

CONTACT

OCTOBER 1957

GHANA

WE NEED MAKE no apology for giving such prominence this month to what is happening in Ghana. It is immensely important and is not made any less so by the fact that it all takes place a long way away. It could hardly affect us more closely if it were taking place in the house next door.

The early days of excitement and high optimism, which were so noticeable at the time of the independence celebrations, are gone. Dr. Nkrumah is no longer the popular idol who has fought long and valiantly to set his people free. He is now the head of the Government and, as such, target for any and all sorts of criticisms—whether they are those of political opponents hoping to get rid of him at the next election, or of his late hero-worshipper, the man-in-the-street, now carping at some petty irritation. But to be such a scapegoat is one of the burdens of office and it is on its reactions to the burdens of office that Dr. Nkrumah's Government will be judged.

Although Press-reports have been confused and perhaps biased, some of the recent activities of the Ghana Government have been difficult to explain. Why was Mr. Bankole Timothy, a newspaper editor with a reputation stretching beyond the shores of Africa, deported? Why were two Muslim leaders of the Opposition removed from Ghana after special deportation measures had been rushed through Parliament with unusual haste? Why do we read of opponents of Nkrumah receiving threatening, anonymous, midnight telephone calls? Why do we see statements on internal security measures by members of the Ghana Cabinet, which might well be quotations from Mr. Swart's note-book?

It may well be that these reports are exaggerated. It is also no doubt true that a new Government faces special stresses and strains within its framework which make strong measures sometimes necessary. Nevertheless, one point is clear and that is that the people against whom action and threats have been directed have had one thing in common, they have all been outspoken critics of the Government.

After these recent events some of Ghana's best friends are very worried. Of course the kind of things that have happened in Ghana are not unique. They have happened before and in other places. But what can pass almost unnoticed in South America, if it happens in Ghana will be subjected to microscopic world attention. In the next few years the standards which will be demanded of Ghana will be almost super-humanly high. But this again is one of the burdens of her independence. And if those who strive to end colour discrimination and colour domination in Africa are to receive the inspiration they so desperately need from this new state, Dr. Nkrumah will have to attempt those super-human standards. Every apparent retreat from them will be a boon to reaction in the rest of Africa and a blow to his fellow-Africans. It will also be a blow to his friends of other races.

We hope the present phase in Ghana will soon pass. We look to the future anxiously.

American School Integration

LITTLE ROCK (Arkansas), Birmingham (Alabama) and Nashville (Tennessee), unknown till recently, are in the world's public eye and for no very savoury reason. All have won publicity through the reactions to the next stage of school integration in the United States, to which they have played hosts. In Nashville an integrated school has been dynamited. In Birmingham a Negro has had atrocities committed on him by a group of White Ku Klux Klan thugs who, it would seem, could have found a comfortable and congenial home in Himmler's S.S. These incidents are horrifying enough but more serious, in the long run, will be the action of Governor Faubus in Little Rock, where his full weight was brought to bear to prevent Negro children from entering a White school. So far as we know this is the first time that State authority has lent its support to defiance of the Federal Supreme Court's ruling on integration.

At the time of writing Governor Faubus has just concluded his meeting with President Eisenhower and it does seem that he has retreated. Time may prove otherwise. If he does and also manages to repair some of the on-the-spot damage that has been done something will have been saved from what, at this distance, seems to have been a disaster. Whatever local retrieving is managed great harm has already been done to America's international prestige and the cause of racial non-discrimination everywhere. The ominous threat behind Governor Faubus' action lies in the impetus it may give the plans of other died-in-the-wool Southern reactionaries to stop integration at all costs. What has happened in Little Rock may well happen in a thousand-and-one other places now. The precedent is there. From all accounts there will be plenty of people only too willing to follow it.

The White Southerners have again come extremely badly out of these events. There have been Negroes who have reacted viciously to vicious actions but, on the whole, the initiative has come from the other side. The one outstandingly impressive element in the whole sad affair has been the courage of those Negroes on whom has fallen the awful task of first bursting the segregation barrier. In the nature of things they generally have to be children. Invariably they have been supported by adults, sometimes their own parents, often ministers of the Church. What courage it takes to face a mob in order to enforce a right you have not previously known only those who have done it can tell. No doubt it is a great support to feel that you have the whole weight of the United States judicial system behind you—but at times that support must seem terribly far away. It is no great consolation to a South African to think that, in a similar situation, he would probably not only have the mob against him but the law as well!

The birth pangs of school integration in America are an unnecessary reminder to Liberals in South Africa that the road they follow is no easy one and one which time may make steadily more difficult.

PARDON OUR MIRTH

THE SORDID PICTURE of South African politics is not, fortunately, entirely without its lighter aspects. Here and there, among the rubble, the barbed wire, the weeds and the fungi, the rotting dead wood and the stagnant pools, one can find an occasional flower. A naïve, innocent (or should we say plain stupid) piece of unconscious humour.

Public reaction to the Government's insistence on total bus apartheid in Durban from the 1st January, 1958, is a case in point. The outcry that went up from the leader and correspondence columns of the local press was the funniest noise heard in Natal for years. To a Liberal, this spectacle of so many champions of the non-White fellow passenger rushing into print provided more laughs per column inch than the script of "Charley's Aunt".

What is it that makes these indignant protests so comic? Why is there anything funny about "Mother of Four" or "Ratepayer" calling the Government names over this matter?

Is not the measure merely another piece of discrimination designed further to irritate and humiliate the non-European? Is not opposition to it what one would wish to see and hear?

Certainly it is, but in this instance opposition is based, not on ethics, but solely on injured self-interest!

The good people of Durban North, of the Berea, of Glenwood and the Bluff are horrified not because they will no longer enjoy the company of their non-White fellow citizens on the buses and trackless trams, but because banishment of the latter from these vehicles means that there will be fewer of them for Europeans, while fares will go up.

Ideology blundering into the field of economics. Sentiment and prejudice charging, like Don Quixote, the windmills—or rather the cash registers—of the Council's transport undertaking.

This is the crux of the matter, the point of the joke and the height—or depth—of the absurdity about to happen.

Here we have a fleet of vehicles, time-tables, running and maintenance crews—a transport system planned and geared to serve a community. “A community” means no more—and certainly not less—than a group of people who have something in common; in this instance that something is the need for transport. The money in these people's pockets, be their wearers White, Brown, Black, Yellow or Pink with blue spots, is of the same colour, shape and size. But, from the 1st January, ha, ha, ha! things are going to be different! We are going to have important distinctions between White £.s.d. and non-White £.s.d. forced upon the already strained economics of this transport system. The Durban Transport Management Board's earnest effort to reduce its losses and improve its services will have been in vain.

