

contact

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper

Every Fortnight 6d.

FORTNIGHT ENDING 2nd JULY 1960

Vol. 3 No. 13

PONDOLAND IS ON FIRE

—see page 3



Patrice Lumumba, leader of the Congo National Movement, who was successful in winning the Premiership of the new Congo state, which obtained its independence yesterday 30th June. He has the biggest job in Africa. Will he measure up to it? All democrats will hope that he will, and will wish his new country all success.

How Maritzburg Students Demonstrated



Pietermaritzburg students march in protest on 26th March. *Courtesy: Natal Witness*

Emergency Arouses Students

STUDENT opposition to the state of emergency, though not much publicized, has begun.

At the University of Cape Town, where Professor Jack Simons and two students were detained for a period, about 180 students fasted for twenty-four hours in sympathy with the detainees.

A group of students plans to launch, next term, a new Radical Students' Society which, it is hoped, will provide a rallying point for the more militant students.

In Durban, on 3rd June, about 60 students of all races from Natal University protested quietly outside the prison. They held posters such as "Free our leaders", and "Lift the Emergency". They stood for 10 minutes, and then dispersed, just before four police vans and some police cars brought about 25 policemen to the scene.

In Johannesburg, at about the same time, some 60 students began to march towards the Fort

(prison). Six of them were arrested, questioned closely at Marshall Square police station, warned that they might be charged, and released. The others were driven back by some fifty unarmed policemen.

In Pietermaritzburg, normally the most active of all student centres, nothing happened in May and June. There had been a plan to demonstrate on 19th May, "Open Day", when friends visit the University. But the principal, Dr. E. G. Malherbe, forbade the protest as he felt it would jeopardize his negotiations to obtain the release of the detained lecturers. He said that the police had warned him that they would arrest any student demonstrators, and added that if the police failed to arrest any who might demonstrate, he would take disciplinary action himself.

This harsh official line was probably a reaction to two tremendous demonstrations in Pietermaritzburg.

On 26th March, 10 hours after the ban on meetings of more than

12 persons had been announced, 600 students marched down the main street of Pietermaritzburg to the City Hall, where they stood in silence for a minute. The police then arrived and announced to the students that they were "taking a chance" in breaking the law and warned them that police action would be taken if it happened again.

Yet there was no police reaction on 31st March (the day of the mass arrests) when 600 students picketed in groups of ten all over the city while lawyers fought for the release of the local detainees.

As a result of these two great demonstrations, relations between police and students in Pietermaritzburg have degenerated to a state of almost open hostility.

There is, of course, no open resistance to apartheid or to the state of emergency in the Afrikaans-speaking universities of Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch. Nor has any been reported from Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

DEATH OF POLITICAL PRISONER

CAPE TOWN: On Saturday, 18th June, an elderly man was buried in a graveyard outside the village of Huguenot, 40 miles from Cape Town. His widow and five of his seven children, and his brother, were among the hundred or so mourners who stood around his grave in the rain, and sang the African national anthem, "Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika" when the service ended.

Mr. Michael Mpeluza was a sick man when taken by the police at the end of March. In the many weeks of his political imprisonment without charges, his heart condition deteriorated. Some time ago he was taken 80 miles to the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town for treatment, and then returned to his cell in Worcester, where he died on Sunday, 12th June.

When the police informed his widow that her husband had died they also told her that she must fetch his body for burial. From their poverty-stricken little com-

munity at Klippiessdal, near Huguenot, Mpeluza's friends raised the £28 charged by the undertaker who brought the body the 38 miles from Worcester and arranged the funeral.

Mr. Mpeluza, who had been a member of the Pan Africanist Congress, will not be forgotten by his comrades in the freedom struggle. The scores of political prisoners in Worcester gaol will see to that. Nor will he be forgotten in Klippiessdal location, nor at the jute-bag factory nearby, where he worked until his doctor put him off work 18 months ago. But his fellow-countrymen at large know neither that he was ever a political prisoner, nor that he is dead.

An executive member of the Liberal Party who attended the funeral gave full particulars of his death to the leading English-language dailies next day, but not one of them has yet printed the story.

VANISHED PEOPLE—MORE NEWS

IN our last issue we suggested that some of the people who had disappeared without trace might be at the Bekruipkop camp, near Mount Coke, near King-

williamstown. Further investigation has shown that it is unlikely that such people are at this place. We have established that there is a "Bantu

Youth Camp" at Bekruipkop, similar to that at Elandsdoorn in the Transvaal. Some 400 young men are kept there. The camp is like a reformatory. Our informant writes that "the majority are definitely of the Tsotsi type . . . they can freely communicate with the outer world, as far as I know,

Our informant believes, from personal knowledge, that the boys are well fed, and states that he feels that "a real effort is being made to rehabilitate them".

THE DEATH OF MOOIPLAAS

From "Contact" Correspondent
PRETORIA: How does a township die? That has been shown by Dr. Verwoerd's removals over many years now, in many places.

The latest example is Mooiplaas, near Pretoria. I have visited it several times and watched it being crushed out of existence. As reported in *Contact* (18th June) there were, in early June, families of "illegal" residents, unable to go anywhere else because there was nowhere else where they could go to. These families were living a cat-and-mouse life with the police constantly raiding them, prosecuting them, and having them fined. They used to pay the fines, and then return to live in old

motor-car bodies, in old holes in the ground, in the freezing highveld winter weather. On 15th June a demolition squad arrived, and knocked down all the remaining shelters. One house, which was merely a pile of bricks, collapsed when the gang pulled out one brick at the bottom.

Some of those that left on that day took refuge in Atteridgeville, others in Lady Selborne. Some have been promised houses, but some "do not qualify". Some of these have gone back to Mooiplaas to live in holes, and to face the possibility of further arrests.

This is how a government destroys a township, when it also denies elementary citizen rights.

RELEASED



His many friends in and out of the liberal movement, were delighted to learn in mid-June that Mr. Jock L. Isacowitz, Johannesburg Liberal leader, had been released from political imprisonment.

"As freedom is gained a greater task comes into view."

—Kwame Nkrumah.

BUSINESSMEN HUMILIATED

From Contact Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Several prominent Johannesburg Africans—including among them businessmen, artists and musicians—are being subjected to embarrassing medical examinations in the city's pass offices.

These are people who have to get their reference books (passes) signed by an official at the Labour Bureau as they do not have White employers. This system is called the "daily labourers' concession".

They are examined monthly before their passes can be signed and, although many of them do not object to medical examinations, they have complained to *Contact* that:

¶ The medical tests are cursory and are carried out by

African orderlies. It is further alleged that men are made to strip bare, whilst the orderlies prod them with short sticks (to test for venereal disease).

¶ They are handled in a rough manner, and are seldom examined by qualified doctors.

When approached by *Contact*, officials denied the above. A senior official there said: "Long ago I gave strict instructions that no such thing should be done here. It is quite in order of course if some of the Africans who can afford them wish to have themselves examined by private doctors."

Nevertheless the practice continues.

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As Anti-Bantu Authorities Resistance is Organised

EAST PONDOLAND FLARES UP

The truth about the Transkei has not previously been told. Repeated rumours that not six but thirty people died in the shooting at Ngquza Hill, near Lusikisiki, have now received confirmation from our correspondent who was staying at the Great Place of Pondo Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau at the time. His important dispatch, with the information that the resistance in Pondoland is organized, and that the deathroll amounted to thirty, is confirmed by many statements of witnesses which are in the possession of a large daily newspaper.

The information that top collaborator Chief Botha Sigcau has offered to abdicate is exclusive to "Contact".

Further serious trouble is expected in this storm-spot, as the commission under the chairmanship of a Mr. Van Heerden, prepares to begin holding its enquiry on 12th July.

From "Contact" Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG: After spending the last two months in Pondoland, I was not surprised that a "little war" has broken out. Before the start of disturbances at Ngquza Hill, between Lusikisiki and Flagstaff, members of the "anti-Bantu Authorities Act Committee" met and arranged to hold a meeting there to plan action against the Bantu Authorities system. Apparently among them were police informers.

On the day of the meeting the police arrived at Ngquza Hill in helicopters. They used tear gas to disperse the unarmed meeting. As the Pondos ran away the police opened fire.

Thirty died and thirteen are now at the nearby Holy Cross

Hospital with serious wounds. Some amputations have been performed.

The people have the following complaints:

- They say they never accepted the Bantu Authorities system which was forced on them by government-appointed chiefs.
- They were not consulted on the whole system of Bantustan.
- Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau is not wanted since he is not the rightful paramount chief and was not appointed according to the custom of the Pondo tribe.
- The rightful heir is his brother Nelson Sigcau, now deputy-chief of the Flagstaff area.
- Botha Sigcau serves the interest of the government only and does not consult

the people and only brings orders.

- Taxes are higher under Bantu Authorities and go to pay salaries of a new crop of unwanted government-appointed chiefs.
- Bribery and corruption are rife among Bantu Authorities, chiefs and headmen.
- The Bantu Education Levy now being enforced is not wanted.
- The people resent being grouped into villages. Traditionally their huts have been scattered.
- They are angry about the new land rehabilitation and the way it is enforced.
- They resent the culling of stock.
- They complain about the sentence imposed on twenty-two men convicted by the Lusikisiki Magistrate/

Bantu Commissioner for incitement. They were given sentences from 18 months to two years without an opportunity of making an adequate defence in a hush-hush trial.

Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau, because of mounting unrest and uneasiness, approached the Bantu Commissioner at Lusikisiki on Monday, 20th June, to inform him that he wished to abdicate and hand over to Nelson Sigcau, whom the people want. He was told by the Bantu Commissioner to exercise patience since the government was going to probe the matter; meanwhile he would be given full police protection at his residence.

Sundays are no longer peaceful days but days of unrest. At night, artificial lighting is provided by burning of huts of government informers. The latest victim is

the new government-appointed chief, Rabana Mlotsane, of Mletu location. Unata, who was burnt to death when the burning roof of his hut fell on him. This chief was appointed against the will of his people and is alleged to have been ruthless. Unrest is spreading all over the Transkei with signs of discontent and disapproval of the Bantustan policy.

The widows of those killed by the police at Ngquza Hill are living in misery and many of the relatives of leaders are in want since their breadwinners fled to the forests. No fund has yet been established to aid the widows or to make possible an appeal by those convicted in the trial.

The anti-Bantu Authorities Act committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Cornelius Ngudli, of Egoso village, Lusikisiki, now appeals for a public enquiry into the disturbance was held after Sharpeville and Langa.

POLICE USE BATONS AT PROPHECY MEETING

From "Contact" Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH: Outside a crudely-built wood and grass shack on the New Brighton beach, Port Elizabeth, over 200

people crowded together on 16th June to hear a prophecy.

Inside the hut sat a kindly woman dressed in a white robe, with white beads fringing her eyes.

A few fervent followers squatted quietly about her. Occasionally children were brought into the shelter to receive her blessing.

Outside the crowd swelled. In a while the sheet of iron that covered the door was removed and the woman in white appeared. The crowd surged forward. She raised her hands.

Faces strained earnestly towards her, and the people listened as the woman told them of "divine revelations" that would take place this month.

There would be great upheavals and the Lord would come to judge.

She bade them return to the laws of God and of love. There was little time left for repentance, she said.

"Go down to the sea and worship and wait," she said.

Minutes later scores of people lined the edge of the water in quiet prayer.

Above the woman's tones a voice suddenly cried, "Police".

The religious scene became chaotic as fleeing feet kicked up the sand and the call of "police" was echoed among the sand dunes.

The thirty African and four White police asked no questions. With batons raised some of the African police charged after the retreating men, women and children. Several who couldn't run fast enough felt the sting of the batons on their buttocks and legs as the police caught up with them.

"No photographs" snapped one of the White sergeants as a camera clicked.

In the hut the woman in white quietly gathered up her belongings while police started to tear down the shelter.

One of the African constables, who had been chasing the crowd, returned to the scene at the hut pulling along a weeping woman. (Apparently as a warning to the crowd rather than because she had resisted him.)

The hut came down as the last of the crowd disappeared in the distance. The woman in white was taken away.

A policeman said she was being charged with squatting on the beach.



"... return to the laws of God and of love, for the Lord will be coming this month and there is only a short time left to repent." People crowded closely round the white-clad woman to hear her prophecy.



Thoughts of God and love were banished from the minds of the crowd as police arrived on the scene.

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Freedom of the Press

AS has already been reported in the daily press, the Cape Town public prosecutor seized some 13,000 copies—practically the whole printing—of the last issue of *Contact*. Although the issue was released, a week after it had been seized, severe losses were caused to the publisher.

It is clear why the authorities do this: the South African government is ashamed of the things that it is doing to preserve its power; its acts cannot stand the light of publicity.

We do not wish to complain: the Nationalist government is in a corner. And when a dog is in a corner it will snap and bite.

What we do want clearly understood is this: that it is *Contact's* turn to-day, and it is likely to be the turn of the rest of the English-language press to-morrow. It would therefore be extremely foolish of that press to stand by and watch the destruction of *Contact* in silence. It is in the interest of all these newspapers that the loudest possible protest be raised.

For those who pass on the other side when *Contact* is wounded may well do the same next year, when the new press law is scheduled to finally muzzle the English-language press.

We would like to thank the *Cape Argus* which did, and any other newspaper which may have, raised its voice in our defence, and to assure it, or them, that they have acted to save one of the greatest guarantees of human liberty and happiness—the freedom of the press.

The United Nations and the Congo

THE (Johannesburg) *Sunday Times* of 19th June reports that plans have already been made for the United Nations to intervene in the Congo if chaos comes with independence.

If the world body were to move in on the giant Congo land, the political balance of power would be dramatically altered over the whole of Southern and Central Africa. And this would include the Union. The more distant prospects of a move-in here, too, would be brought appreciably closer.

Even before the publication of this report more and more South Africans were beginning to talk of the pos-

sibility and desirability (first mentioned in this column) of the United Nations moving in on the Union itself. Dr. Verwoerd himself, we are reliably informed, was seriously disturbed by the mere idea of it early in April.

Unlike him, most South Africans would welcome with enthusiasm such a solution to our increasingly difficult problems.

Since the matter is becoming practical politics, it is appropriate now to consider what sort of government the United Nations will favour here.

Few imagine that they will back a United Party six-White-M.P.s-for-ten-million-Africans sort of constitution. But there may be some who imagine that the U.N. will back a Progressive policy of giving the vote only to those who are "civilized", whether White or Black.

The answer is ready to hand. The United Nations will be obliged to follow its own blue-print, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 21 (3) of which reads:

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage . . ."

At its May congress the Liberal Party enunciated unambiguously that its franchise policy is one of universal adult suffrage.

It is thus of importance that, by this clear enunciation, the Liberal Party, unlike the Progressive Party, has aligned itself with the United Nations, which may well be the arbiter of our South African future.

No Confidence

A MONTH ago reference was made in one of our columns to the tremendous importance of consciousness in political and social affairs. We mentioned that if, miraculously, people woke up not believing that there was a colour-bar, there would be no colour-bar, by that fact alone, no matter what the law, the police, the government itself might say.

It is important to state here that the consciousness of confidence is as necessary to governments as it is to businesses or to any other human activity. You can have the most perfect case in court, the most profitable business. But if you, and those around you, have no confidence in you, the court remains unconvinced; the bankruptcy receiver moves in.

That is the position with Dr. Verwoerd and his apartheid government. They are sitting on the most fabulous, gold, uranium, and diamond mines in the world. Our people are skilled and industrious by comparison with other African lands. We have water, power, and, that best advantage in the late twentieth century, space. By all merely physical reckonings this government should be one of the most permanent in the world.

But it is on the slippery slope. Everyone knows that it is about to be ruined. Everyone knows that apartheid has entered the last stage.

Why is this?

In the final resort apartheid is facing ruin because everyone, including leading nationalists, believes that it is facing ruin.

Let the People Go!

ONCE again *Contact* must call for the release of the hundreds of political prisoners "detained" under the emergency regulations. We use the old word: "political prisoner", for it conveys more accurately than "detainee" the monstrous invasion of rights involved by arbitrary imprisonment without trial.

The right to personal freedom, subject only to the right of a court to take it away if the law so demands, is one of the most precious rights enjoyed by man in society. Without this right life itself loses its sweetness. For over three months now hundreds of South Africans, including many members of the Liberal Party, have been locked up without trial, on the fiat of unknown officials, for unknown reasons. And that means that for all South Africans the right to personal freedom has gone.

Although pre-Verwoerd South Africa was not democratic, yet, to a considerable extent, the law still maintained its rule. This was due partly to the survival of the parliamentary system, and also partly to the building-up

Even cartoonists have to have a rest, and David Marais is no exception to this rule. "Contact" takes this opportunity of wishing South Africa's finest cartoonist a pleasant vacation.

of a century-old tradition, accepted by all in their daily lives, even though perhaps deeply resented by a majority of citizens.

Dr. Verwoerd the psychologist must have at least some knowledge of sociology and law. He must understand the importance of legitimacy in human affairs. He must know that a citizen accepts the legitimacy of his government when, deep down, he believes that it is the true government of his country. Dr. Verwoerd, by abrogating the rule of law, has killed the feelings of legitimacy in many thousands of hearts. In doing so he has taught his opponents to have a feeling of contempt for the law.

There is only one way out of this: to restore, quickly, the law to its true supremacy, and to seek to rebuild the feeling of legitimacy.

This cannot be done so long as the political prisoners are kept in prison. Let them be released now!

The alternative is a continuance of the rapid slide towards ruin and chaos.

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

Fair Comment . . . by Patrick Duncan

MOST of you will have heard of the great American Christian philosopher, Reinhold Niebuhr. Having written many books on politics and theology, he is now editing a fortnightly called *Christianity and Crisis*. Like our own Alan Paton he has of late been shocked by the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa. One of their publications reached Niebuhr in May. It was a justification of separate churches for White and Black, on the grounds that the only true unity is in "the mystic body of Christ".

Listen to Niebuhr's reply to this: "We have never witnessed such flagrant misuse of religious and theological terms to hide rather than illumine moral dilemmas, nor the use of religion as an escape for an uneasy conscience, not even in the Nazi days of the 'German Christians'."

" . . . What cold comfort it must be to the Negro majority to realise that the White minority, which daily oppresses them and violates their human dignity by every method of chicane, feels itself in a 'mystic unity' with them as long as nothing is done

to implement that unity in either church or state. Religious self-deception cannot go further. This is the final limit."

I must confess that I had not, until I read this, realized the depth and intensity of the disgust felt for apartheid by the moulders of the world's thinking. This sort of thing should be a blazing red signal to the drivers of the apartheid express. I wonder if it will . . . ?

THIS fortnight's prize must go to *Die Burger* for its article (18th June) on the College of the Holy Ghost in Ruanda-Urundi. Nine out of ten of the children in this superb school are African: one out of ten White. A photograph is shown, apparently with approval, of the children studying together in the same classroom. The commentary reads: "Generally the Native children are two years older than their White class mates, but the heads of the institution say that they give little trouble. In the few cases where there has been trouble, it has usually come from the side of the White children."

THERE is something hysterical about the way our Whites have thrown themselves into the New Zealand football visit. Even *Die Burger*, which is normally very generous in giving space to sport, was forced to declaim on the ridiculous lengths to which the rugby cult had gone. In Cape Town the courts, police offices, and provincial council closed for the occasion, and business virtually came to a standstill.

There is something hysterical about the way that they and their sports commentators are blaming the New Zealanders for various crimes they are supposed to have committed in gaining their victories.

I am sure the reason is political. This hysteria is their reaction to the shattering crisis through which they have just come. One sports commentator said as much on the New Zealanders' arrival: he welcomed the tour as the first chance for the White section really to enjoy itself since the emergency.

I hesitate to think what the sports field will look like after the next crisis . . .

ADVICE to rugby enthusiasts: enjoy this tour, as there ain't going to be another. Not until the All Blacks really have some Maoris, and the South African team includes some real "All Blacks".

I FEEL a little ill-used by the editor of the *Sunday Times* of Johannesburg. It's an unwritten law of the press world that you don't lift stuff from another paper without its leave, or without acknowledging the source.

For two Sundays running this big paper has taken interesting reports from *Contact*, but hasn't mentioned the source. On 10th June they lifted the story about the Pondo Paramount, Botha Sigcau, having taken refuge with the Bantu Commissioner. (Incidentally we were the first paper to carry this story, since confirmed by reporters covering the little war in Pondoland.)

