of Windermere and Cato Manor, Alexandra Township and Cook's Bush, they have made little or no attempt to tackle the problems of housing, and the problems of providing roads, water. light, and sanitary services for hundreds of thousands of people.

These slums breed crime, degradation, and disease. It amazes me that South Africa has so far been spared an appalling epidemic, starting in these plague spots, and sweeping through the country like the influenza epidemic after the First World War.

The Liberal Party's policy starts by recognizing the existence of facts as they are, and by building a health and housing policy to answer these facts. The Liberal Party proposes realistic action to provide decent houses for the people and to safeguard the health of the community. The economic policy of the Party will provide the means to carry out our health and housing programme.

It is this ability of the Liberal Party to face facts which makes it the best hope, not only of the under-privileged and oppressed, but of all who wish to see our country take its full place among the great, liberal democracies of the world.

(Written by O. D. Wollheim, CAFDA, Prince George Drive, Retreat.)

## REAL ISSUES by Leo Marquard

THE Prime Minister has stated that he regards the coming provincial elections as an appeal to the electorate on the Coloured vote question. Constitutionally, the question is, of course, national, not provincial. It is really on such vital matters as the education of our children that the coming election should be fought. And yet, the Prime Minister is right in thinking that the Coloured vote issue takes priority over all others. And on that issue the policy of the Liberal Party is clear: we stand for a common citizenship that expresses its political will on a common electoral roll. On that question there can be no compromise.

For many years after Union liberals of all races gave their energies to promoting reforms and to defending existing rights. But liberalism has once more taken the offensive. Liberals have come to realize that reform and the defence of existing rights are no'longer enough, and that the only effective reply to the pernicious doctrines of apartheid is a positive policy. That is why the Liberal Party is not content with defending the Coloured franchise. It advocates an extension of the franchise to all South Africans on terms of equality.

The Liberal Party appeals confidently to all who want to extricate South Africa from its present desperate situation. Liberal Party candidates will oppose, without compromise, the policy of apartheid that is threatening to disintegrate South Africa; they will put forward positive policies that will make for freedom and happiness where there is misery and insecurity; and they will uphold the proud traditions of liberalism.

(Written by L. Marquard, 102 Dorp Street, Stellenbosch.)

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#### 30 July 1954

# APARTHEID by OWEN HORWOOD

Speaking in the House of Assembly on 24 June 1952, an ex-Minister of the Crown, Dr. II. Gluckman, gave it as his considered opinion that the total cost of the Nationalist Government's 'apartheid' policy would be some £4,200,000,000 in forty years' time. Obviously that figure can be no more than a rough estimate of the purely monetary cost involved in applying apartheid in all its conflicting, disrupting and authoritarian aspects. But it is neither realistic nor sufficient to attempt to assess the cost of this unpleasant phenomenon in financial terms alone. The political, moral and psychological effects of apartheid, its impact on race relations in the Union and on opinion abroad, and its consequences for the very future of this country as a proud upholder of Western Democracy are grave matters of the utmost relevance. Assessed on this basis, the cost of apartheid may well be completely prohibitive.

'Apartheid' first reared its ugly head during the 1948 election campaign. (Interestingly enough, the word does not appear in the comprehensive statement published in 1944 under the title ' The Social and Economic Policy of the Nationalist Party '.)

In the six years of Nationalist rule, Ministers have vied with one another to impose various brands of apartheid both by legislation and by administrative decree. Some of the acts constituting the evermounting 'apartheid legislation' are:

The Population Registration Act. The Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts.

The Native Building Workers Act. The Native Laws Amendment Act.

# THE COST OF THE BIG CHANGE by ALAN PATON

Everybody except the Nationalists and the Nationalist U.P.s knows that South Africa is due for the Big Change. Whether the Big Change is coming is not really the question. The question is, how do you help it to come? How do you bring it about, decently and intelligently?

The Liberal Party has its answer to that question. It urges the widening of society to include more and more people. It urges that the widening should be reasonably fast, but not catastrophic. It does not shirk the consequences of its own franchise policy.

But a Liberal Party government would teach the children of South Africa to stop thinking in terms of colour and race. It would teach them that the franchise was being extended to people, not because they were non-white, but because they were people. It would teach them that the children of South Africa had in the first and most important place South African interests, and only thereafter white and black and coloured interests.

A Liberal Party government would try to develop all the human



Alan Paton.

resources of South Africa. It would be a great experiment to help all the people of the country to live a better, happier, more responsible life. It would not want to wipe out all the differences between people, but it would help them to think less about them, and to think more of the things they had in common.

Liberal candidates are fighting this battle for the Liberal Party. If you help them to win, you will be doing a great thing for South Africa. You will show to the whole country that there is still lots of hope, because there is a cause that is greater than a white cause or a black cause or a coloured cause.