It is this which the citizens of Durban do not like. It is because they have been told that there will be fewer buses for *them*, at *higher* fares, that they condemn the introduction of apartheid into yet another sector of their lives. Is their anger reasonable? Have they, ha, ha! really the right to grouse? Is not the Government merely (ha, ha!) carrying out its mandate with admirable single-mindedness of purpose? *How many Durban citizens have protested against discrimination in other spheres where neither their pocket nor their convenience has (as yet) been affected?* Very few. The Durban European public is being asked to pay the price of an emotional policy which conflicts at all points of contact with the sober laws of economics. The poor chaps have only just woken up to the fact, and the expression on their faces is very funny to watch.

NGAMA PROTECTORATES

UMA KUKHULUNYWA ngama “Protectorates” kushiwo amazwe aphansi kwamaphiko amaNgisi—iBasutoland, Swaziland ne Bechuanaland. Phela kokhunjulwa ukuthi uMbuso wase South Africa uzama ngawo onke amandla ukuba lamazwe uMbuso wamaNgisi uwanikeze kuwo, apathwe iwona. Umbuso wamaNgisi kauvumi, uthi ungakwenza loko uma kuvuma bona abantu abakuwo lamazwe.

Abafundi bazokhumbula futhi ukuthi uMbuso wase Ngilandi usanda kunikeza indawo yase Gold Coast esentshonalanga yeAfrika ukuba izibuse. Lelizwe elabantu abamnyama. Ngenxa yaloko selinepalamende yalo eholwa umuntu omnyama okuthiwa uDr. Nkrumah. Onke amalungu esigungu sakwaHulumeni khona abantu abamnyama.

Izizwe zonke ezizibusayo zinobudlelwana obuthile ezibumisele ukuba kube khona owaleso sizwesidlelana naso athunywe ukuba abe lapho enjengomkhulumeli nombonisi ngezinto zezwe lakubo. Onjalo ku umsebenzi wakhe ukubonisa uhulumeni abadlelana naye ngezinto angase asizakale ngazo uma engazithenga. Loku kusho ukuthi kuzofuneka kube khona dNyonyana emthumela eGold Coast (phela sekuthiwa manje iGhana) ukumela iNyonyana khona, nayo iGold Coast ithumele owayo ozoyimela kuleli leNyonyana. Lesimo sesiveze inkinga esibangele abaholi abagqavile bamaNationalist bafakane umoya ukuthi

konje uma kungafika umuntu omnyama wase Ghana ukuzomela izwe lakubo lapha, iNyonyana yokumamukela kanjani phansi komthetho wobandlululo. Sekukhona namanye amaNationalists asebhalela emaphepheni awo ngaloludaba ngendlela eyenza kulabo abagcizelela ubandlululo kuhlasimule igazi. Kuzo lezinsuku ezidlule esinye isifundiswa sawo, uProf. L. J. du Plessis silobele iphepheni okuthiwa iDagbreek ne Sondagnuus siveza imiqondo esile ngalemihlaba ephansi kwamaphiko eNgilandi.

Phakathi kwenkulu mo ayenzile uProf. J. L. du Plessis uthe: Okokuqala ubona kuyinto engacabangeki ukuthi lamazwe aphantsi kwamaphiko amaNgisi obanako ukungena phansi kweNyonyana uma isimo semithetho ebuso abantu siyilesi esikhona namhla. Okwesibili iNgilandi ngeke ivunyelwe ukuba yakhe imibuso eminceleni yezwe leli lethu, noma iNhlangothi yezizwe (United Nations) ithathe iSouth West Africa—kanti kokubili lokhu kunokwenzeka uma kungekho okwenziwayo ukuvimbela. Yena keProf. du Plessis ubona ukuthi lenkinga ingaqedwa ukuba yona iNyonyana kube iyona ekhuthaza uzibuse kulamazwe aphantsi kwamaphiko amaNgisi—iBasutoland ibe nombuso wayo ozimele, neBechuanaland, neSwaziland, neOvamboland bese kulandela elamaXhosa nelamaZulu. Bese kuthi izindawo ezinqikene nalamazwe kuyizindawo ezakhiwe abantu, zihlanganiswe nesizwe esiseduzane, kuthi izindawo ezakhiwe abamhlophe zihlanganiswe nezindawo zabamhlophe. Abantu bazikhethele bona uhlobo lombuso abaufunayo kodwa ubudlelwane namanye amazwe angaphandle bona bungeniswe ngokuzwana neNyonyana.

Le imibona ethokozisayo. Yehlukile kunomqondo wamaNationalist Okhuluma ngozibuse wabantu ophantsi kombuso wabelungu ngaso sonke isikhathi. Futhi iyaqhelelana kakhulu nemiqondo ebusa i“apartheid”. Noma ngabe iProf. du Plessis ukhuluma iqiniso ngesimo esiphathele kulezizwe eziphansi kophiko lwamaNgisi esibangwa imithetho ebusa abantu, nakho futhi ukuveza okungase kwenziwe umhlangano wezizwe nge South West Africa, kukhona noko okumcasheshe angakuboni.

Okokuqala sengathi kakakuhlolisanga kahle okuyikhona mnombo wokungathandi kwabantu beNyonyana konke okwenziwa kubo. Sengathi kakutholi kahle okushiwo incwadi ebhalwe iBasutoland African Congress, ibhalelwa iNdlokukazi yakhona igcizelela ukuba njengoba yona iNdlovukazi iPesheya eNgilandi mayilwele ukuba lomlungu ophethe iBasutoland ahanjise khona ngoba engumlungu wase South Africa.

Isona sizathu leso lencwadi eyasikhipha kodwa siyinsalela kunkulamo kaDr. du Plessis. AmaAfrika aseBasutoland anovalo lokungathi lomlungu uzongenisa eBasutoland umoya wobandlululo weNyonyana. Kufuneka kuqondakale ukuthi noma ngabe kukuphi lapho amaAfrika ekhona lomoya we Basutoland African Congress ubuyovela ngoba bonke abantu sebeyibona iNyonyana njengendawo engamfuni umuntu omnyama. Konke ukwenza kwabo manje kubuswa impatho embi yomuntu omnyama lapha kwi Nyonyaha. Kuyamcashela lokhu uProf. du Plessis.