Again, on 17th June, they lifted the story about the possible disappearance of young people to Bekruinkop, near Mount Coke (not Mount Cook), near Kingwilliamstown (not near George). I gave this story, which appeared in our issue dated 16th June, to

a *Sunday Times* representative on 11th June, and he promised to credit us. But he did not, nor has he been back to say why. Nor has this big paper given any credit to the devoted band of Liberal Party workers who are seeking out cases of people who have disappeared in all the African townships of Cape Town.

MY old school friend, James Joll, the historian, was one of the incredibly distinguished group of top intellectuals who exchanged views on progress in freedom in Berlin last week. They were gathered under the auspices of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. South Africa's only representative was the writer Dan Jacobson, now living in England.

Others present included: Jayaprakash Narayan, the great Indian political thinker, Robert Oppenheimer, the American atomicist, Gabriel d'Arboussier, the Senegalese poet, George Kennan, American foreign affairs expert, Raymond Aron of France, Kofi Busia of Ghana, Louis Fischer of America, Stephen Spender, the English poet. In all, the stars were too many to name.

It is delectable to think that when we South Africans have broken out of our self-imposed prison sentence, we will all, Black and White, be able to enjoy this sort of moot. And it won't be long now!

ALAN PATON takes

. THE LONG VIEW

KEEP THE PARTY CLEAN



Alan Paton, National President and (in the absence of Peter Brown now a political prisoner) Acting National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

IT is very reassuring to hear from Mr. Lawrence at Umhlali that the people in the Progressive Party are not a bunch of starry-eyed, long-haired idealists or impractical cranks. These idealists are a problem to the country; luckily they haven't been able to get into the United Party or the Nationalist Party for a long time, and now that the Progressives have turned against them they are pretty well foxed. Some will no doubt try to get into Japie Basson's group, and of course we are pestered with them in the Liberal Party. They clutter up the Institute of Race Relations and all these do-good societies; some are to be found in the churches and some in prison. But

by and large the political parties are wise to them, and you find mighty few of them in any job that really matters.

It must really be very painful to Mr. Lawrence and his colleagues, after they have justifiably disowned these long-haired fellows, to find that those hard-hearted chaps in the United and Nationalist Parties, who can detect idealism in a party as unerringly as a geiger counter can detect radiation in a rubbish bin, really think that Mr. Lawrence and the Progressives are themselves a starry-eyed bunch of cranks. I wish I could tell you what Hope-well thinks of Butcher, and what Mitchell thinks of Townley Williams, but I have to remember the Emergency Regulations. I think it is contemptible to give Mr. Lawrence and his company a label that they clearly don't want, and I think he is abundantly justified in saying in Umhlali that they are not that kind of people. But Mr. Lawrence must say it in bigger places too, because the lie is gaining ground that there is idealism in the Progressive Party. It is only a smear of course, and a real dirty one; but when you go round with a smear, it is not much comfort to know that it is only a smear.

I must give Mr. Lawrence a tip here, though I suppose it is presumptuous of me, because I am only a babe in politics. But I feel justified in giving him a tip, because I had to learn my poli-

tics the hard way, and never got within shooting distance of a Cabinet Minister. I mean I never got within shooting distance of being one. Mr. Lawrence, they won't stop short of calling you a starry-eyed idealist. After all, even if a starry-eyed idealist may be crazy, at least he sounds bright and healthy. But Mr. Lawrence, in two minutes they'll turn you into a sickly humanitarian. As though that were not bad enough, in another two minutes they'll turn you into an inciter, an agitator, playing with fire. And if there is anything that really revolts the imagination, it is to think of a sickly humanitarian playing with fire. And, hey presto, before you know where you are, Mr. Lawrence, you'll be in prison.

I must admit that before Mr. Lawrence spoke at Umhlali, many people had unjustifiably assumed that the Progressives, though not as starry-eyed and sickly and pyromaniacal as the Liberals of course, and not so extreme and hasty, realised that the days of change had come, and pretty big change too. But these people must now stop smearing the Progressive Party in this way. Mr. Lawrence said at Umhlali that the Party did not "advocate the abandonment of the traditional conventions of our upbringing". What a sigh of relief went up at the Durban Club and the Country Club and the Rotary Club! You see, they were inclined towards the Progressive Party, but they

were a bit afraid of it too, because this fellow Jan Steytler has really been attacking race-discrimination in quite a big way. But now it is all right, because what could Mr. Lawrence have meant, if he did not mean that we would not have to abandon the colour bar? I will try to be scrupulously fair, and say that I think it is Mr. Jan Steytler and not Mr. Lawrence who has exposed the Party to this unfair smear that they are a lot of idealists. Another one who is a shade too idealistic is this Ray Swart, and he ought to get together with Leo Boyd and discuss just how to put this whole thing over in a nice smiling way. This whole thing is going to come right without too much idealism, never fear.

There are people who fear that the Progressive Party has got too far away from the U.P., but this speech will reassure them. Mr. Lawrence told his audience at Umhlali that the Native is more interested in "bread and butter, blankets and beer" than in politics. It only goes to show, I think, how different our Natives are from these Africans up north, and I'm sure Mr. Lawrence's assurance must have been a great comfort to the people of Umhlali. And it proves that it is not only the Nationalist Party and the United Party that know what is really interesting other people, but now the Progressive Party too. And here I must admit that the Liberal Party is very idealistic in these matters. It doesn't say

what interests other people, it doesn't even "consult" them, it just gets them all together, which I suppose is a kind of abandonment of the traditional conventions of their various upbringings.

Mr. Lawrence, what the White voters of Umhlali need is not an assurance that they do not have to abandon the traditional conventions of their upbringing. They need to be told that an epoch has come to an end, and they must adjust themselves with speed, good sense, courage, and idealism to a new one. Of course you want to win elections. But you must learn one hard truth, if you will allow an idealist to tell it to you. You won't win Umhlali by promising to preserve the traditional conventions. Mr. Mitchell can do it better. You must try to win Umhlali by confronting it with the facts of 1960. If you lose, that will be grim, but you have to take the risk. If you don't take the risk South Africa will have gained nothing at all from your emergence.

The function of your party is to move White enlightened conservatives towards a policy of political non-racialism. It is an important function. But you will not fulfil it by assuring White conservatives that they won't have to move much at all.

They need to move, and to be quick about it. I wish your party all success in the responsible task of persuading them.

Pietermaritzburg: 1,000 Hear Paton, Ngubane at Liberal Meeting



Part of the audience which filled the body of the City Hall. About half the audience was White.

From "Contact" Correspondent
PIETERMARITZBURG: On Thursday, 16th June, a public meeting was held by the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Liberal Party in the City Hall. 5,000 leaflets were distributed, advertising the meeting to all sections of the townspeople as well as 100 posters throughout the suburbs and main streets of the city.

The speakers were Alan Paton and Jordan Ngubane and when

the time came for them to speak they had an audience of over 1,000 people. During the speeches people kept pouring in, so much so that the fireman on duty had to ask the chairman, Jack Spence, to ask those people who were standing along the walls to go upstairs.

Mr. Ngubane was the first speaker. He said that apartheid stood no chance of being accepted in any way by the African people, and that to-day African goodwill was a precious quality in this

country, because the Africans could only give it willingly and hence not to people suppressing them. Mr. Ngubane also said that "apartheid will destroy you and me with it. This is not a threat but a grave warning" and that we, the Liberal Party, "believe that we can act as a sort of buffer third party to mitigate the eventual outcome."

Mr. Paton then spoke. He said that the Liberal Party did not intend to run an organization agreeable to the government and

that "we intend to carry on writing and speaking openly and putting our proposals for the future of South Africa. We also intend to go on maintaining a non-racial party". Mr. Paton said that a puzzle for history would be why the Nationalists tried to destroy the urban African middle class, why they robbed them of freehold land and why they prevented them getting any more. He said, "Surely the growth of an African middle class, owning land and houses, with nothing to

gain from disturbances and disorder, and everything to gain from peace and order was an essential part of our evolution. Riots are the acts of people who have nothing to lose, and I am sure that history will say about the Nationalists that their greatest folly was their rejection of the urban African as a part of South African society."

At the end of the meeting a resolution was put to the meeting that "this public meeting convened by the Natal Division of the Liberal Party calls upon the Minister of Justice to withdraw immediately the Emergency Regulations promulgated almost three months ago". The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority.

FOOTNOTE

The *Natal Witness* headline to a report of this great meeting said that Mr. Paton had said the Progressives were the Only Hope for South Africa.

This was precisely the treatment which a similar speech in Cape Town, which referred in a not uncritical way, in passing, to the Progressive Party, received from the *Cape Times*. In this case the headline was: "No hope for S.A. if Progressives Ousted".

After the Pietermaritzburg report Mr. Paton sent this telegram to Mr. Durrant and Mr. Prestwich of the *Natal Witness*:

"Hope you will protest to 'Witness' against dishonest headline of Thursday meeting. This is the way to destroy all generosity or objectivity in politics.

—Paton."

Federation Survey—1

CRITICAL REVIEW
PHASE APPROACHES

THE results of the first leg of the constitutional "double" which the Central African Federation will be running all this year and probably most of the next as well, are now nearly due to come up in the frame. After six months of collecting and sifting evidence in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland and London, the Monckton Commission is expected to issue its recommendations for the Federation's future by October at the latest.

These proposals will not have the force of executive directives. Nor are they likely to be decisive in character. Although the official terms of reference confine the Commission to advise on how best the Federation may go forward to full and independent membership of the Commonwealth, broad hints have been dropped that elements among its twenty-three members are in favour of dismantling the whole edifice and returning the three constituent states to individual rule. Such indeed might even be the majority report. Knowledgeable tipsters on the inside, however, are still betting that the retention of a federal structure will be advocated, if only for economic reasons, though certainly in a form very different from the present autocratic central government based on the votes of a small White oligarchy.

The second leg of the double, the Constitutional Review provided for in the original 1953 federal constitution, will of course be heavily influenced by the Monckton outcome. Its start, which was till recently forecast for next November, is now unlikely to take place before February, 1961, in order to give time for the fullest preparation and the longest possible study of the Commission's arguments. This delay will mean a dangerous prolongation of the unhealthy posture over a powder-keg at present held by all the inhabitants of Central Africa. Some reassurance is to be gained from the probability that, despite Sir Roy Welensky's fierce opposition, the major African political parties will be allowed both a presence and a voice at the conference,

alongside the five governments directly concerned. The strength and character of these African contingents are therefore an important consideration.

Each territory of the federation has a single African political force very much in the lead. The Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, the United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia, the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia. There is no party founded on a federal basis; nor logically could there be since the vast

A New Series on
the Federation

This fortnight we bring you the first of four articles on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, by an expert observer, Mr. Denis Grundy, now living in London.

majority of politically-conscious Africans are utterly opposed to federation. Inter-territorial co-operation and combination between the three parties is rendered specially difficult by the fact that most influential African leaders are prohibited immigrants in territories other than their own domicile, and a common meeting place is therefore barely feasible. Within territories, too, meetings, movement and publication are severely hampered by police and parliamentary regulation.

All three parties fly a vigorous nationalist flag. In a country where the overall population ratio is as ninety-five Africans to five others, no indigenous party could long survive unless it were racist, at least by implication. The broad political programme of the three is the more-or-less immediate establishment of African majority control in the legislative and executive councils, through the medium of a universal suffrage—one adult, one vote—with reserved seats and prescribed rights for European, Asian and Coloured minorities. Another common essential is complete secession from the Federation. The special circumstances and peculiar problems of each party will be dealt with in further articles.

A GANDHI GIFT

RARE BOOKS
FOR LIBRARY

A MAN who is pressing for Gandhian studies, and who has done something practical to forward them, is Mr. Baber Dajee Chavda, an insurance agent of Cape Town. He is an old friend of Mahatma Gandhi's, and lived with him in 1928 in his ashram (settlement) during the Bardoli *satyagraha* (passive resistance) campaign.

Mr. Chavda is a trustee of the Phoenix settlement, and devotes much of his spare time to spreading knowledge of Gandhism and of eastern philosophy generally.

Some time ago he presented the South African Public Library, Cape Town, with a beautiful set of eight volumes on the life of Mahatma Gandhi. The books are bound in specially manufactured hand-loom cloth, and the fly leaves are of Indian hand-made paper.

Mr. Chavda is often consulted by people about *satyagraha*. He says that the interest is so great that he decided that the books would be of more use to the public in the Public Library than in his own home.

Dennis Brutus

Sportsman-Politician

AT the age of 35 Dennis Anthony Brutus has climaxed 15 years of sports administration by being Hon. Secretary of the South African Sports Association (S.A.S.A.), the most powerful sporting body in the country, with eight affiliated or supporting bodies and the support of about 70,000 sportsmen of all races.

Mr. Brutus spent his holidays in 1958 touring the country and meeting top sports administrators for discussions which gave rise to the formation of S.A.S.A. at East London in October of that year.

Mr. Brutus has the advantage of extensive experience in sports administration, having served on the following national sports bodies: S.A. Table Tennis Board, S.A. Tennis Board, S.A. Women's Hockey Board, S.A. Softball and Baseball Federation. He is still international correspondent of the S.A. Weightlifting Federation. Mr. Brutus served as vice-president of Table Tennis at the time of the fight for international recognition and was president of the Softball and Baseball Federation. He also served on provincial bodies for cricket, boxing and judo.

Mr. Brutus played rugby, cricket and tennis at Fort Hare, where he graduated with distinction in English in 1947 and was a member of the cricket team which swept the board in the Eastern Province in 1958-59. He has acted as judge in national physique and weightlifting championships, but finds his administrative work restricts active participation in most sporting events.

He has written extensively on sport for *Contact*, *New Age*, *Fighting Talk*, *Graphic*, *Leader*, *Indian Opinion*, and has submitted material to overseas papers and magazines, including the *Manchester Guardian*, *Observer*, *World Sports*, *Times of India*, *Christchurch Star* (New Zealand), *La Voce dell' Africa* (Rome). He prepared memos on sport for the Africa Bureau, London, and the International Olympic Committee.



BRUTUS

He has been largely responsible for the S.A.S.A. fight for the removal of the colour bar in sport and the international recognition of all South African sportsmen, but emphasizes that the work would have been impossible without the splendid co-operation of his fellow officials.

He would like to present the case of non-racial sportsmen overseas, but has scant hopes of securing a passport. He was refused one in 1958 at the time when he was offered a scholarship to London University.

He is very optimistic about the eventual success of the fight against racial discrimination in sport, and is grateful for the generous help given in New Zealand, the United States, and particularly Britain, where the Campaign against Race Discrimination in Sport, under Prof. A. J. Ayer and energetic secretary Antony Steel, has done a grand job.

He devotes most of his time and energies to S.A.S.A. and sports administration but has also given time to education, cultural, youth and religious bodies.

If he had the time he would like to concentrate on creative writing. He has already had essays, short stories and poems printed.

Dennis Brutus is married, with a family, and frankly admits his heavy debt to his wife, May, who assists with much of his secretarial work.

BANDA PLANS TO CUT FEDERATION CHAINS

From "Contact" Correspondent

MLANJE: The most spectacular reception ever accorded a political leader in South or Central Africa was seen during June, as Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda continued to show his tremendous hold on the affection and loyalty of the people of Nyasaland (Malawi).

He is due to go to London this month for a Constitutional Conference. In preparation for this conference he has been touring the whole country.

Everywhere he goes he has been receiving rapturous welcomes from the people whom he is leading out of dependence and inferiority into freedom and equality.

During his tour he issued a

challenge to the Governor of Nyasaland. Speaking to a crowd of about 12,000 at Dedza, on 15th June he pointed to the microphones placed on the dais by the police to record his speech and said, "Through these machines I challenge the Governor to do a tour of Nyasaland with me. He can hold his meetings on one side and I on the other; he can tell the people that Federation is a good thing, I will tell them that it is a bad thing and we will see where the people are. If he cannot afford it then the Malawi Party will pay his transport costs and expenses."

The enormous attendance at Dr. Banda's meetings throughout the country should be sufficient warning to the Governor not to accept such a challenge, for he could only be made to look ridiculous. All through the

Northern and Central Provinces in the last two weeks unprecedented crowds numbering tens of thousands have gathered to hear Dr. Banda, Mr. Kanyama Chiume and Mr. Orton Chirwa speak.

One of the most peculiar aspects of the tour has been the complete boycott by the press and radio.

During the last year the Government Information Department has unscrupulously tried to drive a wedge between the chiefs and the nationalist leaders by declaring that Congress wanted to destroy the authority of the chiefs. The tour has cleared up this question for the moment by showing that all the leading chiefs are keen nationalists and supporters of Dr. Banda.

On the so-called "massacre plot", Dr. Banda had this to say: "They said that I was planning

to cut the throats of White men, White women and White children. It was a lie. I count among the British and American people many of my best friends. I couldn't do that. But I will not deny that I was planning to cut something else—the chains of Federation that are around your necks."

In general the object of the tour has been to build up the feeling of solidarity amongst the people of Nyasaland as one nation united behind Dr. Banda. In the words of Kanyama Chiume "You are no longer Angonis, no longer Chewas, no longer Tumbukas . . . now we are all Malawians".

Dr. Banda is restoring to his people their self-respect after many years of colonialist paternalism that has at times almost made them believe that they are indeed intrinsically inferior to the White: "I want

you to be free so that you can work with your shoulders and be men in your own country—bwanas and donas, ladies and gentlemen in your own country."

The people of Nyasaland are now being made to realise that, with independence, they can make a real contribution to the world as individuals in their own right. "When we are free we will join with the other nationalist leaders and all the African colonies will be free. Only thus can Africa use her potentialities for the building of a peaceful world."

Perhaps the most important immediate result of the tour will be that when Dr. Banda speaks next month at the Constitutional Conference in London, it will be clear that he speaks with the authority of the people of Nyasaland who have so plainly given him their mandate.



The Editor seemed mildly pleased when Mr. Desmond Colborne, a South African at New College, Oxford, wrote to beg his pardon for giving the name *Contact* to the new magazine he and others had started. I tried to make him get cross about it, until I pondered my feelings had Mr. Colborne done me the honour of printing a column called "Sam Sly's Corner" on his book page. Recently *Indian Opinion* produced an issue that was *Contact* in all but name. Mr. Colborne's "inter-university magazine on race relations" has both the name, and an ivory Benin mask we had on a 1959 issue. As *droit de seigneur*, for spleen, because it is such a fine thing, and to greet the independence of Mali, we have lifted the beautiful Senghor translation *To New York* from *Contact* No. 1.

Ideology and Coexistence, the Moral Rearmament propaganda booklet, has been mailed to a million postal addresses in South Africa. Why? There is no call to "join" MRA, just quotations carefully edited and arranged to back up the assertion that "there are two ideologies bidding for the world to-day. One is Moral Rearmament . . . the other is Communism". The cost of all this printing (in English and Afrikaans) and postage must be laid out for a purpose. Part of it no doubt is to tell us Communism is all wrong. Is the other part a softener for a future campaign against the opponents of White supremacy? I shall be shaken in my suspicions that MRA gets a rake-off from the Union Government when I read in *New World News* or *MRA Pictorial* that Mr. Cas Greyling, say, or General Rademeyer has plumped for MRA instead of Afrikaner nationalism, as Messrs. Vundla, Nkomo and Moerane seem to have *vis-à-vis* African nationalism. They tell how they have sold out on the freedom struggle in South Africa in favour of MRA. (Moerane: "When the relations between men break down, constitutions cannot save us . . . To stand for what is right. That is true freedom." Get it?) MRA or Buchmanism or the Oxford Group has waged subtle war on the enemies of one Establishment or another for thirty or more years; spending money freely, and tailoring one of its principles, "absolute honesty", to its propaganda needs. The question that has long been used to smear MRA is "Where do they get the money?" I wouldn't have asked it had they not got in first on the label of *Ideology and Coexistence*. "This Manifesto comes to you through the sacrificial giving of hundreds of ordinary citizens as a national service". This I take leave to doubt, taken at its face value, and not as a play on words. Some of the basic moral ideals of MRA are admirable. These and money give MRA the success it achieves. It is the uses to which they are put that need to be closely watched.

At a private meeting last week, I saw Truth, like Medusa, turn a hundred business men to stone, when Mr. Jan de Villiers Graaff told them that the border industries plan could work. This Graaff, who acted as dean of the faculty of commerce at Wits. University 14 years ago and became, until 1956, a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, is at 33 an economist of intellect and learning. Like Keynes, he is a man of practical affairs as well. So no one laughed when he gently emphasized these facts: the establishing of new industrial areas in a country is legitimate and workable; foreign capital is not essential for our industrialization; job reservation is the "delicate and powerful tool" which can squeeze skilled and semi-skilled labour into the border industries areas as these "east and west Berlin-like structures" need it.