It is the cause of a united South Africa.

(Written by Alan Paton, Lyndon Road, Kloof, Durban.)

The Group Areas Act.

The Bantu Education Act.

- The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act.
- The Natives Resettlement (Black Spots) Act.

The cost of implementing all these Acts and all these measures may well be imagined. The policy of apartheid has added at least 300 posts to the Public Service departments, and costs the taxpayer about £250,000 a year in salaries alone; the national population register cost the country £1,500,000 in its

first year of operation, and still it is scarcely begun; some fifty additional posts have had to be created to carry out the provisions of the Group Areas Act; the abortive High Court of Parliament alone cost the taxpayers well over £20,000; it has been officially estimated that the Government scheme to remove the 'Black Spots' on the Rand will cost about £9,000,000.

(Written by O. P. F. Horwood, Shanahoe, Palatine Road, Plumstead, Mr. Horwood, one of South Africa's leading economists, is not a member of the Liberal Party.)

30 July 1954

# WHY I AM STANDING **By PETER CHARLES**

There are certain facts which nearly every South African knows but which, if we ourselves are white, we try to push to the back of our minds and forget.

We know that the Native population who make up eight and a half millions out of the country's twelve and a half millions have virtually no say in the government of the country. Their only representation in the House of Assembly is three members out of 159, while Natives outside the Cape have no representation at all in the House of Assembly. The Natives cannot own land in their own country, except in a very few small areas such as the Johannesburg 'black spots' - where their rights are being taken away. The Natives' right to move freely from place to place is restricted by the Pass Laws and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. Natives are not allowed to do whatever work they may wish to do. They are prevented from doing skilled work by the industrial colour bar imposed under the Mines and Works Act, and by industrial agreements having the force of law. Relegated by law to the position of a landless, unskilled proletariat and with hardly any means of making their voice heard, more and more of them are living herded together in ghastly slums like Windermere, which are springing up around all our cities.

#### THIS CANNOT LAST

All this adds up to the fact that the majority of the people in this country do not enjoy elementary human rights. No one can pretend that this state of affairs is justifiable or expect that it can last indefinitely. Subject peoples everywhere are questioning the justice of the laws under which they live. It is not to be expected that South Africa will escape such a world movement, and indeed there is a stirring among the non-White people of this country, of which the defiance campaign was a symptom. This then is the problem.

The Nationalist Government recognizes that there is a problem and they have put forward their solution apartheid. Their answer to the Natives' demand for fundamental human rights is: South Africa outside the Native Reserves is a White man's country. You can claim no rights there. You must develop in your own areas.'

They are beginning to apply the same policy to other non-White groups, for example, by the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

#### SHAM AND FRAUD

The apartheid policy is a sham and a fraud. The races in South Africa cannot be separated. To-day only 40 per cent of the Native popu-

Reserves, half the remainder are on the farms and half in the cities.

The White people cannot do without the labour of the Natives, nor are we prepared to give up to the Natives a share of the country's area which would be anywhere near what their numbers would entitle them to claim. The Nationalists are not seriously trying to bring about territorial separation of the races, but they are using the promise of eventual separation to justify, to perpetuate and to extend the present injustices.

The United Party policy is: 'Leave things as they are.' In the matter of political rights the United Party says: 'We stand by the 1936 settlement.' This settlement was never just or logical, and events since 1936 have made it obsolete. The United Party has not said it will make any important changes in the Pass Laws, or the Native Land Act, or in the direction of removing the industrial colour bar. The leader of the United Party has said that the United Party will not repeal the Nationalist apartheid legislation. In fact, the United Party virtually has no policy.

The Liberal Party is the one party which is prepared to face the problems of our country fearlessly and to offer a solution based on reason and justice. It recognizes lation of South Africa are in the that all people of our country are for a land without fear." (Written by Peter Charles, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.)



Peter Charles

citizens and should have the rights of citizens. Political rights should be withheld from no one simply because of his race, but there should be a qualified franchise with tests designed to ensure that the vote is exercised by those people of all races who are fit to have this responsibility.

#### MAKE USE OF SKILL

The colour bar in industry should be abolished. This will enable the best use to be made of the skill and powers of all South Africa's people and will increase the country's production. At the same time higher wages for many who to-day can only earn the wage of an unskilled labourer will mean increased purchasing power. South Africa will have the internal market it needs for the development of its industries. The Liberal Party policy will mean a rise in the standard of living of all sections, and a lowering of the cost of living.

The Liberal Party policy offers justice and opportunity to people of all races. To the European it offers in addition freedom from the haunting feeling of insecurity which springs from knowledge that he is in an untenable position. That is why our election message to the voters of South Peninsula has been: 'Vote Liberal

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