Abantu abakulamazwe aphantsi kophiko lweNgilandi bothanda ukungena phansi kweNyonyana uma abantu abakuyo bephatheke kahle. Nabantu abanokwenelisa abeSutho, namaSwazi nabeTshwana ukuze bangene phansi kweNyonyana akuyona iNationalist Party, kodwa abantu balapha phansi kweNyonyana. Abaholi babantu lapha eSouth Africa sebekubonise ngokusobala ukuthi bona abazimisele ukulibala izithembiso zempatho enhle kumazwe abangawazi, kodwa babe bephantsi kobandlululo njalo nje. AmaAfrika afuna isikhundla esihle lapha eSouth Africa ngoba nabo basizile ukuba lelizwe lakheke kahle kanje. Mdla nabo benikezwa amalungelo aphelele, kumdlala namaProtectorates ovuma ukubaphansi kweNyonyana.

Lento yokuba amaNationalists amanye asaqale ukuyihlolisisa lendaba yokwahlukaniswa kwezizwe (apartheid) kucishe kunike ithemba lokuthi ikhona inguquko ezovela lapha eSouth Africa. Uma umuntu ese kufunisisa lokuhlola-busha udaba lokwehlukana iizizwe uci she angewe umoya wethemba lokuthi endaweni yokwahlukanisa izizwe lapha eSouth Africa ekugcineni kophela kungene inhlalakahle lapho ubandlululo lobe lungasekho.

Provincial Congress:

Amalungu ase Natal ayacelwa ukuba azi ukuthi usuku luka Congress seluphenduliwe. Usuyoba ngolwesiHlanu. 1 Novemba (uka wonke-wonke) nangoMgqibelo (wamalungu odwa). Amagatsha ayacelwa athumele ehovisi lase Mgungundlovu amagama abathunywa abezayo ukuze balungiselelwe indawo yokulala. Sengathi ningakwenza masinyane lokhu.

iProvincial Secretary, Mr. O. Brown, uzohambela onke amagatsha kulenyanga.

A VISIT TO GHANA

by Trevor Coombe

FROM THE LEATHER-COVERED SEATS of the public gallery we looked down on the Ghanaian Parliament. Our side of the gallery was full; the delegates to the Seminar had turned out in force to see the newly independent and sovereign Parliament in session. Ghanaian students were among us in their Kente cloth, Nigerians in their robes, East Africans, Sudanese, Liberians and Sierra Leone, a White Rhodesian and us South Africans; some colonial peoples still, others who had won their independence with sweat and tears; they looked down with pride and perhaps with envy—we, perhaps, with a trace of guilt.

Only three months before, the distinguished visitors' bay, now empty, was crowded with dignitaries from every continent. Prime Ministers had been there, Cabinet Ministers, a Vice-President, ambassadors, sent by their countries to watch the Gold Coast come to independence and see a sovereign Parliament in action in Ghana for the first time.

The members began to take their places, Government members on the left, the Opposition on the right. They sat easily in the narrow benches, talking with animation, reading the morning's papers, writing out notes for a speech. On the left the Convention People's Party, Nkrumah's party, wore bright Kente with a Roman dignity, or plain lounge suits. On the right the Opposition members were in Kente, suits, or the smocks of the Northern Territories. Dr. Kofi Busia, Professor of Sociology at the University College of Ghana, is Leader of the Opposition, and they greeted him noisily and affectionately as he entered the House.

Typically African

The House fell silent as the Speaker entered in procession, but after prayers the question time was lively, interspersed with cries of "Shame, shame!" from the Opposition benches, and "Hear, hear!" from the Government. Westminster was here in the form of the proceedings, the parliamentary customs and rituals; but there was no mistaking that this was an African assembly for the scene below us was endowed with a liveliness, a touch of mirth, almost, that was typically African. There was even the suggestion of caricature about it.

The Parliament was a parliament of young men. Nkrumah had flown to power partly on the wings of a youth movement of his own creation. He himself, when he returned to the Gold Coast in 1948, was barely out of his student days, though he had spent ten years in America and another two in England. Nkrumah was born in a country village, went to a mission school and to college, taught for a while, became a Master of Theology of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, went to London for his Doctorate but became involved in West African politics among the colonial students there. He was offered the post of general secretary to the United Gold Coast Convention, the most recent and dominant political movement there; he took the job and sailed for home.

Nkrumah's Success

Within three years of his arrival, Nkrumah had campaigned up and down the country, organising hundreds of branches, women's and youth organisations, founding schools and co-ordinating all political effort. He had been arrested along with other leaders of the UGCC, he had at last broken with the UGCC and begun the Convention People's Party, taking over piecemeal the organisation he had created and the personal following he had built up. He had been arrested again and gaoled, he had conducted his campaign for the general election of 1951 secretly from his cell and his party had swept the country. He had been released from gaol to form a Government. Within another five years he had fought and won two more elections, and Britain had fixed the date for the Gold Coast's independence.

Politics Today

Nkrumah's split with the United Gold Coast Convention is mirrored to a certain extent in the political situation today. Party differences in Ghana are acute, and the party newspapers level attacks at each other with a virulence uncomfortably reminiscent of South Africa.

The student body at the University College is solidly anti-Nkrumah, and one student (a man in his thirties and an ex-Serviceman) told me that if he met Nkrumah in the dark "he would break his neck". This was not meant metaphorically.

Nkrumah succeeded because as a man and a political leader he commended himself to the great mass of the electorate. But commensurate with his ascent to power has been the tide of hatred and bitterness which has swollen and is now flowing strongly against him both as a man and, now, as a Prime Minister.

Opposition Policy

The Opposition embraces some of the old leaders of the UGCC and comprises two main groups, the National Liberation Movement (NLM) and the Northern People's Party (NPP). The former's strength lies in Kumasi and most of Ashanti, but in recent weeks it has captured the loyalty of a growing number at the Coast, even in Accra which was Nkrumah's stronghold. The latter is a regional party, Muslim in character. What the Opposition have in common is their desire for decentralised government, local and regional autonomy, even federation, with power retained by the traditional authorities, the chiefs.

This policy faces us with the searing dilemma common to both West and East Africa, and, in a different guise, to Southern Africa. The dilemma may be stated thus; in a land where detribalisation has begun and will continue, but where tribal and chiefly loyalties are still strong, what is the educative and administrative role of parliamentary democracy? The NLM, led by a distinguished Professor of Sociology, have given their answer. Nkrumah's answer seems to be quite clear: to strengthen, it appears, ruthlessly, the power of the central government, but to sublimate the tribal allegiances in the Convention People's Party and its leader.

Present Unrest

The sharp difference between the two is, I believe, the root of the present unrest in Ghana. To the Opposition, and to much of the outside world, Nkrumah's Government is authoritarian, even dictatorial, and Dr. Busia and his associates have lifted up their voices against many unilateral actions of the Government culminating in the deportations a few weeks ago. These events do not encourage our confidence in Nkrumah's administration, but they have helped to create more swiftly than anything else, an effective Opposition. Almost overnight it has become more cohesive and representative.