His conditions for the success of the border industries plan were these, all capable of fulfilment:

1. The "Bantu areas" must be consolidated;
2. Industrialization must spread "by contagion" from the first border industries;
3. Sufficient White capital must be provided.

Finally, he believed that the "White areas" could run on non-African labour 30 or 40 years hence. Graaff made it clear that he was discussing the economic viability of the plan, not its rights and wrongs, and not its political setting, the (shrinking) province of his eldest brother, Sir de Villiers. And economic unviability has been the argument used by the privileged and powerful class from whom Jannie Graaff's audience was drawn. Let them face it, Verwoerd is a visionary and his border industries plan can work. If you want to fight apartheid you must do so because you and the vast mass of your fellow-countrymen utterly reject it, and because your alternative is what the people do want, not because it's not economically viable, which according to Mr. Graaff it, or this part of it, is.



REVIEWS

THE FALL. By Antony Delius (*Human and Rousseau*) 15s.

MR. ANTHONY DELIUS is a poet and a wit; but in this play about Rhodes's complicity in the Matabeleland Expedition and the Jameson Raid he does not fully reveal himself in either role. The almost wholly naturalistic tone of the play seems to have inhibited the verbal display that his wit needs to make its full effect, and as for poetry, we are given one crumb in the form of a scene where Rhodes listens, *à la* Richard III, to the versified lamentation of a Matabele warrior over the massacre of his people; and I cannot help regarding even this as an uneasy intrusion on the naturalism. Otherwise, if we accept the occasionally embarrassing rhetoric of the speeches given to Olive Schreiner (" . . . life, real life, needs the immaterial the intangible, preserving and increasing something infinitely precious, in the widening of love and brightness of eyes.") the diction of the play maintains throughout a carefully sustained, rather flat colloquiality. ("We need your breadth of vision Rhodes" etc.)

It is Rhodes who is the problem, of course. He was a formidably complex character in real life and to mirror that type of psychological complexity in the medium of drama is not easy. The changes are skilfully run, however; we see him aggressive and unscrupulous with various minor characters; wily and evasive with J. H. Hofmeyr, the plaintiff for conservative Cape Afrikanerdom; arch or huffy with the dreadful Olive, as she urges the liberal cause; and flummoxed by Dr. Jameson. Also, we must be reminded that he is A Visionary: (Rhodes: "Curious. I had a sudden overwhelming feeling that I had left something behind." [Looks up suddenly, as if at the peak of a mountain]). A teaser for the Mime Class, that!

Each of these facets, taken in isolation, can provoke the author to a scene of genuinely incisive dramatic conflict—the opening scene with Jameson is particularly good—but never once do we feel the character to crystallize as a whole. It is as if Mr. Delius had read a number of conflicting historical accounts of Rhodes and shuffled them together in the interest of an all-inclusive fairmindedness; but the effect is of a many-faceted puzzle, not of a complexity personally grasped and sustained.

The reason lies partly in the structure. I think it was a mistake not to concentrate in more depth on one intrigue instead of scattering the interest of Acts I and II between the Matabele and the

Jameson affairs (the bridge between them is a little awkwardly contrived, as well); and too much of the play from the second act onwards is done in terms of a history chronicle, a form which seems to sweep away almost any writer in a whirl of clichés. There are the inevitable low-comedy scenes of soldiers at the front; cut to exciting glimpses of high life in Whitehall (" . . . and suddenly Mr. Chamberlain's face was like an iceberg . . ."); cut to Rhodes pacing the floor, fumbling at telegrams—"haggard and ill-shaven", naturally; the factitious tension of stage-directions that call for the drumming of horses' hooves throughout a scene. Any S.A.B.C. hack writer with a tenth of Mr. Delius's talent could do that kind of thing quite as well, and it is disconcerting to find a writer of his brilliance and sensitivity plumping for the easy banalities that he does in too many stretches of this play.

ANTHONY WOODWARD

THE EVIDENCE OF LOVE. By Dan Jacobson (*Weidenfeld and Nicolson*) 15s. 6d.

IS it the result of an impossible deadline, written at a sitting, on the spur of the moment, while the author had raging flu? Or is it a joke? Or written for a bet? Whichever the case, it is a dreadfully bad novel, of which the

best one can hope is that it will be quickly forgotten and succeeded by one marking a further stage in Mr. Jacobson's development as a writer, rather than the downward plunge that this is. I should like to end the review here, but am bound to say what is bad about it. The characters and their dialogue are false, the writing worse than shoddy, the setting is imprecise, the digressions pretentious and ill-executed, and the successful telling of his story quite beyond the powers of Mr. Jacobson's other self who fathered this wretched poor relation of *The Trap* and *A Dance in the Sun*.

If you must know, it's about poor Coloured Kenneth and rich White Isabel, who fall in love in England. She returns to South Africa when she finds that he has concealed his origin, not that she minds it, but thinks the deception was her fault and that he will come right if she leaves him. He thinks she minds his deception and his colour, is very unhappy until she returns to him. They marry, come back to South Africa "because we are South Africans", and both get six months hard labour under the Immorality Act.

If Mr. Jacobson has tried to write a potboiler and failed hopelessly, that is all the credit due to him as the author of *The Evidence of Love*.

RANDOLPH VIGNE

LEOPOLD SEDAR-SENGHOR

TO NEW YORK

(for jazz orchestra : trumpet solo)

I

New York! At first I was confused by your beauty, by those great golden, long-legged girls.

*So shy at first before your metallic eyes, your frosted smile
So shy. And the anguish in the depths of sky-scraper streets
Lifting eyes hawkhooded to the sun's eclipse.*

*Sulphurous your light and livid the towers with heads that thunderbolt the sky;
The sky-scrappers which defy the storms with muscles of steel and stone-glazed hide.
But two weeks on the bare sidewalks of Manhattan*

*—At the end of the third week the fever seizes you with the pounce of a leopard.
Two weeks without rivers or fields, all the birds of the air
Falling sudden and dead on the high ashes of flat roof-tops.*

*No smile of a child blooms, his hand refreshed in my hand.
No mother's breast, but only nylon legs. Legs and breasts that have no sweat nor smell.
No tender word for there are no lips, only artificial hearts paid for in hard cash
And no hook where wisdom may be read. The painter's palette blossoms with
crystals of coral.*

*Nights of insomnia, oh nights of Manhattan! So agitated by flickering lights, while
motor horns howl of empty hours.
And while dark waters carry away hygienic loves, like rivers flooded with the corpses
of children.*

II

Now is the time of signs and of reckonings.

New York! Now is the time of manna and hyssop.

*You must but listen to the trombone of God, let your heart beat in the rhythm
of blood, your blood.*

I saw in Harlem humming with noise, with stately colours and flamboyant smells

—It was tea-time at the house of the seller of pharmaceutical products—

*I saw preparing the festival of night for escape from the day. I proclaim night
more truthful than the day.*

*It was the pure hour when in the streets God makes the life that goes back beyond
the memory spring up*

All the amphibious elements shining like suns.

*Harlem, Harlem! Now I saw Harlem! A green breeze of corn springs up from the
pavements ploughed by the naked feet of dancers.*

*Bottoms waves of silk and sword blade breasts, water-lily ballets and fabulous masks.
At the feet of police horses roll the mangoes of love from low houses.*

*And I saw along the sidewalks streams of white run streams of black milk in the
blue fog of cigars.*

*I saw the sky in the evening snow cotton flowers and seraphim's wings and sorcerer's
plumes.*

*Listen, New York! Oh, listen to your male voice of brass vibrating with oboes, the
anguish choked with tears falling in great clots of blood.*

*Listen to the distant beating of your nocturnal heart, rhythm and blood of the tom-tom,
tom-tom blood and tom-tom.*

III

New York! I say to you: New York, let black blood flow into your blood

That it may rub the rust from your steel joints, like an oil of life.

*That it may give to your bridges the bend of buttocks and the suppleness of creepers.
Now return the most ancient time, the unity recovered, the reconciliation of the Lion,
the Bull and the Tree.*

Thoughts linked to act, ear to heart, sign to sense.

*There are your rivers murmuring with scented crocodiles and mirage-eyed manatees,
and no need to invent the Sirens.*

But it is enough to open the eyes to the rainbow of April

*And the ears, above all the ears, to God who out of the laugh of a saxophone created
the heaven and earth in six days.*

And the seventh day he slept the great sleep of the negro.

LEOPOLD SEDAR-SENGHOR.

Reprinted from *The Twentieth Century*, April 1959

CORRESPONDENCE

Unemployment

SIR.—Following up a letter from your correspondent Haile S. Guma from Ladysmith, I should like to say that his grievance is not without substance, although, as a town, Ladysmith is no different from any other town or city in the Union as far as interference with the freedom of the individual is concerned. I have seen similar actions in almost every other city or town I have visited. Rather, it is the pattern of life in this country.

Further, I believe that there is a very real danger appearing on the horizon, which is the unemployment to which Mr. Guma refers.

I am becoming appalled at the large number of qualified non-Whites one comes across who are unable to find suitable work. Sympathetic Whites may be able to help in a small degree in trying to place Africans in suitable jobs, but the position remains chaotic.

ROY COVENTRY,
Ladysmith, Natal.

His courage a beacon to all

SIR.—I wish to inform you that I received the copies of *Contact* dated 21st May. I could not sell them because I was told that the ban on them was not yet lifted. Twelve copies that I had were confiscated by the police. I was then detained for fourteen days. I was then released on my own recognisances and told to report to the police twice a week until I am told when to appear before the magistrate.

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d., plus 3d. postage.

from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

I am still expecting you to continue sending me more if they are still available.

Best wishes for the success of *Contact* and the quickest lifting of this horrible banning.

H. B. I.,
Pimville.

Come along, Durban

SIR.—*Contact* is a very good reader and it should carry on for ever. This paper is what we like 'cos it's got all we want to know. People should not hesitate if they see it on sale. And friends should persuade others to buy it. Especially you Durbanites.

"PROUD AGENT",
Jacobs.

Thanks Rustenburg

SIR.—I am sending you my subscription with the greatest admiration for your courage, your high moral principles, and your humane outlook.

Your paper is and was during the last two years a great inspiration to us and we look at it as our only friend amongst our politically hostile neighbourhood.

"ANXIOUS READER",
Rustenburg.

"Mr. is Snob title"

SIR.—Though I have never yet addressed an African other than with courtesy, for so to do would be to forfeit my own self-respect, it seems to me that all this "Mr." business is inappropriate and savours of snobbery. "Mr." is not a Bantu title.

Each age and people has its own appropriate form of address, and dignity demands conformity thereto.

I was an immense admirer of Rider Haggard's heroic Zulu, but would just as much have hated his being called "Mr. Umslopogaas" as I would a reference to the noted English bowman as "Mr. Robin Hood". St. Peter would have stared if addressed as "Mr. Barjona", and none but the irreverent would refer to the Founder of Christianity as "Jesus Christ Esq."

I do not know any Bantu languages, but I am sure that they could supply dignified forms of address, if indeed a title be considered necessary, that do not ape the more class-conscious type of Englishman.

WALTER ROSE,
Newlands, Cape.

Release Chipembere and Chisiza

SIR.—Chipembere and Chisiza should be released before the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference takes place in London. I see no sense in the detention of these two men while their leader is free. The Colonial Secretary and the Governor of Nyasaland should release them.

It is stupid of the settlers to regard Africans or Malawians as politically ignorant, and is a sign of their suffering from a superiority complex. They must actually feel ashamed of themselves because what they do is neither moral nor just.

At the London conference we will not co-operate with other political parties, nor will we allow at any price, even death, the tentacles of the foolish federal people to have any influence on our constitutional demands.

Our motto is widely known: "Secession from European domination, Independence now, a Free Africa for peaceful Africans, one man, one vote."

Our aim is not hidden. It is to bring Africa back to leadership by Africans as a free independent continent. We have a greater weapon than the atom bomb and that is to talk as much as we can through God.

P. C. ZOZE,
Dowa, Nyasaland.

Two other letters

AN American professor, a good friend of *Contact*, is at present teaching in Ghana. In a recent letter he writes: "Ghana is fabulous. To an American (to say nothing of a South African) the thing that strikes one is the racelessness of the place. I have given several talks on American race relations here, and I have discovered that it is first necessary to put my audience into a racial way of looking at things, otherwise they could not understand me. But I feel like a trouble-maker as I do it."

"They say that Ghana is becoming a dictatorship, and maybe they are correct, but it is the jolliest and best-natured dictatorship conceivable. The quasi-Marxism which one finds in C.P.P. circles, the heavy-handed ridicule of the Opposition by the Government, and vice versa, the current anti-French furore are all part of the game as they play it here. Still, I would hate to see all this energy and idealism and ideology (Nkrumah loves ideology) expended in order to establish one more South American-type dictatorship."

Some time ago a young lady who lives at Upsala in Sweden put a small advertisement in *Contact*, asking for pen-friends. She got twenty-five replies, and has just written us this charming letter.

My dear friends on *Contact*, First of all I have to apologize for having kept you waiting such a long time for an answer from me. You wanted to know how many answers I got. Well, I got about 25 answers and they have come from all kinds of boys and girls both Black and White. I myself am writing to four of them and then I have asked my friends to answer the rest of them. And I can assure you that there is a great interest for this among the students in Upsala.

I hope that you understand that the incidents of the last time in S. Africa have awoken a very great sympathy here in Sweden. And we all hope the best for your country.

I send my best wishes to you all.

Your friend,
BIRGITTA

SELF-RUIN

A Yorkshireman visiting Cape Town on 23rd June said: "I am a visitor to your lovely country. I am amazed at the way it is being ruined by men who are ruining themselves at the same time."

S.A. WORK CAMPS: PROGRESS REPORT

AN organization that has shown true vigour in growth is the Southern Africa Work Camps Association, which has several times been featured in *Contact* (7th February 1959, 9th January 1960).

It is now producing a newsletter, of which No. 2 has recently come to hand. During the eight months up to the end of May, no fewer than four long, and five week-end camps had been held. "We have been able to hold so many camps," says the newsletter, because of "the arrival of an experienced work-camp leader from Europe who came to South Africa on the suggestion of the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps."

The week-end camps were held at the Bantu Refuge for aged people at Germiston. Over one hundred campers worked there in November 1959 and March 1960. Crops were planted for the old people, and foundations were laid for two toilet blocks.

The Association is firmly interracial, and, for this reason, difficulties have been placed in its way within the Union. Because of this, three of the long camps have been held in Basutoland and Swaziland. Much work has been done at the Machobane Mass Agricultural College at Nqechane, near Leribe, Basutoland. Some thirty workers, including young people, Africans and Whites, from the Union, Rhodesia, Basutoland, and Germany, attended in November and December 1959, for about a month. In Swaziland the project was the building of a school block for the Esizibeni School on the Usutu Mission Station.

These young people are proving true the old Tsonga proverb: "Partridges become friends by pecking (working) together". But the association needs funds desperately. Anyone who can help should send contributions to: The Secretary, P.O. Box 506, Durban. Those wishing to attend camps should write to the same address.

NOW IT'S UPINGTON'S TURN

From "Contact" Correspondent UPINGTON, Northern Cape: This small town has, until now, escaped the rigours of the full treatment under the Union's influx control policy. But on 2nd May all was changed. All Africans originating in the Federation, the High Commission Territories, and South West Africa, were called to the Bantu Commissioner's office, and given six months in which to prepare to move.

Most of the people involved have nowhere else to go to. Most have learned to look on Upington as their home. All involved are shocked to have received orders to clear out.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

Every Fortnight 6d.

FORTNIGHT ENDING 16th JULY 1960

Vol. 3 No. 14

**VERWOERD'S
NATIONALIST
GOVERNMENT IS
A GOVERNMENT
IN DECLINE**

—see page 4



Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the new United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia. Closely linked to Conakat, M. Tshombe's Katanga party, the U.N.I.P. may profit greatly by the Congo's dramatic break-through to freedom.

—see page 3

SPECIAL EDITORIAL

The Congo

At the time page four went to press information from the Congo was incomplete, and it was not possible to comment adequately.

It is now clear that the new land has suffered a serious setback, and that innocent people, White as well as Black, are suffering the horrors of mob rule and anarchy.

We wish to condemn, with all the vigour at our disposal, these atrocities, and to wish all success to the forces of law and order.

There will be many White South Africans who will use what has happened as justification for their thesis that Black people are sub-human. The facts do not in any way support this view.

There have often, in man's aching, toiling ascent, been times when authority has collapsed, leaving the way open for the worst of men to become the greatest. Rape, pillage, murder, alas, are nothing new in man's bloody history. Nor have they been perpetrated by men of any particular colour or race.

There was always a great likelihood of chaos in the Congo, for Belgium's sudden reversal of policy was too violent a change for even modern Africa to bear. For seventy years the land was ruled with no political concessions, on the ground that Africans did not need a vote. Then, suddenly, the disunited peoples of this vast land were given six months in which to set up completely new institutions, and to rule without any experience or training.

It must be remembered that in other areas from which the European power has withdrawn itself the take-over has been smooth, and the gloomy prophecies of chaos have been falsified.

The Congo is too important for the world to stand aside. Not only is it a fabulous power-house of energy and a treasure-house of minerals and rich soils; it is the heart of Africa.

The Congo abuts on the West on the world of West Africa; on the East on the Sudan; on the South on the Federation. If it should relapse into incurable disorder might well flood over into all those neighbouring parts of Africa.

If that were to happen there would be an acute danger of the communists coming in and setting up a base, a base such as they had for years in the centre of China, in Yenan; a base from which they sallied forth to the conquest of six hundred million people.

In our last issue we wrote of the possibility that the United Nations might be called on to intervene in the Congo "if chaos comes with independence".

Chaos has come with independence, as far as can be judged at the time of writing. It therefore becomes urgently necessary for such authority as there is left in the Congo to call in help. And, for historical reasons, that help can only come from the United Nations.

There are precedents. Quietly, the United Nations has for years been placing key personnel in Africa. In the independent republic of the Sudan, at Khartoum, there are over thirty such officials. A liberated nation can receive help from this impartial source without relapsing into colonial status.

Contact therefore appeals to the United Nations to waste no time, and to send a large emergency force to take over, and to rule the vast Congo land until it is able to stand on its own feet.

The U.N. should do so in the interest of the world, of Africa, and of the Congo itself.

Secret "Trials", then Imprisonment

IN S.A. CONCENTRATION CAMP

THE inside story of the huge "concentration camp" prison in the Transvaal has been revealed to Contact by a detainee who was kept there in error for some days. The camp is the compound of the disused Modder B Mine, eight miles from Benoni on the East Rand. Eight thousand or more African men are held there with no communication with the outside world. No letters are allowed out; no messages to lawyers; no food, books, cigarettes or money is allowed in, and no visitors are allowed. The police themselves are not allowed in beyond the reception unit.

Our informant states that a large number of people were shot, and some killed in an attempted gaol-break. And he was tried in one of the secret prison courts before a magistrate.

Our informant was detained for having been involved in politics, and was sent to Modder B by a White sergeant of police.

He travelled to Modder B in a van. The sergeant at the reception unit told him that there were already over 7,000 men in the prison. Of these about 1,000 appeared to be convicted prisoners.

The compound has been sub-divided into square divisions, by high barbed-wire fences. The whole compound is surrounded with barbed-wire. There is a searchlight which is used at night, but which is hidden in the day time.

After four days our informant was taken to the secret court. This court sits inside the prison. The only people present were a magistrate, a prosecutor, the policeman who arrested our informant, and our informant. It is not a court of law, and the procedure is far from that of a law court. Our informant was asked if he had anything to say.

In Modder B our informant "was beaten continuously. If we were meant to go in anywhere we were beaten just as cattle are beaten to make them go into a kraal". But his really tough assault was in another area, in a police station before he was sent to Modder B. His assailant was a somewhat drunk White member of the C.I.D. He was trying to find out why our informant was at the place where he was arrested. About three other policemen punched him.

The night before he was put in this place he learned that there had been an attempted gaol-break. When he arrived an African warden spoke to him, and said that "we know you are a detainee. In here you must obey our law. I know the sort of person you are. We shot down 17 people like you last night who were trying to run away". (The warden spoke English and these were his actual words.) Our informant met another person later who had tried to escape, but who had turned back when he heard the shooting. This person also confirmed that many had been shot, and that some of them had been killed.

After some days our informant was told that "we are dropping the whole case against you. You are free to go". Our informant believes that he was released because a lawyer managed to intervene on his behalf.

Later the policeman who had arrested our informant said to him that he was afraid that he himself might get into trouble through having brought a lawyer to see our informant. He also blamed other policemen for the decision to put our informant in Modder B.

These revelations probably clear up the question that has been on many lips: where are all the vanished people?

Contact first drew public attention to the sinister fact that many people had simply disappeared, and that their families did not know whether they were alive or dead.

This was the issue of Contact which was seized. Since then other papers, the London Observer among others, have asked what was happening to these people.

In an attempt to find out more, Contact's correspondents have been looking for clues. Firstly investigations were made into the system of "Bantu

Youth Camps" under the Social Development section of the B.A.D. Department at the *Bekruipkop* camp, near Kingwilliamstown. An informant with inside knowledge of this camp stated that to the best of his knowledge no detainees were kept there. And Mr. E. R. Biermann, officer in charge of the Social Development Section of the B.A.D. Department has denied that any of the young men under his authority have been detained under the emergency regulations. He also denied that any of them were used to provide farmers with labour.

Our Johannesburg correspondent writes that a prison train containing about 200 detainees left Cape Town on 26th June for a destination in the Transvaal believed to be Standerton. The train was seen *en route* by several witnesses, including a White University graduate and an African clerk. The journey lasted at least three days.

The witnesses report: "The prisoners were chained hand and foot to each other in day coaches with no place to lie down. They were guarded by warders with rifles at every open window, as well as by two coaches of

police in the body of the train. As the mail train passed them, the prisoners could be heard shouting *Izwe Lethu* and singing *Inkosi Sikelele*, and were seen giving the A.N.C. and P.A.C. salutes."

This is the substance of the report from Johannesburg.

The facts given here reveal that a fully totalitarian prison system is already in existence in South Africa.

The public, in its own interests, is entitled to know the facts, and if the facts given here are representative, the people of South Africa must insist that this evil system be brought to an end immediately.

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Sports
Apartheid
—Latest

THERE have been several developments on the sports apartheid front recently.

A dramatic break-through occurred when Mr. Frank Braun, general manager of the 1960 Springbok Olympic Games team was interviewed by Alex Eales for the *Sunday Times*. "How do you feel about taking a non-White sportsman away with an Olympic or Empire Games team?" asked Mr. Eales. "I would never object," said Mr. Braun. "to any non-White sportsman . . . provided he was up to the required standard . . . if a man conforms to the rules then we must give him a chance."

The South African Sports Association (representing 70,000 sportsmen) has asked for no more than this during its years-old fight to take the colour bar out of sport. Let S.A.S.A. get together with Mr. Braun and let them do the right thing together.

Time is short for Mr. Braun, for it is reported from New Delhi that a campaign against sports discrimination has been launched in India. The powerful Indian Sports Federation drafted a letter to the International Olympics Committee in Switzerland urging that non-White South Africans be not barred from membership of the South African Olympic team.

This case, it is hoped, will be placed before the I.O.C. by Mr. G. Rangasamy, president, and Mr. Dennis Brutus, secretary, of S.A.S.A. They plan to fly to Rome to put their case personally, as already reported in Contact.

World Sports, official organ of the British Olympic Association, accuses South Africa of race discrimination and compares it with Russia.

In the meantime, in England, the non-racial spirit is sadly lacking in the Springbok cricket team. They desperately need another player: South Africa's finest all-rounder, Basil D'Oliveira, is in England, and available. Yet they will not ask him in—because Mr. D'Oliveira's skin is a couple of shades too dark.

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P.E.N. Conference

TROUBLE FOR MRS. MILLIN?

CAPE TOWN: Two serious storms are expected to disturb the normally calm surface of the international writers' organization (P.E.N. Club) when its 400-strong annual congress opens at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on 23rd July.

The first is that South African apartheid will probably be attacked. This will not only be due to the "skunk" status that apartheid has acquired. It will also be due to the controversial figure of Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millin, who, as President of South African P.E.N., will be leading a delegation of three (the other two being Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Sowden, of Johannesburg).

Mrs. Millin has just written a series of articles in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* in which the following statements (among many) occur:

- she lists "our enemies" (i.e. opponents of South African racialism). South America is included in the list. This statement of hers is known in Brazil.
- she speaks of non-White members of the British Commonwealth as "savage lands", and adds that, in the Commonwealth, and in the United Nations, "we are dependent on the goodwill of savages".
- she speaks of certain members of the British Commonwealth as "savage beasts".

These statements of hers are known in Brazil.

Brazil, it is known, feels deeply hostile to apartheid. After Sharpeville, it will be recalled, the Brazilian Minister was recalled from South Africa as a mark of disapproval. And it is known that Brazil has been seeking to mobilize Latin America against apartheid.

Brazil cares deeply about racial justice.

It is not in Brazil's interests for White-Black tensions to grow worse anywhere, as Brazil's population of about 60 million includes some 20 million Negroes. Racial tensions within Brazil, though almost non-existent, could always flare up if they became worse in other areas.

As a result of Mrs. Millin's remarks she is likely to come under fire when she lands. And it is even possible that South Africa's status in P.E.N. may be questioned.

The other storm concerns the delegation which is expected from Hungary.

Up till 1956 Hungary had a vigorous P.E.N. Club. During the anti-Soviet revolution virtually the whole committee was imprisoned. But, miraculously, the committee kept going from inside the communist prisons, and even managed to be represented at the annual world congresses of the P.E.N. movement.

This arrangement came to an end in 1959, when the communists managed to suppress the Hungarian P.E.N. They have established a new, party-lining executive. It is this executive which has sent a delegation to Rio de Janeiro.

There is a move afoot to expel the new, communist P.E.N. Club from the world movement. This is almost certain to provoke a storm. If expulsions occur, they may, also, involve Mrs. Millin and the South African Club.

"Land is Mine"

And the Lord spake unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying: . . . "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."

—(Leviticus, B.C. 700.)

Liberal Party Goes to the People

CAPE TOWN: The Liberal Party has begun an intensive campaign of public meetings in the Western Cape. In a number of areas: Retreat, Athlone, Kensington, Eerste Rivier, several meetings have already been held, and further meetings are scheduled for Langa, Nyanga, Cape Town city, Constantia, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, Simons-town, Wynberg and Woodstock.

Public meetings have been followed up by canvassing and house-meetings—and a healthy increase in membership has already resulted.

The purpose of the meetings is not only to gain members, however, but to gain support for the Liberal Party's aim of a non-racial democracy. It has been significant that the greatest applause is always accorded to passages where a speaker affirms the common citizenship of all South Africans.

The party can now simultaneously field several teams of speakers, many of them new to the public platform, speaking in English, Xhosa, and Afrikaans, with interpreters when necessary.

An account of a typical small meeting follows. Other speakers who are proving effective in this campaign are Messrs. Victor Benjamin, J. Heddiar, C. B. Nododile, Tom Walters, A. Hassen.

Of better-known Liberals Messrs. J. C. A. Daniels, Peter Hjul and Joseph Nkatlo have spoken regularly.

On Sunday afternoon, 3rd July, the Liberal Party held a successful open-air meeting in the "location" at Eerste Rivier, near Cape Town. Despite a warning visit from the Stellenbosch police ten minutes before the meeting was due to start, more than seventy people attended.

Mr. Hammington Majija, speaking in Xhosa, delivered an attack on Bantu Authorities and the pass laws, and discussed the present situation in Eastern Pondoland.

Mr. Joseph Nkatlo, who chaired the meeting, said that the oppressed people of South Africa could not expect freedom to come to them from above; they had to strive for it even if this entailed great suffering.

Mr. Neil Ross urged the meeting to hate apartheid and to look to the future when all the people of South Africa would be free. He said the pass laws created a great deal of misery in our country.

Mr. Ferdie Nolte spoke in Afrikaans, while Mr. David Welsh spoke in Xhosa and English.

Mr. Timothy Holmes discussed the relation between the pass laws and the poverty of so many working people in South Africa, and he appealed to all to join the Liberal Party in its non-violent struggle against apartheid.

The meeting closed with Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika.



Kenneth Kaunda (See Cover)

CONGO SITUATION THREAT TO THE FEDERATION

OUR cover picture shows Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, most powerful political leader of Northern Rhodesia. President of the United National Independence Party. Its membership is increasing rapidly, as independence in the Congo electrifies Africans in Northern Rhodesia into political awareness. Mr. Kaunda is a dynamic leader who is pledged to the non-violent liberation of Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, was due to fly to London on July 10th, for talks with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, about the effects of independence in the Congo, but cancelled the trip at the last moment.

The map of the Congo shows how the south-eastern corner of the Congo (the pedicle, or pointed tip of the Katanga Province) cuts right into federal territory. The tribes on both sides of the frontier (Bemba and others) are the same. Two-way traffic across the artificial frontiers is increasing. Conakat, Mr. Moise Tshombe's ruling Katanga party, has established a branch in the Rhodesian copperbelt called Fetrikat.

There is a rapidly growing movement for union of the two copperbelts, either within a federal Congo, or as a new state. A name has even been thought up—"Copperia"—by Mr. Dauti Yamba, Northern Rhodesian M.P., for this new state, and he has been negotiating openly with Mr. Tshombe for a link-up.

The principal result so far is that Mr. Kaunda has joined Dr. Banda as one of the principal exponents of freedom for Africans inside the Federation. The ultimate certainty of a break-up of the Federation has been brought months nearer by the latest events inside the Congo, and by Mr. Kaunda's dynamic leadership.



DEFENCE AND AID FUND SET UP

AFTER months of delays during which regional funds have collected and disbursed funds to assist those who have suffered through the emergency, a national scheme is being set up.

It is called the "Defence and Aid Fund". It aims "to uphold, protect and defend human rights and civil liberties" in South Africa, and will provide for the welfare of the dependants of those who have been imprisoned, or who have suffered otherwise through political action. It will also pay for legal representation in political cases.

Chairman of the management committee is Mr. Alex Hepple, former Labour M.P. Relations are being established with the regional committees, the most important of which is the Cape Town State of Emergency Relief Fund under the chairmanship of Mr. Peter Hjul, and with the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank.

Although not much has yet been collected for this fund, money is arriving from overseas. People connected with the fund are hoping that once the machinery is established, large sums will be contributed both here and abroad.

FOOTNOTE: The Defence and Aid Fund's office in Johannesburg is at 17, Harvard Buildings, cor. Joubert and Pritchard Streets, Johannesburg.

"UHURU" SLOGANS PAINTED

From R. R. Farquharson

JOHANNESBURG: Since the end of June the word "Uhuru"—Swahili for "freedom"—has been appearing at strategic places on the Rand and Pretoria.

The *Star* was the first to report the movement: it told of small slips of paper with the typewritten legend "U for Uhuru" mailed anonymously to newspaper editors and others in Johannesburg.

Soon afterwards, the S.A.B.C. spoke of "vandals" who had been burning the letter "U" into the grass at Church Square, Pretoria. The *Pretoria News* printed a photograph of "Uhuru" painted on a main road in Waterkloof, and similar slogans have appeared in many places in the city.

In Johannesburg, there are instances in Louis Botha Avenue and in Oxford Road: in one case "Uhuru means freedom for all", in another "Uhuru" accompanied by a cryptic cross in a circle.

All the slogan-painting appears to be done at night, and no information has come to light of what kind of organization is responsible.

contact

A Government in Decline

VERWOERD'S government is a government in decline! This is the amazing fact that is slowly emerging from the post-Sharpeville scene.

Here is our evidence for this important deduction:

The released detainees all found ignorance, inefficiency, and stupidity in the Security Branch. With a special branch of this kind it is clear that government cannot know what is going on. Further proof is that the strength of the P.A.C. demonstrations took the government quite by surprise. They had no reliable estimates of the strength of the P.A.C.

The government is flirting with Mr. Golding who is supposed to be a "Coloured leader". Reliable information (from Nationalist newspaper sources) is that, for the first time, the Transvaal Coloured people are to get representation in Parliament. Not-so-reliable, but still good information is that, for the first time, there may be two Coloured senators in Parliament.

Why this flirtation? We had just learnt that apartheid meant that all the non-Whites were to be on one side, in one lot of trains, buses, jobs; while all the Whites were to be on the other side, in other trains, buses and jobs. And, for twelve years, the Coloured people have been very definitely classed as "non-Whites".

There is only one meaning: the government is abandoning its own apartheid policy. To be sure, it is doing nothing very much. But it is doing something. And it is in a direction diametrically opposite to that in which apartheid has up till now taken the country.

Another indication is this: businessmen respect a strong government. For

some twelve years business has "kept out of politics". Now, suddenly, Sir Charles Hambro, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, and many lesser business leaders have come out with sharp criticisms of Dr. Verwoerd and his government. These criticisms are an indication that businessmen do not think that apartheid is as strong as they used to think it.

South African apartheid has furthermore just suffered a grievous insult. The Belgians invited the Union Government to send a representative to the independence celebrations in the Congo. Minister Diederichs began to pack his suitcases. Then, suddenly, the Congolese legislature countermanded the invitation, and Minister Diederichs unpacked his suitcases. The insult was almost without parallel. Did the Union protest? Not a whimper was heard, and skunk status was accepted without complaint. Such behaviour is surely not that of a strong, confident government.

Lastly, private criticism of the government by nationalists is on the increase. Many big businessmen on the Nationalist side are openly bewailing the boycotts that are slowly hemming South Africa's trade in, and are beginning to raise their voices against Dr. Verwoerd and his unyielding policies. In South West Africa the Germans are deserting the Nationalists. They fear the unrest that Bantu Authorities will almost certainly cause among the Herero and Ovambo peoples. Many of them are giving their support to Mr. Japie Basson.

All this weakness is reflected in that infallible barometer of strength: attendances at meetings. At Groblersdal eighty thousand were expected, but only twenty thousand came. At the climax of the Bloemfontein festival in May there were rows and rows of empty seats where absent English South Africans should have been.

And so our ramshackle tyranny goes into decline.

Apartheid is on the way out because the oppressed people are opposing it as never before; because the world is determined to bring it to an end; but also, and mainly, because it is rotten at the heart.

The end is at hand.

Lesson of Sharpeville

THE main lesson of Sharpeville still seems not to have been learnt by our masters.

Some weeks ago a prominent member of S.A.B.R.A. was talking to a democrat. The democrat spoke of the intention of the oppressed people to win their rights in the near future. The S.A.B.R.A.-man said that such intentions would involve the country in much bloodshed.

Since all democrats in South Africa are pledged to non-violence, this meant that government intended to preserve domination by massacring its opponents.

But Sharpeville should have taught everyone in South Africa that this is the one thing that government cannot do.

After Sharpeville the world's top organization, the Security Council of the United Nations, condemned the Union Government, and called on it to abandon its apartheid policies. And this time the U.N. means business, for they have asked their Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, to go to South Africa, as the first stage in enforcing the resolution.

Knowing that this has happened, how can the supporters of apartheid talk of using massacre to hold down the oppressed people here? Or do they want to see a United Nations fleet anchoring in Durban and Cape Town, and United Nations Globemaster planes roaring southwards carrying paratroops?

The future of our country is uncertain. But one thing is crystal-clear: the men of apartheid are no longer able to use massive force to maintain themselves in the saddle.

A White Reserve?

WE have heard so often the cry "The Bantu can go to his areas and become magistrates, etc. We will stay in ours."

Ten years ago this cry was full of menace. For the power of the White South Africans was so great that, if they had wished, they could have removed all Africans from all areas

west of the Drakensberg, removed them, and taken nearly all of the Free State, Transvaal, and Cape for the White people to have for themselves.

But to-day, with the waning power of apartheid, this cry is becoming meaningless. If the White bosses were to try to move millions of Africans out of their own homeland into Bantustan, the world would not stand aside and watch, and do nothing.

To-day, if the White South Africans want to separate themselves from "the Bantu", they will have to set up a small "White Reserve". A possible area for such a reserve would be from Cape Town to De Aar; from Mossel Bay to Springbok.

Though somewhat dry, this land could easily support millions of settlers if, like the Israelis, they were prepared to get down and do some real work. It would be more than big enough for three million White South Africans plus a million "Coloureds".

Of course, the really rich areas such as the Witwatersrand, the Free State goldfields, Kimberley and Natal, the rich minerals, the maize and the ranches of the Transvaal, would all have to be given up. Given up in exchange for... racial "purity".

The White racialists would have to sacrifice nearly everything that makes life worth living for them; they would have to sacrifice three-quarters of their own country.

But it is only fair that they should, for the desire to be apart, to withdraw, to cut links, to segregate, is all on their side. Till recently they had the power to inflict all these sacrifices on the non-Whites, who never wanted this separation.

It is our belief that these changed circumstances will gradually lead to changed minds. No longer will we hear of Bantustans. There will then remain only one direction in which our country can be steered: the direction of non-racial democracy and equality.

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

Fair Comment... by Patrick Duncan

THE anti-apartheid boycott is entering its most dangerous phase—dangerous for the Nats. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) passed a resolution a week ago authorizing the general secretary to appeal to the next General Assembly of the United Nations at its next session in September to apply economic sanctions to South Africa if it fails to abandon its policies of apartheid before then.

And, quite independently, Mr. Ishmael Flory, of the Afro-American Heritage Association of Chicago, has appealed to the United States East Coast Longshoremen (stevedores) to boycott South African ships.

I fail to see how the Nats. can avoid oil and other sanctions in the near future. And oil sanctions would bring Verwoerd's government to its knees.

VARIOUS people have welcomed the inspired suggestions that the Government are thinking of having a couple of Coloured senators in Parliament.

I do so too. But on one condition: the Coloured people must not, for the sakes of Messrs. Golding and Dollie, turn their backs on democracy, justice, and the African people.

IN London there appears a paper called the *Mining World*. It has just been solemnly quoted at great length by Dr. Verwoerd's paper *Dagbreek*. You won't be surprised that this has hap-

pened when you hear the sort of things it has been saying: "... the indescribable atrocities of Mau Mau has taught every thinking European to choose their words and not to play with fire, and hence create that worst of all terrors, an African bush fire in the minds of many who are largely illiterate and often only one generation removed from cannibals. ... Dr. Verwoerd is known to have an outstanding intellect."

The solution proposed by this absurd paper is to "let the people (meaning, of course, the Whites only) on the spot overcome their own problems in their own way without backseat driving from politicians. . . ."

Politics of this kind is mixed in the *Mining World* with advice on gold mines in South Africa and tin mines in Malaya.

I hope the poor investors who are guided by this investment advice do not suffer too badly. The one bright spot that I can see is that the readers of such a journal must be very stupid and very few.

THE Congress of Democrats has sent round a roneoed leaflet calling for the end of the emergency. It is of interest to Liberals that no longer are they talking of "multi-racialism"—the word is now "non-racialism". And they propose that there be "an all-race, all-party national convention to draft a constitution".

IT has been announced that the representative of apartheid at the next General Assembly of the United Nations in September will be Minister Eric Louw.

I am delighted. A foreign correspondent who is no friend of apartheid was discussing the Prime Ministers' conference when it was known that Dr. Verwoerd would not be able to go. "The best that could happen," said he, "would be if Eric Louw went alone. Someone civilized like Sauer would give an impression that apartheid could be kindly."

Well, the best happened then. Louw went, and the outraged Tunku is raising the world in an economic war against South Africa's apartheid.

And now, in September, the best is going to happen again.

ONE more interesting sign of the growing talk of actual United Nations intervention inside South Africa is a remarkable new book, *The Death of Africa* by Peter Ritner.

He paints a depressing picture of the future of our continent. And he makes certain proposals. The first: that South West Africa should be invaded by a United Nations force composed of African, Asian and United States contingents. The task of this force: to remove the Afrikaner nationalist government and to install a United Nations administration. Southern Rhodesia's colour-bar should be broken by a full-scale boycott. And, finally, when the "atrocious catastrophe" in the Union takes place, the United States must be prepared to move "swiftly and massively" into South Africa.

THE FAT OF THE LAND

"... it is learned that the Commissioners-General will have a status somewhere between the secretary of a state department and a cabinet minister. Their salaries will, therefore, probably be fixed about the £3,500 a year level . . ."
"Cape Times", 11th June.

"*O*h, thirty-five hundred a year!"
Sing Abraham, Eiselen, Nel,
"And a house and a car and nothing to do!"
Sing Papenfus, Klappers as well.