Hope and despair come as easily to the mind when comparing the outstanding social, economic and educational development of Ghana with the political confusion. But whatever the fears and uncertainty there is much profundity behind the apparent shallowness of Nkrumah's words: "If there is to be a criterion of a people's preparedness for self-government, then I say it is their readiness to assume the responsibilities of ruling themselves," and "It is better to be free to manage, or mismanage, your own affairs". Perhaps the blood and hate of Algeria, Cyprus, Indonesia, Singapore, Viet-nam, bear desperate testimony to these words.

Blessings of Apartheid—Number One

by Tony O'Dowd

THE POLICE arrived at James Sithole's house at one o'clock in the morning. They wanted to know whether he had a permit to be in Sophiatown.

"I've lived here for twenty years," James explained. "The law says that I don't need a permit. Here is my exemption pass."

"We don't want any cheek from you," said the policeman. "Get into the pick-up van."

James spent the rest of that night at Newlands Police Station, standing with thirty other men in a cell twelve feet square. At nine o'clock the next morning, he found himself in the barbed-wire enclosure outside the Native Commissioner's Court. There were some three hundred others with him, squatting in the dust as they waited for their names to be called.

Names were called at the rate of about two a minute. As each man went into the courtroom, he received an energetic push in the small of the back from the African constable at the door.

James was called about ten o'clock. The interpreter was already gabbling the charge at him as he walked into the dock.

"Not guilty," said James.

"Have you got a permit?" said the Native Commissioner.

"No, sir, but I have lived at the same place for twenty years."

"Yes, anyone can come and tell me that. Have you any document to prove it?"

"Here is my exemption pass, sir."

The Native Commissioner glanced at it, then slammed it down impatiently. "This has absolutely nothing to do with the charge. Why do you people not have proper documents in your possession? Where is your permission to be in Sophiatown?"

"Sir, I was told at the office that I need no permit if I have been there for twenty years."

"Yes, but what proof have I of that?"

"Sir, everyone knows me in that street."

"You want to lead oral evidence then?"

James was not quite sure what that question meant, but it seemed safest to say "Yes".

"Very well. Your case will stand down."

He waited in the yard until half past three. Every now and then, some prisoner's relatives would turn up and pass bread or cold drinks through the barbed wire, but James's people didn't seem to have yet found out where he was. For lunch, he had a drink of water from the tap.

When he was called back into court, he went into the witness box and told the story of his life. He was questioned at length by the prosecutor, who appeared to be convinced that every word of his evidence was a cunning lie.

When he had finished, the Native Commissioner heaved the deep sigh of a patient man tried to the limit of his endurance.

"It is most unsatisfactory," he said, "to have to deal with this matter on the basis of your own uncorroborated testimony. I must give you the benefit of the doubt and find you not guilty. You would save the Court a great deal of time and trouble if you would obtain the proper documents which the law requires."

"But, sir," said James, "if the law says I need not have a permit, why should I carry one?"

"Don't argue with me," snapped His Worship. "You may go. Don't let me see you here again."

James was a conscientious man, and he went to report to his employer just before five.

"So you were arrested, were you?" said the boss. "The way you people talk, anyone would think that getting arrested was some sort of inevitable natural disaster. Why can't you keep out of trouble? What do you think would happen to this firm if I went around getting myself arrested every few days? Miss Smith, make a note that James is to lose a day's pay."

PARTY NEWS

NATIONAL

The dates for the National Congress are the 14th, 15th and 16th December. The venue is Durban.

All Resolutions for the National Congress have to be in the National Office by the 15th October. The Resolutions will be sorted and roneod and will be returned to Provincial Divisions on the 30th October, in order that all Branches can discuss the Resolutions before they come up at Congress.

CAPE

The main event of the month was a Public Meeting organised by the Wynberg/Constantia Branch and held at Claremont on the 22nd August. The Meeting was attended by about 115 people. The Chairman, Mr. Jack Caustens, opened the Meeting and was followed by Mr. Walter Stanford, M.P., who spoke on the state of the country today and the urgent need for a realistic racial policy. Senator Leslie Rubin said that there had been signs lately that a number of Nationalists were beginning to have grave doubts about the policy of apartheid. He also said that it was regrettable that the United Party had still not adopted a policy which could be a real alternative to apartheid, and condemned them for the fact that they had had absolutely no consultation with the non-European people regarding their policy.

Some new members were enrolled and others asked for further information about the Party to be sent to them.

At the time of writing, Mr. Patrick Duncan is visiting the Western Cape. We hope to carry a report on his visit in our next issue. In the meantime, members will have read of Mr. Duncan's clash with the Department of the Interior, over the failure to renew his passport unless he had a definite trip in mind.

TRANSVAAL

St. Francis Church Hall was packed to the doors for the Members' General Meeting held to discuss the Party's participation in the Johannesburg Municipal Elections. The Meeting approved the proposals of the Provincial Committee, and the election campaign is now under way. The Liberal Candidates are Mr. L. L. Cooper, Mr. D. H. Craighead, Miss R. Hayman, Mr. J. Lewsen, Dr. E. R. Roux and Mr. J. D. Wilson. Mr. Lewsen is at present an Independent Member of the City Council and has recently joined the Liberal Party.

Several members of the Provincial Committee recently undertook a tour of Johannesburg's municipal housing schemes for Africans. The tour proved extremely instructive and plans are afoot to enable other Party members to go on similar tours.

NATAL

The Annual General Meeting of the Kloof Branch was held in the Clermont Hall on the 23rd August. This was followed by a farewell party to Mr. and Mrs. Desmond Harris who were leaving for England. Mr. Paton presented a scroll inscribed with good wishes to the departing couple and thanked Mr. Harris for his indefatigable work as Chairman of the Kloof Branch since its formation last year. Mrs. Harris was presented with a basket of flowers by little Isaac Mabaso, son of the late Secretary of the Kloof Branch.

Another farewell party was held at Mr. Paton's home on the 11th September. At this party, Inland and Coastal Region members said goodbye with much regret to Miss Crystal Rogers who has been a very loyal and hard-working Secretary of the Durban Office for the past two years. Miss Rogers is returning home to England. Mr. Paton presented her with a travelling case for the Party. Miss Rogers will be very much missed by all of us.

A Special General Meeting of the Pietermaritzburg Branch was held on the 12th September. At this Meeting the forthcoming Provincial Congress was discussed and delegates were elected. Resolutions were put forward.

The Annual General Meeting of the Coastal Region will take place on the 18th September, a report on this Meeting will appear in the next issue.

Provincial Congress.—Will all Natal Members please note that the dates for the Congress have been changed to Friday, 1st November (Public Opening) and Saturday, 2nd November (Closed Session). Will all Branches notify the Pietermaritzburg Office as soon as possible of delegates attending Congress and accommodation required.