"Oh uniforms blazoned in gold,
Like those of a fat Commissar,
And happy plump baNtoe all round,
And Verwoerd our unshakeable star!"

Oh merrily merrily dance
Round the fires of lush Pondoland.
Eat the fat which sacked Ballinger ate;
The baNtoe will quite understand.

We are the men of the times,
We great tribal totems of gold;
The baNtoe will worship us well,
As they worshipped Oom heNdrik of old.

And their prayers we will answer with laws,
And the pass will grow heavy and great.
For fine is the Faith that is ours,
The aparte religion of heid."

"MKHONTO"

A lot of things that happen never get into the papers: you will find some of them here. You will also read about a lot of things that are going to happen . . .

HOT TIPS!

Sobukwe . . . "Conditions" . . . Boycott . . . Moolla Immorality Act . . . S.A.B.C. Matanzima . . . Angola . . . George Golding . . . Madagascar Moshesh II



In the days that I shared my space with two "African Writing" pages, *Contact* gave a real coverage to books about Africa. Reduced to one book page, we seemed to achieve nothing. Book reviews have therefore ended until *Contact* begins to grow in size. In circulation, it is growing madly—which is fine for the business staff, but doesn't help the eggheads who will miss their book pages.

Of the books our emergency has left unreviewed, I can do no more than recommend this selection:
South African Parties and Policies, 1910-1960. A select source book edited with an introduction by D. W. Kruger (Human and Rousseau) 25s.
Algeria in Turmoil, a history of the rebellion, by Michael K. Clark (Thames and Hudson) 35s.
The Peoples and Policies of South Africa, 2nd edition by Leo Marquard (Oxford University Press) 21s.
Eminent Nigerians of the Nineteenth Century by K. O. Diké and others (Cambridge University Press) 8s.

The venerable Mrs. Rothmann (M.E.R.) drew such strange conclusions from his play *The Fall* that Delius had to disclaim, in *Die Burger*, his intention of inspiring the Nationalists "to hold fast to their present course 'even in the cannon's mouth'."

He ended: "To me, there were obvious similarities between the aims and actions of the first occupier of the re-built Groote Schuur (Rhodes), and its present one (Verwoerd). Just as Rhodes was an imperialist and exploiter, with an 'ideal' which became an obsession, so to-day we have in our present Prime Minister more or less the same type of man, armed with sociological catch-phrases. . . . Of the two I think the present occupant of Groote Schuur the more dangerous, and there are several Jamesons around him."

Delius may yet be the first playwright to write plays about occupiers of the same great house, both Prime Ministers, both obsessed with a dangerous idea, and to call both plays "The Fall".

SOBUKWE MAY APPEAR

If Sobukwe is willing, he will appear as a defence witness in the incitement case in which Philip Kgosana and 31 others are being tried in Cape Town. Prosecution and defence have agreed that he be called and a lawyer has gone to Boksburg Gaol to get his agreement or otherwise.

DETAINEE TO SUE

One ex-detainee at least is suing the Government and challenging the "conditions" of his release. A feature of the case will be a detailed record of his time in prison, which will show South Africa the ramshackle tyranny that we allow to go on ruling.

MALAYA BOYCOTTS S.A. TYRES

One hundred tons of South African motor tyres were off-loaded from a Dutch ship at Durban docks in June, just in time to avoid a fruitless journey to Port Swettenham, Malaya. This boycott is big stuff, and the Eastern lands are a mighty factor in it. 75-80% of our canned fish exports go to Asian and Pacific markets. The fishing industry employs 20,000 people, earns £12-£15 million a year, on an investment of £25 million—it will make quite a dent when the Philippines, Malaya and other big markets close down on South Africa's fish exports.

THEY CAN RELAX

Why so few Immorality Act cases lately? It looks as if there is some truth in the rumour that police have been told to lay off keyhole-watching. The Government never knew who would be caught next.

A CHIEF TO WATCH

The Transkei looks on, waiting for Eastern Pondoland to burst into flames again. One area is likely to stay quiet—Emigrant Tembuland, where Chief Kaiser Matanzima rules with fairness and efficiency. There are stories that he cannot go out at night for fear of attack, but the truth is that, despite his support for Bantu Authorities, he has a popular and firm grip on his people. Chief Kaiser is a man to watch.

NEW S.A.B.C. PROGRAMME?

As Ghana's four giant 100-kilowatt radio transmitters (cost £600,000) near completion, Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Verwoerd's governments are planning to jam them.

Radio jamming is done this way: you transmit a deafening noise on the wavelength of the programme you want to jam. For technical reasons a station to jam Radio Ghana should be placed in the southernmost tip of Africa, reports the *Nieuwe Haagsche Courant*, Holland.

ANGOLAN MURMURS

Angola, too, is awakening. Nationalists have set up, in Conakry, Guinea, an "Angolan People's Liberation Movement". One of its leaders, Mario de Andrade, issued on 13th June a call to the Portuguese government to:

- withdraw its armed forces from Angola, and
- grant Angola self-determination, and
- call a round-table conference which will set up a new government.

The movement pledged itself to "peaceful and democratic" measures, and stated that it was "confident in a rapid intervention in favour of the Angolans by world opinion".

CURRY WITH NATS.

Secretary of the Lenasia (Johannesburg) Ratepayers' Association, a Mr. Moonamy, has been having secret meetings in the Transvaal with Mr. Karel Boshoff, Dr. Verwoerd's son-in-law, who is reportedly a leading member of the Broederbond.

And, in Durban, A. M. Moolla has been lunching top Nats. at the exclusive Orient Club. This lunch was probably arranged by fiery young Rezelman, son of the S.A.R. System Manager. Rezelman was a Rhodes, Grahamstown, student. When he left there it was believed that he was a Government "spy". He is convinced that the Afrikaners must earn the goodwill of all races.

WHITES NO SAY IN S.W.A.

Mr. J. P. Niehaus, leader of the United National South West Party, told a meeting at Oranjemund recently that South West Africa must face the possibility of being placed under United Nations trusteeship.

He said that while his party was not in favour of trusteeship, he thought the Whites in this country would have no say regarding this possible step. It was something which they had to face up to.

NIE-BLANKES FOR SENATE?

The talks between Minister P. W. Botha and "Coloured leaders" are expected to be about the suggested five senators to represent the 2-million Cape Coloured people. Two of these Senators may be "Coloured". Messrs. George Golding and Saleh Dollie are the only two likely to be offered or to accept the senatorships. Will they get a special allowance for taxi-rides to the Greenmarket Square "gen's", until a *nie-blankes* affair is built on to the Senate?

NEW MOSHESH

The name of Paramount Chief Bereng Seeiso of Basutoland has been changed by the Legislative Council.

He is now to be called "Moshoeshoe (Moshesh) II". The memory of Moshesh I has towered over Basutoland ever since 1870, when he died, and this honour is the most signal that has been paid to any paramount chief since then.

RED ISLAND

Watch out for the Madagascar elections due in September. This huge red-soiled island (1,000 miles long) has a pro-French Prime Minister, Philibert Tsiranana. The last elections were hopelessly rigged. At the next it is likely that the A.K.F.M., an extreme left-wing party, will make dramatic gains. It will, in fact, probably defeat Tsiranana.

Much depends on the great nationalist leader Rabemananjara. He was exiled after the 1948 rising, and lives in France. His personality still dominates the island and, if he were allowed back, he might stem the leftward rush.

WHAT HAPPINESS? By Robinson Matseke

I HAVE observed that the inner parts of pills are bitter whereas there is sugar-coating on the outside. The coating deceives us to believe that the pills are sweet. And I just wonder if my so-called happy life is not like these sugar-coatings, whereas my feelings are just the opposite. How sad, how bitter, how mortified, how humiliated I am. What sinister thoughts dominate my hidden inner self! Nobody knows the troubles I see. I can't help thinking of a rock-'n-roll hit—"There's no joy in my heart only sorrow".

Yes, it is Saturday. The market place is full of people bustling to and fro as I wend my way to a stall to buy fruit. A jolly-looking Indian man approaches me, saying, "Hallo, my friend, what can I do for you?" He extends his hand to serve me. As I finish and leave he jokes and reminds me to "come again" to him for better service. I continue wending my way through the throng, repeating to myself his friendly words. I smile to myself and say I will come back to my friend. I meet with grim faces, unkind, unconcerned, nonchalant faces and faces white, brown, and yellow.

I soon enter one imposing building to buy a card for a forthcoming celebration. A young beautiful-looking White woman approaches me. But I soon get a cold shiver down my spine when her face suddenly puts on an appearance of boredom. I try to have a quick check-up of myself to see what is unbecoming in me. I begin to wonder if it is not my skin colour which has upset her. My doubt is soon resolved as I'm almost stunned to be addressed, "Ja, my boy". I feel humiliated, insulted, infuriated but I manage a broad smile which slits my mortified face and manages to hide my inner self. She refers me to "that missus" for the card I want.

At last I buy one. Not that it was the one I wanted. I just bought it because I wanted to avoid more insults in this or perhaps in another shop. Besides I had to leave the counter immediately because there was that burly man who eyed me aslant as I exchanged my views with the saleswoman. I went out.

I pass a line of African workers shouldering heavy boxes and chanting lyrics which I suppose are meant to alleviate their burden. Not far from them a group of fellow-workers are eating lunch on "clean" tomato planks as there are no cafes or restaurants which will serve these victims of colour prejudice. I merely glance and pass but

I'm in time to overhear the usual backyard scandals which rarely find their way to the masters. There is a complaint about that new White employee who wants his presence felt; or of the wages being insufficient to support the family; or about the wife of one of the workers being sick, whilst the capitalist master apathetically says: "She won't die, my boy."

I melt under the pressure of my feelings. With a constant shake of my head I ask myself what wrong we Africans have committed. Is it because of our Black skin, just that? Again I shake my head in despair but I force a smile and say "sorry" to an unforeseen White lout after he had purposely bumped against me saying that I should move out of his way. I move on. I feel a strong feeling of revenge and revolution constantly churning within me. This feeling grows into bitter animosity. Are all Whites alike?

Arriving home I receive an invitation to a house meeting at one of my few White friend's homes. I feel relieved. It is at these meetings that at least I can feel as a human being and am able to exchange views, etc., etc.

Soon my friends visit me with a pile of records. We enjoy soft drinks as we listen to discs. Some of my friends sway to and fro; tap their feet on the floor, and clap hands in unison.



ROBINSON MATSEKE

Like most jazz fans we have included the great trumpet maestro—Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong in our collection of discs. Despite this spree and despite my being part of what Wordsworth might term a "jocund company", I nearly burst into a flood of tears as I begin to heed the words of one of the songs of the singer in "Black and Blue". I absent-mindedly repeat the phrases: "What did I do to be so black and blue? My only sin is in my skin!"

Alan Paton is indisposed, and his "Long View" cannot appear in this issue.

MUSA I, KING OF OLD MALI



THE MAGNIFICENCE OF MALI

THE Federation of Mali (grouping the two Republics of Senegal and Sudan), which became independent on 20th June, takes its name from the powerful empire which extended its dominion over a large part of West Africa in the Middle Ages.

The empire, a creation of the Mandingo people, was one of the most successful of the old African states. It was at its height under the emperor Mansa Musa who came to his throne in 1307, some six hundred and fifty years ago.

Who was this emperor whose magnificence is inspiring his successors after so many centuries?

Musa I, Mansa Musa or Kankan Musa as he has been called, was a very great king whose authority soon spread from the Atlantic coast of Senegal to the region of Niamey, on the Niger, and from the Adrar (mountains) of Mauritania to upper Guinea—an area more than 1,500 miles long by 800 miles wide. To the North lay the Sahara; to the West, the ocean; to the South, the "wild" country of gold mines and cannibals; to the East, the Hausa States and Bornu (in what is now north-eastern Nigeria). Shut off to the south by the savage man-eaters and the tropical forest, the kingdom of Mali looked to the North and the East, and busy caravan trails linked it across the Sahara with the Magrab and Egypt.

In 1334, the king with an enormous retinue of servants, wives and horsemen, and carrying a fortune in gold dust, left his capital on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places. In Cairo, the Egyptians were astounded by the wild extravagance of the Negroes who spent their gold lavishly, emptying the shops, and buying slaves, singers, pretty girls and precious silks. The Sultan plied Kankan Musa with the most costly gifts, and when the king returned to Mali, he took with him an entire library of canon law and an architect-poet, Abu Ishaf el Gharnati who was to build a magnificent court-room for him.

The picture is from the "Catalan Atlas" made for Charles V in 1375. It shows a prince seated on a throne holding a sceptre in one hand and, with the other, handing a nugget of gold to a Berber camel-driver, with his inscription in Catalan: "This negro is called to Masse Mally, lord of the Negroes of Gineua (Guinea). This king is the richest and the noblest sovereign of all these parts by the abundance of the gold to be found in his land".—(Unesco)

LEADERS RELEASED AFTER THREE MONTHS

THE government is releasing 1,200 political prisoners, including leaders of the Liberal Party and of the Congress Movement, who were detained at the end of March. After 98 days' imprisonment Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, Dr. Hans Meidner, Mr. Elliott Mngadi, Mr. Franklin Bhengu, and Mr. M. Gangai were released on 4th July from Pietermaritzburg gaol, and Mr. Erasmus, Minister of Justice, pledged that within two weeks some 1,200 in all would have been released.

On 1st and 2nd July Dr. Colin Lang, Mr. John Lang, Mr. Ernest Wentzel, Mr. John Brink, all of the Liberal Party, were released in the Transvaal, among several hundred people who were freed.

It will be recalled that the Rev. Mark Nye, of Pretoria, was released on Union Day.

It appears that those who in the opinion of the government were the "power house" of the Congress Move-

ment, and nearly all the Pan-Africanist Congress leaders are to be held for the present.

It is not at present possible for Contact to publish details of the



Reunited! A happy photograph showing Mr. John Brink being welcomed back to liberty by his wife and child.

Lembede, Father of Africanism

OFTEN claimed to be the father of Africanism in South Africa, Anton Muziwakhe Lembede died at the age of 32 in 1946.

The following brief biography is taken with acknowledgments to *Lumen* (Oct. 1959), a review "written BY Catholic African Leaders":

Anton Muziwakhe Lembede's untimely death at the early age of 32 meant the loss of "one of the greatest sons of Africa". He dedicated his life despite ill health to the devoted service of his people. He was the first to crystallise the ideas and aspirations of the Africans as a people, struggling for emancipation from inequality and injustice. On his death the following was quoted:—

"In the garden of life a bird sang from the highest tree, and then soared away."

He was born in January, 1914, the son of Martin Mbazwana Lembede and Nora Martha Lembede on a farm in the district of Geordedale, Natal. His parents worked as farm hands. His mother, however, had been a teacher and gave him tuition at home before he was sent to school. He passed Standard VI in the first grade and as a result of his outstanding work was given a bursary for Adam's College, where he did his teacher's course. This marked a break from a past of hardship and drudgery. His past however left a permanent impression on him and he once said, "I am a peasant and I was born a peasant. I am one with the soil of Africa".

His career at Adam's College as it was to continue to be in the future, was brilliant. It was at College that he met his friend Jordan K. Ngubane. After completing his course he taught at Utrecht and Newcastle. During that period he developed a deep sympathy and love for the workers in the kitchen, gardens and streets.

He studied privately, and two years after completing T.4 he passed his matric with distinction in Latin in 1937. He then studied for his B.A. degree majoring in Roman Law and Logic and Metaphysics. While he taught in the Free State he acquired proficiency in Afrikaans and High Dutch. He also succeeded in passing his Bachelor of Law degree.

In 1943 he moved to Johannesburg to serve his articles of clerkship under Dr. P. ka Isaka Seme, a lawyer and veteran leader of the African National Congress. In the same year that he completed his articles, 1945, he presented his thesis for his M.A.(Phil.) Degree. The subject was "The Conception of God as expounded by, and as it emerges from the writings of philosophers from Descartes to the present day", and he received a commendation from a Professor at the

University of South Africa. In 1946 he passed the legal Oral and Practical Examinations.

Unfortunately his outstanding life was to be dogged and finally cut short by ill health. He hid his suffering from the world, but it gave him a sense of impending gloom—a feeling that he might die before doing anything for his people, and before the dawn of freedom. It was he who coined the famous slogan, "Freedom in our life time". His suffering sharpened his mind, and gave him great charity, foresight and strength. Although he always had the common touch he possessed a certain aloofness.

He felt very strongly the need for political rights for his people and joined



LEMBEDE

the African National Congress in 1943. He and Ngubane drew up the Youth League Manifesto (the war years were a period of awakening and the Youth League, under the leadership of Lembede, was in the forefront of all the movements such as the Mine Workers' Strike and the Anti-Pass Campaign). He laid the foundation for the African National Congress's 1949 Programme of Action. His speeches have had a lasting impact on the development of the African's struggle, and he remains a source of great inspiration.

The Exercise of Equity

The exercise of equity for one day is equal to sixty years spent in prayer.

—(Arab proverb, 16th century.)



Dr. Colin Lang, Pretoria Liberal leader.

experiences of the ex-political prisoners, as all have been warned not to give interviews to the press under a penalty of £500 or five years' imprisonment.

It is however possible to say that in the Cape area the prison authorities behaved with correctness, and even kindness. They did all that they could to make life bearable and even pleasant, and the prisoners were treated with respect.

In one large Cape gaol departing prisoners insisted on giving donations from their scanty funds to the prison staff benefit funds.

FOOTNOTE: On 30th May Mr. Alan Paton bet the editor £1 "that Peter Brown will have been released from imprisonment before 5.7.60". This bet was recorded in the editor's betting book. Mr. Brown, as stated, was released on 4th July. The editor has never lost a bet with greater pleasure, or with greater admiration for the prophetic powers of his opponent.

SOMALIA UNITES

By ALAN RAKE

ON 1st July Somalia, once called Italian Somaliland, became independent. On the same day British Somaliland united with it, in the new Somali Republic.

On the economic side Somalia is very poor. It will depend on assistance from the United Nations and from Italy. British Somaliland was a poor country, and its 650,000 inhabitants export little but hides and skins. Somalia (population 1½ million) is a little richer, and has considerable agricultural potential, but it is largely dependent for foreign exchange on its exports of bananas to Italy. A World Bank mission has already reported that Somalia will have to be subsidised by several million pounds a year to allow economic development and the continuation of the successful irrigation operations. But the fact that the United Nations, Britain and Italy are all concerned with the stability of this strategic part of Africa, is a good guarantee that the country will not be allowed to flounder economically.

It is probably in the political sphere



The unshaded area is where the Somali people live. As can be seen they live in Kenya, Ethiopia, as well as in Somaliland.

that Somalia's greatest danger lies.

The Somali Youth League won the last elections gaining 237,134 votes against 40,000 on the "greater Somalia" slogan.

The party leader, Abdullai Issa Mohammed, and his supporters, want to extend the Somali territory by taking firstly French Somaliland, secondly part of Kenya where 80,000 Somalis live, and lastly part of the Ogaden district of Ethiopia.

The Somalis may achieve fairly easily their ambition of uniting with French Somaliland. But there is likely to be trouble elsewhere. Kenya African nationalists have already warned Somalia to keep her hands off Kenya territory.

There have been troubles along the Ethiopian border for some time, caused by Somali shepherds who are accustomed to graze their flocks in Ethiopia. Up to the present time the badly equipped Somali frontiersmen have had the worse of skirmishes. Ethiopia has been helped by the United States.

But now Somalia has asked the U.S. for military assistance on the grounds that Ethiopia has already been favoured. The Russians have, as usual, offered the newly independent country any help she may need. The Americans realize that if they refuse aid Somalia could turn to the East, though her people have no love of communism. The most vital questions at present are what the Americans do about military aid, and what use the Somalis are prepared to put it to.

GUINEA BECOMES MORE COMMUNIST, HUNGRIER



This is a photograph of Conakry, capital of Sekou Toure's Republic of Guinea, Africa's mystery town.

Is Conakry already communist? Or is it fast becoming communist? Or is Sekou Toure a nationalist who is playing off the East against the West? And is he making a success of his rule?

There is no doubt that communist influence is far more powerful there than Western influence. The Russians have given a credit of £5 million; Mao Tse-Tung has sent 400 rice cultivating machines; the Russians are building an airport and a university; Czech engineers are building a huge 150-kilowatt radio transmitter costing 10 million pounds; the bookshops are full of communist literature; troops are being trained by Soviet and Czech experts and are using communist arms.

And the Soviet Union has sent brilliant Daniel Semyonovich Solod, expert in subversion, to be its ambassador in Conakry.

At the same time there is deep discontent, and many opponents of the regime have been gaoled or executed. There

is a serious food and petrol shortage: a Windhoek industrialist got a letter the other day, reports "Die Burger", saying that there is no butter, eggs, oil, meat or cheese in the shops, and that petrol is obtainable in the capital but nowhere else.

Nevertheless top nationalist Sekou Toure still considers himself a free agent. An informant has told "Contact" of a conversation with one of the inner circle round Toure. This man said: "It is true that we have our links with the East. But the other African states have theirs with the West. That does not make any of us colonies. And we are all determined to maintain our independence."

The answer seems to be that Guinea is still independent, though in grave danger of becoming a satellite; and that economic conditions are serious.

There is no doubt, however, that Sekou Toure is doing more than any other ruler to give communism a base in Africa, and that his policy, therefore, is one charged with extreme danger to the people of Guinea and to all other Africans.

Addis Ababa Conference

New States United Against Apartheid

THE recent Addis Ababa conference of Independent African States was the first all-African conference at which the power of the new, rapidly-growing African bloc was obvious. Earlier get-togethers, at Accra in early 1958, for instance, did little more than allow the rulers of ex-colonial areas to get to know each other.

This time the host, Emperor Haile Selassie, gave the conference the dignity of "Parliament of Africa"—the term by which these conferences are beginning to be known.

What happened of importance? Firstly, a radical anti-apartheid line was adopted, and certain concrete steps were decided on:

- The African bloc in the United Nations is going to press for sanctions against South Africa.
- Legal action is to be taken through the International Court of Justice at the Hague, Holland, to revoke the mandate now held by the Union in South West Africa.
- Ghana and the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa are to call for a renewed consumer boycott of South African goods.

This anti-apartheid line was carried virtually unanimously.

Other proposals for isolating apart-

heid were less widely supported. They were:

- That South Africa should be expelled from the Commonwealth.



H.I.M. HAILE SELASSIE

This was opposed by Ghana for the moment.

- That the Suez Canal should be closed to South African shipping. This was opposed by the United

Arab Republic (Egypt) to the disappointment of other delegates, despite an earlier pledge by U.A.R. delegate Hussain Dhu al-Fikar that his country would support a complete boycott of South Africa.

- Oil sanctions against South Africa are going to be difficult to impose in view of the big profits involved.
- Various countries (including Kenya) are not willing to close their airports to South African Airways at present.

Two major interests did not find the conference to their liking. The U.A.R. lost goodwill and prestige by talking in favour of boycotting South Africa and then doing nothing.

Most importantly, the Soviet Union was not pleased with the results. They had hoped that it would turn out strongly anti-American, but it did not. They had hoped that continental union would be discussed as a "Union of Socialist States of Africa"; but the term "United States of Africa" prevailed. And there were speeches hostile to communism, for instance, the attack on Guinea by the delegate from the Camerounian Republic.

Yugoslavia and Israel had reason to be pleased with their reception at the conference. President Tito pledged his full support for independent Africa, and his organ *Borba* called for equality for Africa and full democratic international co-operation.

CORRESPONDENCE

Delius Defended

SIR.—Mr. Woodward's review of Anthony Delius's play, *The Fall*, leaves me with mixed feelings. Assuredly, Mr. Woodward knows a good deal about play construction—at least from the teaching angle. ("A teaser for the Mime Class, that!"—nobody who didn't actually teach a mime class would bother to give them capital letters.)

But even more assuredly, Mr. Woodward has failed to make the most important comment of all—that this is a mature and adult play, showing a fine appreciation of history and a deep understanding of human nature.

Beside this fact, it seems irrelevant to complain that Mr. Delius's play does not match the poetry of his poetry, or the wit of his conversation. Perhaps I might even be excused for disputing the alleged "banality" with which the scenes in the last act succeed each other. Political events, alas, have a way of following the most hack-hallowed dramas. And history itself can hardly expect to repeat itself, without running the risk of being called "cliche-ridden" by supercilious academics.

But, ah, I think I have come to the root of my quarrel with your critic. Your critic has chosen to criticize the book of the play as published, instead of the life of the play as performed. How else can we explain the four references to the play's stage directions? What a curious way to go about things.

I saw the play and liked it, despite obvious weaknesses in the production. I also, as an afterthought, read the play and liked it. Let us end, then, with an affirmation. Those who have no other opportunities would be well advised to read *The Fall*. But those who can should see and hear it.

LESLIE FABER,
Valsbaai, Cape.

Brave Agent

SIR.—This fortnight the sales were not good, owing to a crisis I experienced.

It happened that a compound manager who is doing the postmaster's job enquired from me what were all these bundles of wrapped paper, and also demanded that I should open one of them.

Well, I opened one of them and showed it to him and he threatened and said, "I am going to arrest you."

Now at this stage I answered saying, "On what grounds, because the paper is a registered one?" And after that he told me to go and come back later on.

Now I was in a dilemma, and the copies were seized from me. The following day he warned me not to sell any of these copies within his compound, otherwise I would be in for a high jump. He also pointed out that

the country is still under a state of emergency. So he told me to sell them in the townships only, and I asked him not to make any difficulty about the post, as it is the only post office where these copies are obtained.

At this stage send only 250 copies, not more.

K.Y.,
Johannesburg.

... and Another

SIR.—I write to inform you that I was called to the mine office. I was questioned how I became an agent of *Contact* there in Cape Town, and I explained in detail.

It is because I was selling *Contact* in the mine compound, but it is not prohibited yet by the government, but because of truth, and truth hurts them.

I shall write again if there is any more querying.

Freedom is our right of birth. I wish you good luck that you should not be as Mr. P. Brown who was detained for telling the truth.

K. N. K. M.
Chingola.

Mr., Mrs. and Miss

SIR.—I suppose the same acute embarrassment that most White South Africans feel at the thought of calling their African servants and employees "men" and not "boys" is responsible for the stunted and puerile approach shown by your correspondent Dr. Rose. With a plethora of infantile and almost blasphemous references to Jesus Christ and St. Peter he seeks to clothe the *baasskap* doctrine with an aura of respectability and wisdom, whereas what we are all fighting to prove is that every single African in South Africa has as his birth-right the right to be classed as a first-class citizen, not a third-class Bantu slave, and one of the fundamental privileges of such a society is the right to the title Mr., Mrs., or Miss.

C. K. G. HAHN,
Cape Town.

Interest, Light and Joy

SIR.—It is painful to learn that your offices were raided by the Security Police, for the sake of the wonderful newspaper that kept us in the light in these dark countries of apartheid and depression.

The Africans all over South and South West Africa should read *Contact*. Once you start reading it you will find all the interest, light and joy in it.

Contact encourages me to continue with my struggle for freedom and I will not stop till it happens, with *Contact* as my weapon.

F. F. K.,
Windhoek.

PLEASE HELP!

Contact acknowledges with gratitude many donations, of which the following have been recently received:

J.D., £200; Mrs. C.H.O., U.S.A., \$10; Mr. M.B.A., Cape Town, £5; Mrs. E.Z., Milneron, £1 5s.; Cash, 2s. 6d.; Cash, 3s.; Mr. J.B.v.R., Excelsior, 6s.; Mrs. R.S., Johannesburg, 6s.; Mrs. B.H.O., Kenilworth, C.P., 16s.; Mrs. R.B., Clovelly, £1 1s.; Mrs. N.C., Worthing, £5; "Sympathiser", Kimberley, £5; Mr. S.D., Sea Point, £5; Mrs. H.B., Tsolo, 10s.; Mr. A.R., Johannesburg, £2 16s.; Mr. A.J.V., Lynedoch, £5; Mr. and Mrs. A.G.G., Plumstead, 7s.; Mr. R.J., c/o English Dept., University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, £1; "Anxious Reader", Rustenburg, Tvl., £2; Miss E.S., 10s.; Miss M.R., 10s.; Mrs. M.H., £100; Mr. T.H., 10s.; Mr. H.J.B., £25; Mrs. S.N., Cape Town, £1 1s.

Grand total: £362 2s. 6d., (plus \$10).

Gifts like these have enabled us to carry on during these difficult times, but we need much more. We appeal to everyone who is behind us to please follow the example of our friends listed above, and send us as much as they can afford.

Now is the time to let the truth be known. To-morrow may be too late.

LAW LORDS



Photographed at Church House, London, at the conclusion of the African Law Conference, are (l. to r.) Sir Ronald Sinclair, Chief Justice of Kenya; Lord Denning, Lord of Appeal in the United Kingdom, who was Chairman of the Conference; and Syyid Muhammad Abu Rannat, Chief Justice of the Sudan. The future of law in Africa was discussed by delegates from a dozen African territories.

"IN THE BATTLE"

M^R. PETER HJUL, Cape Chairman of the Liberal Party of South Africa has released the text of a message sent to the party's Sixth National Congress by Mr. Jo Grimond, M.P., leader of the British Liberal Party. The message reads:

From the birthplace of modern Liberalism to its bravest outpost in the thickest battle, I send the humble, admiring greetings of the Liberal Party in Great Britain. We share a tremendous heritage, of which you in your goals or under the constant shadow of oppression and of threats to your personal liberty are proving magnificently worthy. We in Great Britain are conscious of our deep engagement in your struggle. The Union of South Africa is a monument to international Liberalism at work, and it is one of the tragedies of history that the freedom it enshrined should be the instrument of some of its worst perversion. I pray that you may be strengthened and we may be enabled to prove as worthy of our task as you have already been of yours, and that together we may be enabled to give the great creative lead the world needs towards a real human integration of peoples of different blood.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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Published by the proprietor, P. Duncan, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town, P.O. Box 1979. Telephone 2-4524. Printed by Lincay & Watson (Pty.) Limited, 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Every Fortnight 6d.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

FORTNIGHT ENDING 30th JULY 1960

Vol. 3 No. 15

CONGO:

**MOBS WERE NOT
OUT TO KILL**

—see page 3

**WHAT IS GOING TO
HAPPEN?**

—see page 3



Ralph Bunche, Chief of World Government in Africa

—see page 7

Round-the-Union Survey of the Freedom Struggle

NEW COMMUNIST PARTY FORMED

THIS fortnight we bring you news from round the Union. It is clear that the enemies of apartheid are recovering from the shattering blows suffered by the government when it suppressed the A.N.C. and P.A.C. and when it imprisoned nearly two thousand of its foremost opponents.

The government is back on top. to all appearances. But, under the surface, activity is restarting.

From Cape Town comes news that a new communist movement has been established inside South Africa. It is called "South African Communist Party" (the old, banned organization was called the C.P. of S. Africa).

A roneoed leaflet purporting to come from the new movement was posted in Cape Town to selected addresses in early July. It is the first avowedly communist document to issue since the C.P.S.A. dissolved itself in June, 1950.

"Make no mistake—these men are Nazis," the leaflet says of the "gang which dominates the present Cabinet". "They live on lies . . . they lie when they say the Africans are happy . . . when they say the workers are getting enough money. The truth is that the workers are starving."

Speaking about communism, the leaflet says that "for thirty years the former Communist Party of South Africa stood in the front ranks of the struggle for equality and human rights. It was dissolved, but most of its members carried on with the struggle. . . ."

The leaflet pledges the communists to work " . . . with democratic South Africans of all political views. . . ." It ends with the message:

"DOWN WITH THE NAZI VERWOERD GOVERNMENT! DOWN WITH PASS LAW AND STARVATION! FORWARD TO FREEDOM!"

A commentator with some knowledge of the South African communists gave his opinion that the document was genuine, and said that he believed that the communist party had indeed reformed, and would henceforward campaign under its own colours, instead of concealing itself under various front organizations, as it had done for ten years.

A LIBERAL IS DETAINED

The government is watching all activity closely. As reported in another column, a member of the Liberal Party in Pretoria has been detained, suspected of having planted "Uhuru" placards in Church Square.

A GENERAL LOOK AT THE STRUGGLE

The government also appears to be keeping in prison as detainees—

(a) high-up P.A.C. committee members; (b) about 90 Congress Treason Trialists; and

(c) opponents which it fears (such as Mr. Brian Bunting, editor of the suppressed weekly, *New Age*).

The ban on the A.N.C. and P.A.C. remains, and will remain, probably, for a long time.

The Liberal Party is being exceptionally active in Cape Town and Pretoria, but only normally active elsewhere. In Cape Town membership is increasing apace. One branch used to have about 50 members up till Sharpeville. It now has 101, and all but 20 are contributing monthly donations of 2s. 6d. and upwards, a new development.

Many of these new members are Africans and Coloured people.

In Cape Town the African National Congress has taken a mortal knock. African leaders of the A.N.C. were under heavy fire in prison from non-White fellow-detainees for their subservience to the philocommunist Congress of Democrats. All, despite close collaboration before the emergency, claimed that they, too, had become anti-communist.

The A.N.C.'s leadership in the Transvaal came under heavy fire. In particular it was charged with opportunism, for having originally condemned the Pan Africanist Congress pass campaign, and then having tried to climb on the P.A.C. bandwagon by burning their own passes.

In Cape Town the P.A.C. claim great strength, but this claim is not borne out by independent inquiry. Many of the second- and third-echelon P.A.C. leaders in this area have been released, but show every sign of not wanting to do anything to land themselves back in prison. There appear to be many fragments of the P.A.C. lying around, but there is no one with the determination to weld them together again.

In Johannesburg the A.N.C. continues to exist, though banned, as does the

P.A.C. But neither has recovered from the blow caused by the imprisonment of virtually the whole leadership. Nevertheless there is in this area an "Emergency Committee" of the A.N.C., and the P.A.C. do have someone who is recognized as its leader in the Transvaal.

In Durban the P.A.C. never really got off the ground, even before the emergency. It now does not exist at all, only a few scattered adherents still remaining. But, in contrast, there is a relatively strong Congress Movement consisting of the Congress of Democrats and the Natal Indian Congress and Sactu.

The Congress Movement held an unexpectedly successful meeting on 26th June (A.N.C. freedom day) to which 4,000 people came. The Congress Movement is far the most powerful remaining force in the democratic field in Durban. Inside this movement there is a buoyant spirit.

In Durban, too, an underground duplicated newsheet—"The Voice of Africa"—has begun to appear.

The sheet calls for reorganization of the country's youth for a "revolutionary approach to our struggle for freedom . . . the evolutionary methods which the liberatory movement has relied upon cannot be expected to succeed against the hands of the fascists and their hutchers".

The sheet praises the Congress Movement's Freedom Charter.

All the Durban political prisoners have been released, except for two people. One is Mr. Billy Nair, of Sactu, who is awaiting trial on a charge of incitement to strike. The strike in question dates back to before Sharpeville. The other is Miss Dorothy Nyembe, who is expected to be tried on some charge arising out of the Cato Manor trouble, when nine police were killed.

In Port Elizabeth an A.N.C. committee exists, and has put out some leaflets, including the "Message to the People" reported in our issue of 18th June.

GAOL CONDITIONS

Detainees now out describe most gaol conditions as having been unexpectedly good. In the Cape Town area kindness (Continued in column 4)

Liberal Detained

From Carl Kay

PRETORIA: Mr. Colyn van Reenen, a Pretoria quantity surveyor, and member of the Liberal Party, was arrested in Pretoria under the emergency regulations recently, in connection with "Uhuru" placards which made their appearance in Church Square, Pretoria, on Tuesday, 5th July.

Mr. van Reenen, who was questioned for 3½ hours in connection with the burning of the grass on the square, and the planting of "Uhuru" placards, had not been seen by friends and colleagues since he attended a police identification parade on the Wednesday.

He was telephoned at his office on the Tuesday morning by a member of the C.I.D., who asked him to come to the C.I.D. offices. During the interrogation, it was mentioned that two policemen had identified him as the man who had burnt the grass. He was threatened with a treason charge, and told that he could be detained under the emergency regulations.

On the Wednesday afternoon, he was accompanied to his home by a member of the C.I.D., staying only long enough to gather some clothes. He left a note for his father saying that he had been detained under the emergency regulations.

Informed sources reveal that Mr. van Reenen flatly denied having anything to do with the placards. The day after his arrest, "Uhuru" placards made their appearance in Brooklyn, and placards were also seen by a housewife at the municipal market in Church Street.

His father, meanwhile, has visited him in the Pretoria Central Prison where he is being held together with detainees who have not yet been released. A senior officer of the C.I.D. is also reported to have said that charges against him "would be decided at a later date".

GAOL

(Continued from column 3)

was shown to all, irrespective of race. There was a little unpleasantness mingled with this kindness from lower ranks of the prison staff, but all speak highly of the senior staff.

Conditions were worst in Port Elizabeth, where the Security Branch has an unsympathetic head. In Durban and Nylstroom (Transvaal) they were good, beds, books, and comforts being allowed. In Pretoria and Johannesburg (the Fort) they were bad.

DETAINEES: SOME LOSE JOBS

From "Contact" Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG: Release from detention has meant joy to some, heartbreak to others. These latter were detainees who found, when they came out, that their jobs had vanished.

A leatherworker, Mr. Ramdeen, who has worked for the firm of Eddels Ltd. for 21 years, went round to see the personnel officer after he was released on Union Day.

The officer, Mr. Cotton, told him that he had lost his job. "If you want a job," said Mr. Cotton, "you'd better ask Motala." (Dr. Motala is the local leader of the Natal Indian Congress.)

This same firm is trying to remove Dr. Motala's name from its medical panel.

Mr. Johannes Ndaba has worked for seven years for the chocolate firm of Nestles. He, too, failed to get his job back, although the firm admitted that, before the emergency, there had been no plan to dismiss him.

Happily, other firms have acted differently, and Savilles (part of the Greatermans chain), Brayley's, and the African Horizon insurance company, have all taken back their employees who were detained.

The Liberal Party has been investigating all these cases, and the Emergency Organization has been helping with support.

AFRICAN SERVANTS' UNION REVIVED

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The African Domestic Workers' Union has appealed to employers to give more consideration to the domestic servants.

The union's secretary, Mr. T. Ntlatlane, complains that although African women employed as cooks are generally underpaid, they often have to do other work as well—without extra pay.

African men employed as drivers seldom get overtime pay, he adds. In addition, they frequently have to do other work, such as gardening—again without extra pay.

"Very often, an African works for the same employer for more than a year. But in many cases, no wage increases are given."

The African Domestic Workers' Union was recently re-organized after a period of inactivity. It claims a membership of 5,884.

Rent Rise Blocked

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The emergency and the banning of the A.N.C. and P.A.C. have not prevented representative organization from taking up issues courageously.

The Durban City Council recently agreed to refer back a proposal to increase site rentals at Cato Manor by 10s. a month to £1 10s. a month.

The question will now be reconsidered at a special joint meeting of the Finance and Bantu Administration Committees.

The reason for the "refer-back" is pressure from a newly-formed organization in Cato Manor—the Cato Manor Residents' Association.

Before the Council met this month the Association sent each councillor a memorandum protesting against the move to raise rentals.

The memorandum stated that the "basic cause of the Natal demonstrations which started in Cato Manor last year was the extreme poverty of the people".

"Let city councillors realize that the extra 10s. a month may mean that hundreds of extra children will suffer and die from kwashiorkor," said Mr. Postol Mngadi of the Association.

The Cato Manor Residents' Association is one of several bodies now being set up in Natal.

DETAINEE BURIED

From Adelaide Hain

PRETORIA: Solomon Sello, 47, local treasurer of the P.A.C., was buried on 16th July in the Bantule Cemetery, Pretoria.

Mr. Sello was arrested at the beginning of the anti-pass campaign together with other local P.A.C. leaders and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for incitement.

He was shot in the stomach during the bus boycott a few years ago. Just before his arrest he underwent a stomach operation and was still under treatment.

It is virtually impossible to obtain information about the circumstances or date of his death from the prison authorities but the following facts seem accurate: The family were not informed officially, but a detainee managed to get the news to them through a prison worker.

From information gathered by visitors to detainees it appears that he took ill last week and was removed to the prison hospital where he died on 10th or 11th July.

The funeral was attended by many friends, including members of the Liberal Party, and was watched by members of the Security Branch.

THE CONGO

(1) Mobs were Not out to Kill . . .

It now appears that the rioting mobs in the Congo were not out to massacre: their main purpose was to humiliate their erstwhile masters, and such killing as there was was incidental to the main purpose.

This appears from the low death-roll. After the worst of the troubles was over Mr. Mongi Slim, Tunisian delegate, reported to the United Nations that not more than twenty Whites had been killed in all. This

figure had not, at the time of writing, been denied.