The Provincial Secretary, Mr. P. Brown, will be visiting all Branches during the month.

Liberal Party addresses in some of the larger centres are: 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town; 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg; 25 Plowright Buildings, Plowright Lane, Durban; 48 Highcourt Buildings cor. Fox and Joubert Streets, Johannesburg; c/o Mr. Frank Green, 5 Ridgevale, Perridgevale, Port Elizabeth; c/o Mrs. S. Stakemire, 21 Princess Road, East London; P.O. Box 77, Maseru, Basutoland.

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THE NEW RESERVES

LIKE MORE FAMOUS MEN before him Senator de Klerk has become involved in the intricate problems of establishing "reserves". But unlike Shepstone in Natal and the early administrators of the Ciskei and Transkei, whose reserves were blocks of land in which Africans were to feel some security from the depredations of White adventurers, Senator Jan de Klerk's "reserves" are to be areas of employment where Europeans are to feel secure from the challenges presented by a rising tide of non-White skill and industry. We are told that one of the reasons for the establishment of the older type of reserve was to preserve African tribal culture from the too-sudden onslaughts of a dynamic new way of life and to prevent Africans being completely driven from the land. We are told that one reason for the new "reserves" is to protect the White worker from the challenges which confront him from the integration of non-White—particularly African—skilled and semi-skilled workers into the South African industrial system. We are told that one reason for the earlier reserves was to protect Africans from a threat they could not meet. Senator de Klerk suggests to us that his reserves are designed to offer exactly the same protection from a similar threat to White workers.

The vicious stratification of employment according to race, for which the Industrial Conciliation Act provides, was exposed by opposition members of all persuasions when the Bill was before Parliament. The Bill had a singularly difficult and prolonged journey through the Assembly. In response to this opposition the Nationalists threw in an unimportant amendment here and there and altered the principles and main provisions of the Bill not a jot. They armed themselves well. Now, with a General Election in the offing, they have fired the first salvo. They propose job-reservation in the clothing industry.

Whether their barrage has gone off half-cock remains to be seen. What is quite certain is that they have managed to raise an uproar in a variety of circles whose interests often conflict. Both Trade Unions and employers have protested, and in some places done more than protest, against the Minister's directive. White trade unions have come out in support of non-White rights. Overseas labour may also be drawn into the whole sorry business, certainly not to the Government's advantage.

These have been some of the more obvious, immediate reactions to job-reservation. The long-term threat contained in the Act is almost impossible to gauge. Although the Minister seems to have retreated slightly in the face of a wave of protest we do not for one moment believe that he seriously admits any error. What the Prime Minister had to say recently at Queenstown confirms us in our view. The cabinet will back Mr. de Klerk whatever follies he indulges in. After all, they were warned of the possible consequences of the Act long before it became law. They know that the Act provides specifically for the restriction of non-White employment in industry. That is precisely what they wanted when they passed it. They will not change it. The Minister may make a token retreat and not enforce the present reservation at once. He may choose to leave the non-White workers of the clothing industry, with the threat of dismissal at any moment hanging over their heads. He will use his power when he calculates it will be most to his party's advantage.

We may look rather cynically upon the Minister of Labour and his intentions. What reason have we to look on him in any other way? His avowed intention is to protect the White worker. He will not act to protect him if it is liable to lose him votes, as it might well do today. He will take action when there is a threatened recession in the industry which might

cost White workers their jobs. If he can assure their jobs it may well be that he will ensure their votes at the same time.

In the meantime the effect of this policy on industry and the non-White worker can well be imagined. What security will there be for the industrialist? None at all. He may have to face job-reservation and its consequent dislocation of his business at any moment. Already overseas industries hesitate to establish factories in the Union. How much more hesitant will they be now? They will go elsewhere.

There will be no such easy way out for the non-White worker. Whatever his talent and his skill he can be faced with a blank wall of legislative prohibition at any point at which the minister chooses to put it and at any time. The past operation of the industrial colour bar in South Africa has been bad enough. We are now seeing how much worse it may soon become. Mr. de Klerk will enjoy the dubious right of being able to introduce determinations which will make it possible for him to send a man, who has spent a lifetime improving his status and competence in the job he has chosen, back to the job in which he started as a small boy.

Time has turned the old reserves into a liability, in a modern agricultural community geared to the demands of the times. Minister de Klerk is busy turning secondary industry, perhaps the country's most worthwhile achievement in the last twenty years, into a rickety structure which will be an object of ridicule to the rest of the industrial world. In doing so he will set back industrial development drastically, store up for the future a fund of ill-will and frustration terrifying to contemplate and, ironically enough, he may well throw out of their jobs the very people he is trying to protect. If there are no factories it won't only be non-Europeans who will be looking for jobs.

Last month we said "In a crazy world the Nationalist Party stands out as a ridiculous anachronism". How right we were!

The Johannesburg Municipal Elections

by Marion Friedmann

"A SAFE LIBERAL SEAT", remarked my spouse, "is a seat where a Liberal doesn't lose his deposit." And even such seats are not common, it seemed, after an election where the Liberal Party lost five out of seven deposits, although one was lost by a minute margin in a 67-plus % poll. Polls were prodigiously high all round.

What brought all these people to the polls? Is it possible to deduce what the voters were voting for—or against? In any situation abounding in variables like this one, one cannot draw conclusions: one can only speculate and give expression to one's own experience. For what they're worth, then, I'd like to make some observations. I must emphasize that I am expressing purely personal viewpoints.

In the first place I should like to say that the atmosphere in which the elections took place was that of a General Election. For this the Press, especially the morning Press, was responsible. The large polls and the high U.P. vote resulted, I think, from two motives among voters. The first was a desire to show the Nats. that Johannesburg is against them by registering a sort of vote of confidence in the largest Opposition group. The second motive was induced in the electorate directly by the Press which said in so many words: "If you vote for the Liberals now, you will encourage them to fight more seats in the General Election and thus hinder the U.P.'s efforts to get the Nats. out". My guess is that this was the "line" most effective against us. What I am of course saying is that the large vote for the U.P. was less a vote against us than it was a vote against the Nats. The overwhelming majority of voters were *not* expressing their views on the United Party's civic administration.