A correspondent who was in the Congo throughout the independence celebrations reports that the mutineers of the *Force Publique* were out to humiliate. They did not sack all shops, but only those of classes or owners who were disliked. Their spite showed itself against the Flemish (Dutch-speaking) rather than against the French-

speaking Walloons, who were less unpopular.

Some Whites were ridiculed by being forced to undress or to take off their shoes.

In the general picture the raping of women takes its place as the supreme humiliation.

When the mutiny broke out some Whites fled from real danger. But many more panicked, and fled, on mere rumours.

These rumours lost nothing in the telling, and by the time the Nationalist and the sensational press in South Africa had printed them they had become grossly exaggerated.

It is now becoming possible to see these deplorable troubles in their true proportion. What emerges is:

- Riots as ugly as anything in recent years.
- Caused by eighty years of Belgian apartheid, and
- Triggered off by Belgium's precipitate and irresponsible decision to pull out.

(2) What is Going to Happen?

WHAT is the future of the Congo? Our special correspondent writes:

I predict that —

1. Peace will be restored in the Congo in a comparatively short time. This is because the U.N. simply will not allow the country to disintegrate.
2. Racial feelings will cool when the Congolese appreciate the necessity of having foreign experts.
3. A working agreement will be reached with Katanga, without war.
4. There will be a painful resumption of economic activity.
5. The biggest short-term risk is the danger of Russian intervention, which might spark off another Korea.
6. The central government's biggest difficulties are going to be caused by tribalism, not by White-Black tensions.

The first objective in trouble-torn Congo must be to create a situation where law and order prevails. The

authorities cannot rest until: (1) Sufficient U.N. troops garrison every town; (2) The Belgians have withdrawn their forces altogether; (3) The *Force Publique* returns to discipline.

Even if these conditions are fulfilled there can be no taking it easy. For there are tough, long-term problems that must be tackled immediately. Of these, tribalism is perhaps the most difficult problem in the country. In this nation of 200 tribes, it was inter-tribal rivalry, not inter-racial hatred, that necessitated a tough, armed, *Force Publique*.

To pacify the tribally-based political parties that took all but 35 seats in the 137-strong Lower House, Lumumba had to appoint a cabinet of 35 members. This made swift and effective rule in a crisis quite impossible.

Patrice Lumumba, or any other leader who emerges from the chaos, must try to instil a sense of unity into the Congolese nation. This is no easy task in a peaceful homogeneous country, let alone in the Congo.

Unusually tough deployment of the

United Nations' and later the *Force Publique* soldiers, will be needed to prevent further secessionary moves and to make the people respect law and order after the current lawless atmosphere has subsided.

But the internal politics of the Congo are but a part of her problems. The intervention of the United Nations' troops was at first popular, but this popularity and respect has to be maintained by unfamiliar white- and brown skinned soldiers. There is a possibility that these troops may clash with the Congolese people themselves. Or they might be used by the government against Katanga if that state cannot peacefully be brought back to its obedience to the central government.

Still further complications could be added if the world powers decide to make the Congo a battleground. Lumumba's flirtation with Russia and impassioned attacks on Belgium, and Belgium's reluctance to withdraw and let the U.N. troops take over, make

the country more than ever likely to become involved in world power politics. If the Belgians back Katanga and the Russians the Congo, there is a real danger of the Congo's becoming another Korea.

The relatively prosperous Congo economy has been wrecked—at least temporarily—by the events of the past three weeks.

The Congo franc is now considered practically valueless on world money markets. Thus the Congo's trade will be seriously disrupted for some time through a lack of acceptable currency to trade with, if not for other reasons.

The Congo needs technicians and administrators badly. At present there are only 16 Congolese graduates in the whole country. On the day of independence there were no Congolese civil servants above the grade of senior clerks, no commissioned officers in the Army or *Force Publique*, not a single Congolese doctor, or lawyer, or accountant.

FORBIDDEN INTERVIEW WITH A FORT HARE STUDENT

FORT HARE students are forbidden. On pain of expulsion, from talking to representatives of the Press, but our representative was able to interview one of them during the July vacation.

CONTACT: *Generally speaking, what are things like at the College since it was transferred to the Bantu Education Department?*

STUDENT: There has been a great change. In the first place, practically all normal relations with Rhodes University have been cut by our new rector Ross. He says that it is not in our interest to associate with Rhodes students. Consequently we feel very much out of touch with what is going on in student circles in the Union.

C.: *But surely you are able to get that sort of information through other channels?*

S.: It is very difficult. We are not allowed to have visitors freely, and anyway, Fort Hare is a long way from the cities.

C.: *And Nusas?*

S.: The Rector said that if he found that any person was associated with subversive groups" he would be expelled. He made it quite clear that he regarded Nusas as a subversive organization.

C.: *In what sense?*

S.: Ross has declared that he is determined to carry out government policy. As Nusas is opposed to apartheid, it is subversive.

C.: *How is actual academic life affected by the change?*

S.: Freedom of discussion between students and lecturers has gone. Students are afraid to raise contentious points with lecturers for fear of victimisation; and lecturers are afraid that if they press contentious issues the students will fear that they are being indoctrinated.

C.: *How have the students reacted to this situation?*

S.: There is an atmosphere of tension about the place. We are afraid of victimisation. The Rector has the power to suspend any student without giving him a hearing.

C.: *How is that?*

S.: The Rector has established a discipline committee. All its members are appointed by the rector himself. It can do what it likes.

C.: *What about the academic standard of the college?*

S.: The new lecturers who have replaced those who were sacked or resigned do not seem to be of the same calibre. Many of them have difficulty in making themselves understood in English as they are Afrikaners; and in spite of the language difficulty many seem to be plainly ignorant, giving answers to questions by referring to University of South Africa notes.

C.: *How do these lecturers get on with the African staff members?*

S.: They have made them feel unwelcome in the Senior Common Room to such an extent that many of them do not go there any more. Furthermore, most discussion in the Senate is conducted in Afrikaans, which many lecturers do not understand.

C.: *How do the new students find the College?*

S.: It is very difficult to say, because they are kept almost completely separate from us second- and third-year students. This separation appears to be deliberate because a complete reorganization of the residences was made to effect it. In the past, the residences were divided on a denominational basis. Now, all first-year students are made to live at Iona House.

C.: *What are they studying?*

S.: Only a third are studying for degrees. The rest are taking diplomas.

C.: *Is that normal?*

S.: No. The authorities have had to fill the College with students from the Healdtown (Teacher) Training College to give the impression that everything is normal.

C.: *Does the Students' Representative Council still exist?*

S.: Yes, but no notice whatsoever is taken of it by Ross. He only uses it as an excuse for not dealing directly with the general student body. He gives the S.R.C. directives which he expects it to carry out. If this continues, it may be necessary to disband it.

C.: *Is there any political activity on the campus?*

S.: Only secretly. We know that if Ross found any person was active politically he would expel him.

C.: *Has the College ever been visited by Nusas?*

S.: Yes, its president called to see Ross about establishing a branch of Nusas at Fort Hare. He was ordered to leave the University premises immediately.

C.: *What is the library like?*

S.: It seems that a lot of books which do not harmonise with apartheid and separate development have been removed.

C.: *And periodicals?*

S.: *Evening Post, Rand Daily Mail, Imvo Zabantsundu, Ilanga Lase Natal* and other harmless stuff. And a pile of Afrikaans papers which no one reads.

C.: *Any notable gaps in the list?*

S.: No *Observer*, no *Contact*, no *Africa South*, no *Drum*, and, before it was banned, no *New Age*.

C.: *Do you ever see Contact?*

S.: Yes, I buy it in town and, when I have read it, circulate it secretly among my friends. It would not be wise to be seen reading it openly.

C.: *What is your impression of Ross?*

S.: We feel that he is a political commissar rather than an academician.

He is actively and openly associated with Sabra, and is a **d a m a n t** that apartheid is the right solution to the country's problems. He is disgustingly paternalistic towards us, and has said that

all the restrictions he has imposed are designed to "protect" us from outside influences. He is domineering and dictatorial, and makes all decisions regarding the running of the college in the light of government policy. He has killed academic freedom, and will not listen to argument.

C.: *What of the future?*

S.: It is quite obvious that the government is forcing Fort Hare into the mould of Bantu Education: low-grade schooling followed by low-grade "university" education. In time, no reputable university in the world will accept Fort Hare degrees. The educational advance of the Africans will thus be limited to whatever level the government wishes.



Prof. J. J. Ross
(bantu)

contact

U.N. Must Stay in the Congo

THE United Nations have moved into the Congo. That is the biggest news of the last fortnight. Perhaps it is the biggest news of the last ten years.

At the moment of writing (22nd July) the build-up is proceeding fast, and the signs are that General Alexander's forces will soon move into every province, including, one hopes, Katanga. *Contact* welcomes the build-up.

Perhaps when the dust settles, some 50,000 Belgians will have departed, leaving some 50,000 who, it is likely, will remain to help run the vast country.

There will be an urgent need for administrators and technicians to take the place of the Belgians who will have gone.

Technicians should be rushed to the Congo from many areas. Two conditions should, however, be observed. Firstly, these technicians should be employed by the United Nations, and not by foreign powers. Secondly, they should not, preponderantly, be supplied by any of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Excluding British, American, Nationalist Chinese, Russian, and French technicians will narrow the field of choice, but will be necessary if the cold war is to be kept out of the Congo. It is to be hoped that an opportunity will be given to young technicians from countries like India and Japan, rich in skills and energy, and poor hitherto in opportunities, to play their full part as U.N. officers in Africa.

Quietly, U.N. administrators and technicians have been moving into several African countries over the latter few years. Some thirty-four are already in the Sudan, as reported elsewhere in this issue. Many are in Somalia, Ethiopia, Ghana, and possibly in other African lands too. The new countries have accepted them without losing their newly-won independence. If thousands of U.N. technicians now move into the Congo they will do so as

A Disgusting Cartoon

THIS ghastly cartoon comes from a magazine called *"Evergreen"*. It is Chinese communist propaganda. The Chinese are sending this sort of thing to Africa in shiploads.

The colonial system in Africa should be ended. It is being ended, in most places quietly and in an orderly way. But this cartoon counsels the colonial people to end colonial rule with violence. It incites to murder.

The strangest fact in the world to-day is this: freedom is being given to many nations by the Western powers,

more generously than freedom has ever been granted before. Yet the communists, who claim to be anti-imperialist, are conquering new colonies.

The Chinese are at this very moment exterminating a whole people in Tibet. Yet they are shameless enough to publish this sort of comment on the African situation.

These communists feel safe in sitting thousands of miles away and inciting people in Africa to kill each other. We in Africa say to them, as we are saying to all imperialists: "Hands off Africa!"

The colonialist in Africa:

"I'll stay here . . . and no matter what happens . . . I'll never move out."



part of a pattern long accepted by other African governments.

If the U.N. is able to build its power in the Congo much will have been done to save Africa from communist imperialism. For if communism is to succeed chaos is necessary. But U.N. strength is massive enough to be able to deal with a considerable amount of chaos in the Congo. It is to be hoped that the great powers will do all in their power to strengthen Dr. Bunche and his officers.

It is essential that the U.N. forces stay in the Congo until the whole southern limb of the African continent is calmed. Inside the Congo the dangers of tribalism remain. Tribal enmities there are like dying embers of a fire that can still flare dangerously. Much work must be done in building a nation before it will be safe for the U.N. forces to return home. And outside the Congo there are signs that African nationalists will soon challenge the power of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique; that the South West African mandate may soon be revoked; that the Union government will reject the U.N. demand that it abandon its apartheid policy; that Sir Roy Welensky may be rudely shaken in his control of the Federation.

In any of these eventualities the presence of U.N. forces in the southern

limb of the continent is a guarantee of peace and order.

May the U.N. grow in strength rapidly, and save the human race in Africa, as well as in the world generally, from the worst consequences of its follies.

The Nats are not Nazis

A LOT of people go around saying that "The Nats are Nazis".

That is not our view. It is true, of course, that there are some Nazi-minded people among the Nationalists. The Prime Minister, in our view, is a would-be Nazi. But it is a fallacy to regard the government, or the Nationalist Party generally, as Nazi.

By releasing so many of the detainees they have proved that they are not Nazis. In his rise to power Hitler used each new position won as a springboard to advance to further extremes. Never once did he retreat. But the release of 1,200 prisoners is a retreat, a retreat towards democracy, and away from nazism.

Let us oppose apartheid without compromise, but also without overstatement.

Passive Resistance at Salisbury

THE Salisbury march and stay-at-home is of the greatest importance.

Firstly, it shows that the democrats in Southern Rhodesia are not paralysed by apathy, and that the people's political courage there is high.

Secondly, it shows that the technique worked out in Cape Town in March and April has been approved in a distant Southern African city. The massive crowd, collecting either by procession or otherwise in the city centre, has again proved itself a most potent weapon against White supremacy. It is likely that we shall see many Cape Towns, many Salisburys, within the near future.

Contact salutes the leaders of the non-racial National Democratic Party for their command of the people, and for their principled attachment to the power of non-violence.

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

Fair Comment . . . by Patrick Duncan

ALBERT HERTZOG, the craziest cabinet minister in fifty years, has really gone too far.

I got counsel's opinion the other day on whether I could have Hertzog prosecuted for the wicked remarks he made about the English press. Unfortunately the distinguished lawyer I went to said I hadn't got a case.

Trying to find out what makes this twisted mind tick I went to the South African Public Library to get out his book. Published in 1929 it is called *Judicial Obsessions: Property in Commercial Law*. I soon saw that it was pretentious; that it was nonsense, and that it could tell me little about the inner mind of Hertzog.

It amused me to note that in thirty-one years not one single other person had taken the book out of the library!

HAROLD MACMILLAN has welcomed the United Nations move into the Congo. Reading that took me back to February when I drank whisky with him in Cape Town. I put to him then my view that the situation in Southern Africa had reached the stage when the best way out would be intervention by the United Nations. That was only five months ago. At the time my suggestion seemed far-fetched. Yet how fast in the interval it has become practical politics!

I can't decide whether Garry Allighan's *Curtain Up on South Africa* is the worst book I have read this year—or any year. I decided after some thought that it was worse than Mr. Boydell's book. I shall long remember it for its description of the southward migration of African tribes:

"The blood-fevered Bantu were on the war-march south . . . they came from the Congo forests and the north-east swampland . . . in search of the White men, who, a thousand tom-toms through a hundred forests telegraphed, were creating prosperous farms in the south . . . it became a competition in plundering speed for the prize."

EARLY in July the Governor-General, E. C. R. Swart, dined with some Muslims at the exclusive Oriental Club near Durban.

This is a double precedent: not only is it a reversal of apartheid, it is also the first time that a South African Governor-General has accepted such an invitation.

Just the other day I found among my father's papers a memorandum dealing with this precise question. He had been invited out by some South Africans of Indian origin. He refused, and the memorandum shows why he refused. The grounds were that he would have had to invite them back, that "public

opinion" was not ready for such a move, and that it was not for the Governor-General to break new ground.

I compliment Mr. Swart on having done better than my father. And I would remind him that, since the beginning of time, hospitality that is accepted should be returned.

LAST fortnight we reported the experiences of a detainee who had been inside the Modder B prison. It seemed then as though some of the people who have vanished might have been kept there. Further investigations into Modder B make it unlikely that they are there. Most people in Modder B are "screened" by a "court". Those deemed under the Urban Areas Act to be "idle or disorderly" are sent to farms or labour colonies. There is a fairly large turnover of people in Modder B, and it is apparently possible for prisoners to write home when they reach the farms.

Does any reader know where there is a secret prison or concentration-camp?

WE read some weeks ago in the papers that *African Mirror* and other films would no longer go from South Africa to East Africa. As some papers forgot to give their readers the reason for the change I shall give it here.

Julius Nyerere, leader of T.A.N.U. in Tanganyika, wrote to Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Pictures Association of America, and told him

that all American films distributed through South Africa would be boycotted.

Mr. Johnston replied agreeing to Mr. Nyerere's demand, and routing the films direct to East Africa.

IF the Nats aren't Nazis perhaps they are communists! Listen to this remark from Britain.

"Although the communist powers have launched great intellectual and political campaigns (to influence developments in Africa) they have not accomplished as much for their cause as have, for instance, the Whites in South Africa. The author proposes Dr. Verwoerd for the Lenin prize for promoting soviet interests in Africa"

(From *Africa Special Report*, May 1960; a review of Czeslaw Jesman's article "The Red and the Black" in *Crossbow*, Autumn 1959.)

WHAT THE B.A.D. DEPT. THINKS

While the agitation and demonstrations among the misguided Bantu of a few urban areas were in progress, millions of Bantu on farms and in their ethnic homelands were living in peace and quiet and preparations for the celebrations of the Festival of Union went on uninterruptedly.

—baNtu, June 1960.

ALAN PATON takes

. THE LONG VIEW

THE CONGO



Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party.

THE news from the Congo does not make pleasant reading, and will not make things easier to put right in Angola, Kenya, Mozambique, the Federation, and South Africa. Feelings of hatred, fear, and distrust are intensified, and you will find many supremacists, both Black and White, gloating over the mess, the first because White people have suffered death, rape, and loss, the second because the new Black state is in chaos.

Let us try to examine the situation as calmly as possible.

It is quite clear that the Belgians were from one point of view not justified in handing over so swiftly and so completely. It is equally clear that from another point of view they had no alternative. If they had not handed over they would have entered a period of waning authority and increasing turbulence. Belgian life would have got cheaper, and the Belgians would have had to face the accusation that they were unwilling to let go. They were in a fateful predicament.

And how did they get there? They

got there because they had done so little to prepare the Congolese for the day when they would have to administer their own affairs, their own finances, their own education, their own development as a state able to take a place with the states of the modern age.

I have visited the Congo, and while its colour bar never cast such a shadow as it does in South Africa, it was a colour bar country all the same. The Belgians held the surely now totally discredited theory that Africans want only "bread and butter, blankets and beer". The Belgian power was absolute, showing itself particularly in its veto of advanced education overseas for African students. The Belgians also held that other foolish theory that new ideas always come from abroad.

The Belgians tried desperately to change their course when they realised the way that the winds of change were blowing, and one must give them credit for it. But they were too late. They decided to give only when they realised that it was impossible not to give.

Those were their three mistakes. They realized the inevitable too late, and because of that they were unable to deal with it; their failure was due to the fact that they held a materialistic and incomplete theory of the nature and destiny of man.

Or to put it briefly, the colonial system, with its colour bar and its arrogance, had corrupted them, just as it had corrupted the British, the Afrikaners, the Portuguese, and the French.

The first thing that we must all get used to is that the forces freed by the ending of colonial power are going to take a long time to find a new equilibrium. Therefore we may expect in Africa to experience turbulence for a long time to come.

This turbulence is often going to be of a shocking nature, especially to White South Africans. But they must face the hard fact that the tragic events of the last few weeks do not compare with the tragic events that overcame the people of the Congo under Leopold I. If they bear these facts in mind, they may be able to examine the situation rationally rather than emotionally.

Change is going to go on, that is a certainty. We should spare ourselves the futile labour of railing against it, and attempting to prove that it will do no one any good. What we have to do about change is to adapt ourselves to it, and it to ourselves, as far as we are able. We are piloting a vessel down the rapids, and we have only a partial control over the vessel, and none at all over the rapids. Such an operation requires the highest skill and attention.

The Belgians paid too little attention to the nature of the stream, and heard too late the roar of the rapids. It looks as though the British and the French were wiser, although the period of equilibrium has by no means been reached in their colonies and ex-colonies. What the Portuguese will do, is a question no one can answer optimistically. But what interests all of us, is what will happen in our own country.

The Congo situation was far from identical with our own, although there are many similar elements. The contribution of White South Africans to the development of the country has been immense, and the vast majority of its White citizens look upon South Africa as home. What is more, South Africa possesses a comparatively large number of non-White people who would be able to make notable contributions to a non-racial society, though the number would have been far greater had it not been for the colour bar.

Further, there has been, in spite of the practices of segregation and apartheid and baasskap, a greater measure of cultural assimilation than there ever was in the Congo. There is a large number of non-White people who want to go on living in a kind of society which will differ mainly from our own in the fact that it will have no racial barriers. The Coloured people are either Afrikaans- or English-speaking, the Indian people are to-day almost entirely English-speaking, and the urban African people are increasingly a house-renting, steady-earning, education-valuing, newspaper-reading community like any other urban group.