About 3,100 voters voted Liberal, 1,800-plus of them voting in three wards. Were they voting *for* the Liberal Party programme or were they just disgruntled citizens? My view, and

it is based on the reception I got canvassing six times a week, is that a very large number of them were voting for the Liberal Party's solution to national problems. I have canvassed in every election the Liberal Party has fought in the Transvaal since its inception and I really am impressed with the increased sympathy for the Liberal Party's case which the electorate now shows. A high proportion of the electorate now accepts that there have to be major changes in S.A.'s social, political and economic structure and, notwithstanding a really deep desire to see the Nats. go, there is a fairly widespread acknowledgement that neither the U.P. nor the Nat. party has any answer to S.A.'s real problems. This admission was made, I ought to add, by many people who expressed their intention to vote U.P.: they would not abandon the U.P. just before a General Election and many of them have not given up hope that the U.P. in power would embark on an extension of rights to non-Whites. (Incidentally, the number of U.P. supporters who don't know what the U.P. is offering—or, rather, *not* offering—the non-Whites is enormous!) Other people voted for us in the hope that there would be some opposition in the City Council: whether these people stood firm against General Election fervour is anybody's guess.

Lessons to be learnt? There are two, I think. One is that, even at present worker-strength, the Transvaal should have fought four seats and not seven. We must canvass the whole ward, not half or less than half as in this election. The other is more important. General Election fever militated against us in October; by the time the real General Election comes along, it will reach epidemic proportions and a large number of those who stood firm in October will not be able to withstand its contagion. Reason and realism will be early victims in the epidemic. The anti-Republican "referendum" virus ("vote U.P. to record opposition to a Republic") will take its toll of our supporters too. It will not help us to point out that the Liberal Party, unlike the U.P., is unequivocally opposed to Nat. ideology, chapter and verse. Almost all the anti-Nat. support going will go to the only party big enough to oust the Nats. even though that Party has failed miserably to take either a morally worthwhile or a realistic stand on S.A.'s problems.

One thing I must concede to those whose assessment differs from mine: the General Election "slant" given to the municipal elections did not, on the figures in my ward at any rate, seem to cause much "switching" of votes. At worst, it kept a small fraction of our supporters away from the polls and brought those of our opponents there in full force.

I must add that I am not suggesting that prognostications, gloomy or otherwise, should necessarily affect our decisions about General Election activities.

Blessings of Apartheid . . .

No. 3

By A. P. O'Dowd

"LET ME JUST EXPLAIN TO YOU," said Jan. "That house represents the whole of my late father's savings. He paid eighteen hundred pounds for it before the war. It must be worth at least three thousand today. And I've been relying on it all the time. My father told me that I should get it, and that if I wanted to go overseas to specialise, that's where I'd get the money from."

"Yes, I quite understand, Dr. Swart," said the estate agent, "but I've done my best. The house is west of the railway line, and the draft Group Areas plan for Cape Town provides for that whole area to become White. You can't expect any Coloured man to pay three thousand for it, if he may lose it in a few years' time."

"Well, sell it to a White man then. I don't mind."

"Come, Doctor, you're being a little silly now. The whole street is Coloured—always has been. You can't expect to sell to Whites until the Group Areas proclamations are through. That is, assuming that the area does become White."

"But how long will it be before they make up their minds?"

"Who can say? I'd advise you to hang on for the present. After all, one can specialise in this country now, can't one?"

Jan smiled wanly. "Yes, if you're White."

"But surely—I didn't think there were any restrictions . . ."

"Oh, there's no colour clause in the Medical Council regulations. But you see, the first essential is to get a registrar's job in a teaching hospital, or something with similar scope. And those jobs involve giving orders to White nurses, so they're not for the likes of me."

"I see. Well, as I said earlier, I've got an offer of a thousand. I'm afraid you'll have to take it or leave it."

Jan took the offer. It would mean coming back with nothing, but his wife was a qualified teacher and they could always manage somehow. He completed his arrangements, booked his passage, and applied for a passport. A month went by without any word from the passport office. His sailing date was coming near. He went in to the office to make enquiries.

"Your application has been referred to Pretoria," said the young woman in the office. No, she could not say how soon there would be a decision.

Jan postponed his booking. What could it possibly be? There was the time he had addressed that student meeting, and there had been a detective sitting at the back. His wife was a member of a rather left-wing teachers association. He could not think of anything else. He went to see his former Professor, and the Professor wrote a testimonial for him, which he sent with a letter to the Minister.

Another month went by, and he postponed his booking again. Finally, a letter arrived, on Her Majesty's Service. It read:

"Jan Swart,
Cape Town.

Greetings,

In reply to your letter of the 10th ultimo, I am directed by the Honourable the Minister to inform you that the granting of passport facilities to you is not deemed to be in the public interest. With regard to your request to be informed of any information against you which may be in the Minister's possession, I am directed to inform you that this request cannot be acceded to.

Greetings,

A. van der Merwe,
Private Secretary.

"Oh, to be in England now . . ."

THE OFFICIAL South African technique of walking out of or boycotting any discussion of our affairs which is likely to be unfavourable to those currently responsible for their conduct might well have wrecked the debate organised in London on 2nd November, 1957, by the Committee on Science and Freedom together with the Association of University Teachers.

The Union's High Commissioner in Britain, Dr. J. E. Holloway, would have nothing to do with it. The subject of the proposed debate being the Universities Apartheid Bill, Dr. Holloway not unreasonably suspected that criticism of this piece of draft legislation would be loud and strong. Lacking, one can only assume, any logical or ethically sound debating points with which to counter such criticism Dr. Holloway declined to play or to send any member of his staff to do the job for him.

It was then that Professor L. J. du Plessis of Potchefstroom University volunteered to go to London and put the Government's case for the Bill. Well done, Professor! The organisers of the debate were delighted and gladly found the money for the Professor's return air fare and his London hotel accommodation.

According to Press reports which readers of *Contact* will have seen at the time, the Professor confined himself largely to quoting his illustrious master, the Minister of Education. He would

not answer a number of questions put to him "by hon. members opposite", but he did—at the very end—voice opinions which may safely be presumed to be his own. It is these which merit a second look.

"If I were in England," the Professor is reported to have told this critical audience, "or in America, I would be an integrationist, too."

"We do not," he said, "believe in the inferiority of any race."

"The Bantu, Indians and Coloured," he said, "would destroy our national character."

Here are three significant pronouncements which reveal, probably in all innocence, that not only the particular piece of draft legislation under discussion that evening, i.e. the Universities Apartheid Bill, but the Government's entire policy is one based on *fear*, stark and naked—though not unadorned.

If he were in England, this sporting champion of a lost cause proclaimed (surely to the astonishment of his own friends), he wouldn't mind integration in the least. In South Africa he cannot contemplate it without cold shivers. What is it that makes the concept of integration one thing when the integrating is to happen in Britain and quite another when it is to take place (as eventually it will) in this country? The answer is "numbers". Overseas, the Professor and those who think like him would—they reckon—feel safe. At home they would be afraid.

They would be afraid of having their national character destroyed.

One is tempted to ask here "whose national character?" or "which national character?", but rather than complicate the issue with awkward and provocative (though quite pertinent) questions of this calibre let us point out that these greatly feared and fiercely resisted changes are in reality processes of evolution affecting human societies in many parts of the world at this very moment.

Professor du Plessis knows this. The Government which he went to Britain to defend knows it. It is an established fact. "National character", the term used by Professor du Plessis when he spoke in London, is not—or perhaps we should say is *no longer*—a mathematical constant. It could be argued, of course, that it never was, and that the universities in Britain and America which the Professor claimed "suit the national character" (of these countries) would, in fact, be horrified to find themselves so impossibly restricted. What may be of greater importance is that our debater's insistence on *this* motive for Mr. Viljoen's Bill strips that Bill of its dummy trappings of sympathy, benevolence and nobility of purpose. There is no longer any need to dwell on the academic aspect of the Bill. All that could possibly be said or written about that has been given the widest publicity by the ablest and most competent of advocates. It has been left to the Professor from Potchefstroom, batting on an "away" ground, to admit that it is not academic considerations at all that we should look for. It is quite simply fear for the safety of "the national character".

When Professor du Plessis astonished his audience by stating that those he spoke for "do not believe in the inferiority of any race", he said nothing that observers close to the South African scene have not known for a long time. It all fits in. A government that *did* believe in the inferiority of any race would not consider it necessary to have a University Apartheid Bill, nor—for that matter—any of the other legislation designed to "develop the Coloured people to self-determination in all respects . . . successfully and democratically" (to quote Professor du Plessis).

PARTY NEWS

NATIONAL AND TRANSVAAL

Arrangements for Congress are going ahead slowly. No final count of delegates is yet available but it does seem that there will be good representation of all divisions. Delegates are expected to start arriving in Durban on the 12th or 13th December, in time for the National Committee meeting on the Friday morning and the public meeting on the Friday night. Final agendas for the Congress and for the National Committee meeting will have reached members by the end of November.

Patrick Duncan will have spent a week late in November in Kimberley trying to establish

membership of the branch there on a sounder basis and endeavouring to draw more members into the Party. We hope to be able to report some success in our next issue.

In the Transvaal the municipal elections took place on October 30th. We carry an article elsewhere giving one candidate's personal impressions. Since polling day the emphasis has been shifted from canvassing for votes to canvassing for members and a large-scale recruiting drive is being planned amongst the 3,000 odd people who voted for the Party. A general meeting of members has also been arranged to discuss the National Congress and to elect delegates and so on.

O.F.S. AND CAPE

The Annual General Meeting of the Free State Branch of the Party took place in Bloemfontein on November 9th. A small number of members attended and Peter Brown came up from Natal for the meeting.

Resolutions for the National Congress were discussed and protests were recorded against the report of the Commission on Undesirable Publications, the refusal of passports and job reservation as well as on the whole structure of the colour bar in South African society. The question of the General Election was discussed and it was decided to recommend to the National Committee that the Party should not oppose the United Party in the 1958 elections.

Office-bearers elected for the coming year are: Chairman, Canon F. Makhetha; Secretary, Mr. J. van Riet, with Mrs. P. Duncan as an additional member of the committee. The Division hopes to send its full delegation to the National Congress.

The Cape Provincial Congress has also taken place during the last month and we hope to carry a detailed report in our next issue.

NATAL

The fifth Provincial Congress of the Party in Natal took place in Pietermaritzburg on November 1st and 2nd. For the first time the Congress was spread over two days. The public opening took place in the Supper Room of the City Hall on the evening of Friday the first and most of Saturday was spent in private session.

The public meeting was attended by some two hundred people. There were two speakers, Leo Kuper and Alan Paton, and, after they had given their addresses, three resolutions were moved in public session. The first, moved by Alan Paton at the conclusion of his speech, dealt with the threat to freedom of association which confronts all of us today. E. V. Mahomed seconded and the resolution was passed unanimously. The second resolution, dealing with the Group Areas Act, moved by Ken Hill and seconded by Cassim Bassa, also went through without a dissenting vote. The third, relating to the Press, did not have such a happy fate. Moved by Jordan Ngubane and seconded by Pat Poovalingam, it was eventually referred back for re-drafting.

The first session on Saturday morning consisted of the Secretary and Treasurer's Annual Report, discussion of plans for the coming year and a very full debate on the question of the General Election. The secretary's report revealed a growth in membership, not as spectacular as that of the last two years, but still a fairly satisfactory increase. The debate on the General Election was only completed in the post-lunch session of Congress and it was eventually decided by a substantial majority to recommend to the National Committee that the Party should take part in the election in Natal.

During the pre-lunch session, which was open to the Press and public, a number of resolutions were passed. The most important dealt with "black-spot" removals and the African women's campaign of protest against the extension to them of the Pass Laws. The first were deprecated, the second was supported. Important resolutions dealing with local aspects of group areas plans, ethnic grouping and provincial matters were also passed.

After tea, matters of more particularly Party concern were on the agenda and Congress wound up with the election of Office-bearers. Those elected for the coming year are: Chairman, Peter Brown; Vice-Chairmen, Jordan Ngubane and Richard Robinow; Secretary, Mrs. June Somers; Treasurer, Miss Kathleen Holland.

In the evening a braaivleis was held at Mr. and Mrs. Peter Brown's home. As usual on these occasions the mist came down and the heavens opened. A fair proportion of guests got lost and a slightly smaller proportion got stuck in the mud. However, these adventures did not seem to detract from people's enjoyment and a great deal of meat and currie was consumed within a very short space of time.

SEBOKA SA MOKHATLO OA TOKOLOHO OA SOUTH AFRICA BLOEMFONTEIN !

KA MOQEBELO 9Pulungoana 1957 Karolo ea Orange Free State ea Mokhatlo oa Tokoloho oa South Africa e ile ea kopana Bloemfontein. Ho ile ha buisanoa ka litaba tse ngata tse fapaneng, empa e kholohali eo e neng e le eona hlooho le motheo oa litaba, e ne e le ho tiisa hape sepheo sa Mokhatlo, e leng ho hanyetsana le khethollo har'a sechaba ka mebala ea sona.

Tse ling tsa litaba tseo seboka se ileng sa li ama e bile ho hanyetsa ho hang litholoana tsa commission ea Cronje mabapi le libuka le mengolo eo ho thoeng e khopo; sa boela sa hanana le mokhoa oa 'Muso oa ho hanela ba leng khahlanong le oona ka mangolo a ba lumellang ho etela mahatseng a mose le tse ling joalo-joalo.

Qetellong ea seboka ho ile ha khethoa executive e ncha.

Leha palo ea Mokhatlo 'ona e e s'o be kholo ha kalo mona Freistata ke ntho e khotatsang haholo ho fumana hore mona Freistata e leng setsing habo ma-Nationalist ho na le banna le basali ba batso le ba basoeu ba ikemiselitseng ho loantsana ho hang le tsohle tse senyanga thatana har'a lichaba, bao morero oa bona e leng South Africa ke naha eo e leng ea baaki bohle ba eona e seng ea baitseng feela.

Ho tla ba hotle hakakang mohla likhang likhethollo le tse joalo li felisitsoeng, mohla ho seng ho sa thoe enoa ke Mosotho enoa ke Mo-Afrikaner, enoa ke Mo-English empa ho thoe bana bohle ke baahi ba South Africa 'me e mong le e mong a fuoa ka moo a nehiloeng ka teng, a sebeletsa katleho ea South Africa.

UMBIKO NGOMHLANGANO WONYAKA WE NATAL

UMHLANGANO wesihlanu wonyaka wesigodi sase Natal ubuse Mgungundlovu ngo-November 1 no 2. Ubuqala ukuba uthathe izinsuku ezimbili. Uvulwe ngolwesiHlanu kusihlwa eSuper Room kaThawiniholo ngomhla wokuqala enyangueni ka November, ku umhlangano ka wonke wonke. NgoMgqibelo kwaba owamalunga odwa, wathatha lonke usuku.

Kumhlangano ka wonke-wonke kwakukhona abantu abangamakhulu amabili: Izi-khulumu zabambili oLeo Kuper no Alan Paton, okwathi ngemva kwezinkulumo zabo, kwaphakamiswa izinqumo kuwo lowomhlangano ka wonke-wonke. Osiphakamiso sokuqala esenziwa uAlan Paton khona nje ukuba aqede inkulumo yakhe saba ngodaba olusikaza inkululeko yokuhlangana phakathi kwezizwe, esasekelwa u E. V. Mahomed, samukelwa ngokuzwana okuhle. Esesibili isiphakamiso esasingomthetho we Group Areas, esaphakamiswa u Ken Hill sasekelwa u Cassim Bassa, naso samukelwa ngaphimbo linye. Esesithathu esasiphakanyiswe u Jordaan Ngubane sase kelwa u Pat Poovalingam, esasimalunga namaphephandaba, kasibanga nayo impumelelo enhle, kwafuneka kesiyohlelwa ngokunye.

NgoMgqibela isigaba sokuqala kwangena umbiko kaMbhali nosiKhwama, nokuxoxa ngamacebo amalunguselelo onyaka ozayo nangodaba lokhetho lwaamlunga ePhalamende. Umbiko wombali wabonisa wabonisa ukwanda kwamalunga, noma kambe kungabanga ngangokwanda kwawo eminyakeni emibili eyedlule, noko kwaba ukwanda okwenelisayo. Ingxoxo yokhetho lwamalunga ePhalamende yabankulu yaze yaphela ngemuva kwamadina. Isiphetho sayo kwaba ukuba kunqunywe ukuba kucelwe iSigungu soMgwamanda ukuba silungisele ukulungena lolukhetho lapha eNatal.

Ngesikhathi amadina engakashayi sabakhona isithuba somhlangano ka wonke-wonke

lapho kwavunyelwa intatheli zamaphephandaba ukuba zingene. Kwakhiwa iziphakamiso ezphumeleliswa lapho. Esikhulu kakhulu kwaba esiphathelene kulezindawo okuthiwa amapulazi abantu asezindaweni zabelungu kanye nempi yepasi eliwa abesifazane osekuthiwa nabo mabathwale ipasi. Umhlangano kawuzwananga nokugudlulwa kwabantu ezindaweni zabo ngebhaxa lokuba kuthiwa ziphakathi kwezindawo zabelungu; ngamandla impi eliwa abesifazane yepasi. Kwapunyeleliswa futhi izinqumo ezibalulekile ezimalungana nokusebenza kwe Group Areas kwezinye izindawo, nokwehlukaniswa kwabantu ngobuzwe babo kanye nezinye eziphathelele kulesigodi saseNatal.

Ngemva kwekhefu kwaxoxwa ngezindaba zebandla kwase kuqedelwa ngokhetho lwaba-Holi olwaphuma kanje:

USIHLALO: Peter Brown,

ISEKELA LAKHE : Jordan Ngubane no
Richard Robinow,

UMBHALI : Mrs. June Somers,

USIKHWAMA : Miss Kathleen Holland.

Kusihlwa umhlangano wase uya emzini kaMnu. no Nonkosikazi Peter Brown ukuyokosa inyama nokudla izitshulu. Ngenxa yemvula namafu, amanye amanxusa alahleka, amanye abhajwa endleleni, kanti konke loko akubuphazamisanga ubumnandi bokubungazana.

CORRESPONDENCE . . .

St. Philips Mission,
GRAHAMSTOWN.

The Editor,

Contact.

Sir,

Land legislation affecting non-Europeans, especially Africans, is a process of gradual economic strangulation of the majority of the inhabitants of this land.

By the time the ruling minority has leaned to love the ruled majority, by force of authority, will have learned to hate. This land legislation, which has had the effect of rendering money almost worthless to the non-Whites, is a vicious process which no democratic country in the world of God has put on her statute books to discriminate against some of her inhabitants.

We liberals, in our struggle for complete human equality, must be thoroughly well-read in the evil Acts affecting people of colour. White prosperity rests on cheap black labour. If the people of colour are not to enjoy the fruit of their sweat it is quite useless to frighten them with talk of Communism, unless something better than what Communism offers on the question of colour is put forward at once. People do not care for theories but for practice. The practical side of the question, not its doctrine, is the basic faith of the African way of life.

Non-Whites have no security on the land—the lifeline of any people. Liberals and all democrats must leave no stone unturned to remedy this position before it is too late.

It seems to me that most of us Liberals are ignorant of the dangers which confront us as the result of South Africa's worship of colour. This is a clarion call to all Liberals. The whole world is up against the colour discrimination which is the creed of South Africa. East and West is against it. Here is my question. Do we prefer extinction at the altar of the god of Colour Discrimination or do we prefer life and happiness at the altar of the God of Mankind?

Yours faithfully,

(Rev.) J. J. Skomolo.

Liberal Party addresses in some of the larger centres are: 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town; 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg; 25 Plowright Buildings, Plowright Lane, Durban; 48 Highcourt Buildings cor. Fox and Joubert Streets, Johannesburg; c/o Mr. Frank Green, 5 Ridgevale, Perridgevale, Port Elizabeth; c/o Mrs. S. Stakemire, 21 Princes Road, East London; P.O. Box 77, Maseru, Basutoland.

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