There is therefore hope for our future if we avoid the three dangers of the Congo. First, we must realise now that there is no future for South Africa if non-White people do not share fully in it. Second, we must not wait till change is forced upon us. Third, we must give up the theory that one can bribe change with bread and butter, blankets and beer. I believe that we can, in Dr. de Kiewiel's words, use these things to help us in "negotiating change", but we cannot substitute them for change.

However, there is one way of "negotiating change" which is now utterly useless, and that is apartheid. The entire world condemns it today as inhuman. It has no status as a solution any more.

I said there is hope for our future if we avoid the three dangers of the Congo. But the last hard fact of the situation is that we may not avoid them. White South Africa, too, may delay change until it is beyond its power to negotiate it.

The Belgians did not fail in the Congo because they failed to apply apartheid. They failed because in the crucial areas of administration and public responsibility they applied it only too well.

A lot of things that happen never get into the papers: you will find some of them here. You will also read about a lot of things that are going to happen

HOT TIPS!

Welensky Swart
Huxley . . . Union Minière . .
R.S.T. Lumumba . . .
Boycott . . . Mozambique . . .

WHITE TROOPS FOR RHODESIA

Welensky evidently can't trust his four battalions of African troops. The Congo's Force Publique mutiny has scared him into raising another army battalion, Special Air Service squadron and Reconnaissance squadron—all for Whites only.

"ANGLO'S" CONGO RUMOUR

Big businessmen in Johannesburg clubs and board-rooms are repeating the rumour that Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation is planning to take over Union Minière, backbone of the Katanga and Congo economy.

MINING MEN MAY PROBE

In Johannesburg for the first time in 30 years, 300 delegates will attend the Commonwealth Mining and Metallurgical Congress in April and May next year. They will meet in the limelight of Johannesburg's 75th anniversary. The Government and the Chamber of Mines have assured mining bodies in India, Malaya and Ghana that apartheid will not "interfere with their activities" when their delegates visit South Africa. It is more likely that some of these will interfere with apartheid's activities when they return home. Shop-window compound housing and health services, and the usual secrecy about compounds, should not hide some of the appalling

effects of celibate migrant labour and the compound system, not to mention service and labour conditions.

WILL PRAIN LEAVE S.R.?

Will Prain, the copper magnate, of Rhodesian Selection Trust, deny the story that he is planning to move back to Northern Rhodesia? He has just finished his new Salisbury office (cost £600,000). But the story of the move is growing in strength, despite R.S.T. official denials. Prain himself has not denied the story.

R.S.T. is not increasing its popularity in the new Africa by playing along with Welensky, as was proved when Malawi refused the £90,000 R.S.T. "no strings" gift for development in Nyasaland.

LUMUMBA'S MOSCOW LEANINGS

One theory about the bevy of beautiful young Belgian girls surrounding Lumumba is that they were put there by Belgian communists to keep him on the straight and narrow path—politically. His threat to ask the Soviet Union for help is making people think that he has more than leanings towards Moscow.

FURTHER FRUIT THREAT

Towards the end of last fruit season Swedish trade-unionists sent a ship with South African fruit away from Sweden, and the ship had to offload its cargo in England. Fruit farmers are asking:

"What will happen if the English dockers out of solidarity with their Swedish brothers, refuse to unload such ships in future?" Sweden, incidentally, is only half-closed to S.A. fruit. Norway is completely closed.

SIDE-EFFECTS OF BOYCOTT

Boycott side-effects are being felt in Durban where among the 208 Dunlop workers reported to have been dismissed were a number engaged on a modernization programme that has had to be called off since the Malayan boycott put paid to any expansion of Dunlop (S.A.) in these times.

BLACK EXECUTIVES FOR S.A.?

At least one big overseas company is considering training non-Whites for executive posts in their South African branches, as this same firm did in India when it became clear that the British Raj was doomed. A further incentive to this and other overseas firms to drop colour bars may be the hope that they will be exempted from the boycott thereby.

"ENLIGHTENED PORTUGUESE"!

African labour conditions in Mozambique apparently satisfy some British businessmen. Lt.-Col. Hornung of Sena Sugar Estates stated to shareholders: "I am glad to say that the enlightened policy of the Portuguese authorities towards the native population has

resulted in contentment and there have been no signs of unrest. An ample supply of native labour has been available." In March the Colonel visited Dictator Salazar in Lisbon.

NATAL CONFERENCE UPSETS

The Governor-General's opening speech, which provoked coughing in chorus and out-of-place clapping was not the only embarrassing incident at the National Conference of Education, Durban. (Swart, like the experienced politician he is, cut a lot of the speech when the audience reacted as they did to his hymn of hate.) African and Indian students boycotted the Conference with 100% effectiveness, as a protest against segregation at Natal University. The university authorities almost encouraged the boycott by posting an official at the Union Hall entrance notorious for his views on non-White students. Another jarring note was Sir Julian Huxley's graduation speech, in which he said that "most Africans are in many ways children". Sir Julian and Lady Huxley later met Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane and a group of African citizens of Durban socially, and Sir Julian told them he would omit this remark in his Maritzburg repeat of the speech, which he did. Of Sir Julian's speech *Die Transvaler*, with a childishness hard to equal, wrote how this "slim Britse sir" was trounced by our own Dr. T. E. W. Schumann on the subject of racial separation.

NEW BOOK POINTS TO OLD EGYPT-GHANA LINK "Time" in Trouble



On the left the Hawk god Sokar wearing the crown and insignia of Osiris. In the centre Hathor as goddess of birth and rebirth symbolized by the hippopotamus, carrying in her right hand a flame from the moon, in her left the "ankh", the symbol of life.

Is the ancient Egyptian religion still alive to-day? To most people such a question appears foolish, for nothing seems quite as dead as the religion of the pharaohs.

Yet, in a book published on 22nd July, Mrs. Eva Meyerowitz, of Cape Town, makes an excellent case for believing that the Akan people of Ghana are to-day still practising a religion that is directly descended from that of old Egypt.

When the Akan settled in Ghana centuries ago, they brought with them

two cults, the king as incarnation of the clan-god and the king as incarnation of his state's sky fertility-god both of which had spread to Egypt from the ancient Near East. To these were added two of Egyptian origin, the king as son of the Sun-god and the king as incarnation of the Divine Procreator of his lineage.

The author explains how the differences between the religion of ancient Egypt and that of the present-day Akan are variations on a theme, and that the similarities are striking.

The book is superbly produced and illustrated. One illustration is here reproduced.

Much is described which is true not only of the Akan but of other peoples of Africa. These similarities pose a startling question: Is it possible that, as it unfolds, the African personality will seize on this ancient religion with its profound affinities with Africa, and with its past of dazzling splendour, and revive it?

THE DIVINE KINGSHIP IN GHANA AND ANCIENT EGYPT. By Eva L. R. Meyerowitz (Faber and Faber) 63s.

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d. plus 3d. postage.

from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

U.N. Experts in Sudan

FACTS revealing the importance of United Nations technical assistance in the Sudan are revealed in the 1960 edition of the Sudan Directory,* an excellent reference book and "Who's Who" which has just been published.

In November, 1958, the government of the Sudan Republic was overthrown by the Sudanese army, which assumed



ABBOUD

power and has been ruling the country ever since, under the leadership of General Abboud. The reason for the revolt was that the elected government was unable to cope with the problems facing the country in the first years of its independence from Britain.

Under enlightened military rule the country has gone ahead, and has been greatly assisted in its progress by the United Nations Organization through

its subsidiary agencies; the United Nations Technical Assistance Board has a Resident Representative, Mr. H. G. Gupta, in Khartoum, capital of Sudan, and four chief officers who advise and assist the government in Community Development, Public Administration, Meteorology and Demography; the International Labour Office under Mr. Glyn Gregory, has six officials, a vocational training instructor and another expert in the same field; a specialist in each of the following spheres: electrical safety, dockers' regulations, labour legislation and plumbing.

Unesco, under Mr. S. U. S. Rao, has officers helping in the Ministry of Education, and in the Survey Department of the Sudanese government, advising on Fundamental Education, cheap school building, archeology and educational statistics.

The World Health Organization, headed by Dr. Hans Beringer, has thirteen officers in the country, medical officers dealing with tuberculosis and malaria among other things, and six Nurse Educators.

The Food and Agriculture Organization has a Chief of Mission and agricultural economist, Dr. T. G. Shirname, in Khartoum, as well as eleven other officers assisting the government and people of Sudan in the following fields: rice production, hydrology, date production, water well drilling, fisheries, forest management, cocoa production, hides and leather and agricultural statistics.

*DIRECTORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN, 1960, including Trade Index and Biographical Section; Diplomatic Press, 13 Cotswold Gardens, London. 30s.

A STORM is brewing over the weekly magazine, *Time*. It is showing signs of being increasingly biased against Africa and Africans.

Time's report (4th July) on the Addis Ababa conference spoke of "hot-eyed young nationalists" and their "angry squabbling". It said that Guinea and the Cameroon Republic "brawled openly", and that the Guinean delegate "lit into" the Cameroon delegate.

Earlier, *Time* delighted news editors and enraged Nigerians with the stories (denied as untrue) that pregnant women in Nigeria drink ink in order to bear learned children, that they use vaseline for butter, and boot polish for lipstick.

The accuracy of *Time's* reporting has also been criticised. In the issue of 4th July it described the Mali Federation as being composed of Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco, when it in fact comprises Senegal and the Sudan Republic, right the other side of the vast Sahara desert.

Hostility to the magazine is growing in Africa, and Mr. R. O. A. Akinjide, a member of Nigeria's federal House of Representatives, has introduced a bill which seeks to have *Time* banned from the country.

IS SASOL ENOUGH?

MUCH has been heard of plans to isolate apartheid by stopping all shipments of oil to South Africa.

Could the country carry on without oil imports? Could Sasol supply enough to keep key vehicles and tractors moving?

The answer is: No. Sasol produces no diesel oil, no paraffin and no lubricating oil: Sasol produces petrol only. "It produces 40 million gallons of petrol a year, which is one tenth of the Union's annual requirements," said Dr. F. J. du Toit, the chairman, on 25th April, 1960.

Thus, few buses or agricultural tractors could carry on, as nearly all use diesel oil or paraffin.

The use of cars would have to be ruthlessly limited to essential services.

Even the Saracens could not run for long, for they use diesel oil.

"THOU ART A STEWARD"

If thou be great, after being of no account, and hast gotten riches after squalor, being foremost in these in the city, and hast knowledge concerning useful matters, so that promotion is come to thee; then swathe not thine heart in thine hoard, for thou art become a steward of the endowment of the God. Thou art not the last; others shall be thine equal, and to them shall come what has come to thee.

—(From the Instructions of Ptah-Hotep, the oldest book in the world. Egyptian, B.C. 3550.)

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P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

U.N. MAN IN AFRICA

IN Leopoldville, capital of the Congo, there is a man whose already great power is increasing. He calls up reinforcements; and from all the ends of the earth giant Globemasters take off, laden heavily with paratroopers and with arms. He receives ultimatums; and deals with rulers as an equal. His state is indeed kingly, and thousands do at his bidding speed.

He is Dr. Ralph Johnson Bunche, Under-Secretary of the United Nations Organization. Since the middle of June he has been in Leopoldville, charged by the world with saving the Congo from the worst results of the present chaos. He is, in Africa, the man of the moment.

To many of his fellow-Americans he is a "Negro". To Mr. Tom Naudé of South Africa and his race inquisitors he would probably be a "Coloured". Doubtless to the Congolese he is an American. In fact he is a man in the fullest sense, a citizen of the world, and one of the rulers of the fast-growing government of the world.

He has links with South Africa. He studied under Schapera at Cape Town university. And, refused by Johannesburg's "good" hotels, he once lodged at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Let us, from the southern end of the southern limb of our great African continent, take a good look at this man.

For he is a man whose destinies and ours may prove to be intimately intertwined.

He was born in the United States of America in 1904, the son of a poor Detroit barber, and grandson of a slave. He was left an orphan at an early age, but obtained free schooling at the Jefferson High School in Los Angeles and went from there to the University of California.

With the assistance of scholarships and through his own efforts (he took all sorts of odd jobs) he completed his studies, and obtained his B.A. with International Relations as his major subject.

From California he went on to Harvard University for his M.A. and later was awarded a Doctorate in Philosophy for a thesis on colonial policy. The thesis has never been published. It is thought that it was extremely critical of the colonial practices of the European powers.

He was appointed Director of the Department of Political Science at Howard University in 1928, and Professor of the same field in 1930, posts he held until 1950.

He did post-doctoral work in anthropology and colonial policy at Northwestern University after leaving Harvard, at the London School of Economics and, in 1936, at the University of Cape Town, where he worked under Professor Schapera on methods of

anthropological research.

Apart from his academic life he has held many distinguished offices: Co-director of the Institute of Race Relations in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, and Senior Social Science Analyst concerned with Africa and the Far East; member of the Division of Political Studies of the Department of State during 1944, and its Area Specialist (Africa was the area).

He was seconded to the United Nations in 1946 at the special request of the then Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, and was for a year Director of U.N.O.'s Department of Trusteeship. He was appointed Principal Director of the same department from 1947 until 1954.

He was Count Bernadotte's assistant in mediating the Palestine dispute after the 2nd World War, and when Bernadotte was assassinated, Bunche was made Acting U.N. mediator on Palestine, a post he held from September, 1948, until August, 1949.

In recognition of his services in the settlement of the Palestine question, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950.

In 1954 he became Under-Secretary of the United Nations, a post he has held since then.

Dr. Bunche has always been keenly concerned for the future of Africa, and it is largely on his advice that U.N.O. initiated and developed its programme which entrusted it to him.



Dr. Ralph Bunche tells his daughters about the world.

He has been in Leopoldville for many weeks, and with his advice, and the assistance which the U.N.O. is able to offer, the newly-born Congo Republic should be able to reach stability, fairly smoothly.

Dr. Bunche has an enormous task in the Congo, but with his ability and knowledge of the special problems of Africa he will be able to fulfil it, to the credit of himself and the Organization of technical assistance to the new and emerging countries of the continent.

Second Interview with H. Selby Msimang

S.A.'s FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN FOCUS

CONTACT INTERVIEWER: In our previous conversation (Contact 2nd June), we left off at the end of the First World War in 1918, when the African National Congress decided to send back its pre-war deputation to England. I take it this was generally agreed?

MR. H. SELBY MSIMANG: On the contrary, there was strong opposition. A direct appeal to the Peace Conference was opposed, and others urged that the deputation would not even be allowed into the Conference.

C.: What alternative was proposed?

M.: They said that Congress should sponsor a deputation led by South West Africans, whose territory was bound to engage the attention of the Peace Conference.

C.: But how would this help Africans in the Union?

M.: The opposition argued that a protest by South West Africans against the mandate being given to the Union government would give a Congress deputation an opportunity to support such protests. We would give factual statements of conditions arising out of discriminatory, differential treatment. We could testify to the lack of any form of direct representation of Africans in the councils of state. Unfortunately, time seemed against us. We saw we should simply not be able to organize a South West African deputation in time for the Peace Conference. So the sponsors of a second deputation carried the day.

C.: Who were they?

M.: Well, Mr. J. T. Gumede was appointed to lead the deputation and there were Messrs. Sol. T. Plaatje, R. V. Selope Thema, L. T. Mvabasa and some more.

C.: What were their chances of success?

M.: I do not think the deputation had any chance whatsoever of succeeding, even in the hope of getting an opportunity to present its case before the British government and the Peace Conference. Their last card was to organize British public opinion to compel its government at least to use its influence with the South African ministers at the

Conference to meet the case of the Africans in some way. They tried hard to do this but insufficient funds made them return without having made any real impression on the English public.

C.: They seemed to address mainly working-class gatherings. I remember from reading Plaatje's account in his Native Life in South Africa. How did the people at home react to their failure and to the general set-back?

M.: Their mood was one of colossal frustration. This was manifested by upheavals throughout the country. Demands for increased pay began in Bloemfontein, under my leadership. At a time of high living costs, wages in this town were 2s. per day, generally. We demanded a modest minimum of 4s. 6d. per day. I was arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act, despite the fact that there had been no riots at all. They let me out on bail of £1,000. The case ended up in the Supreme Court, where I was acquitted.

C.: Where were the other upheavals you mentioned?

M.: A similar agitation took place in Port Elizabeth, where the leader was the late Mr. Sam Masabalala. When it gained momentum, the city council sent for the late Dr. Rubusana, M.P.C., from East London. When he tried to quell the agitation he was assaulted by the crowd. Mr. Masabalala was arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the allegation being that he incited the assault.

C.: How did the crowd respond?

M.: Masabalala's arrest infuriated the people. When they demanded his release at a demonstration near the gaol, they were met by police and civilians, who fired at them. Twenty-three people were killed.

C.: We were spared that in Cape Town in March and in Durban on 26th June this year in roughly similar circumstances. Did the people respond with violence?

M.: No, indeed, they resolved to declare a general strike, which was intended to affect every sphere of life in Port Elizabeth. The question arose who was to lead the strike, with Mr.

Masabalala locked up. They decided to invite me from Bloemfontein, and wired me the fare. I met the local committee, we called a public meeting, and I was given a mandate to call off the threatened strike pending a meeting with employees, which the Mayor had undertaken to call. This resulted in an agreement for a general increase in wages and the withdrawal of the charges against Mr. Masabalala.

C.: Were passes tackled too, or simply wages?

M.: In Johannesburg the A.N.C. conducted a number of upheavals against the Pass Laws. Passes were collected and burnt on the Market Square.

C.: With what result?

M.: Nothing concrete, but the agitation on the Rand had one extremely interesting sequel. The Native Affairs Department, in an effort to obtain a conviction against Congress leaders, organized informers who were told to work themselves into the inner councils of the A.N.C. One of them, Mr. Luke Masina, succeeded and became one of the executive members. But Mr. Masina was, of course, in fact a genuine keen Congressman. His reports were not at all what the Government wanted and in order to bring the conspiracy to a head, a false statement was drawn up, which Masina was to sign, and on the strength of which the leaders could be arrested. Masina would not sign it but made an X mark. On the strength of that statement the whole executive of the Congress was arrested and charged; Messrs. D. S. Letanka, C. S. Mabaso, L. T. Mvabasa, J. W. Dunywa and others. At the trial Masina disclosed under cross-examination the true facts about his statement, and proved his word by signing his name and giving evidence in English, when he had had an interpreter for his evidence-in-chief. Sensational stories in the newspaper next morning were headlined "LUKE MASINA—HIS MARK". The episode made the Native Affairs Department look very foolish.

C.: That's a not-unknown state of affairs to-day! What about the Cape?

M.: Well, it was in the Cape that

the late Mr. Clements Kadalie first launched the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union—the I.C.U.—shortly after these other upheavals. This was in 1919. He was assisted at the start by two Europeans.

C.: How did the launching of the I.C.U. affect the African National Congress?

M.: It was the spark of a fire that swept the country, dominating the African situation throughout the Union. Congress was completely put out of gear.

C.: How was the A.N.C. replaced politically at this stage?

M.: When the late General Hertzog introduced his famous Bills, the late Professor D. D. T. Jabavu convened a conference. Representatives of all African organizations met in Bloemfontein in 1936 and formed a new body—to be known as the "All African Convention", with Professor Jabavu as president and myself as secretary.

C.: The story of the Deputation to Cape Town to fight the Bills, and its failure is known to the modern generation. They failed outside Parliament and J. H. Hofmeyr failed inside it.

M.: The bills as you know deprived the Cape of the common roll franchise and replaced it by separate representation of Africans, established the "Natives Representative Council", and affected to create machinery to implement the Natives Land Act of 1913—supposedly to acquire more land to augment the scheduled "Native" areas.

C.: The very failure of the deputation to Hertzog was an augury of the uselessness of the separate representation and of the "Natives Representative Council". I take it this was what brought the A.N.C. back into being.

M.: It was. After the enactment of the Hertzog Bills there was a demand that the All African Convention should disband.

C.: If I may say so, recollections like yours are of great value to us to-day—and not only to take their place in the largely unwritten history of these times. They should give us a perspective for the work that lies ahead.

CORRESPONDENCE

Life and Death Struggle

SIR—It is disheartening to find people who are still not prepared to make a contribution to the destruction of the blight of racial oppression which eats like cancer into the vitals of millions of our people. They are the people, Black and White, who openly excuse themselves by claiming no interest in politics.

This happens at a time when the rulers of this country have declared their intention of relegating the Black man to a state of perpetual servitude.

The struggle for liberty must engage the support of every democrat, be he Black or White. Those who love humanity, who cherish the ideals of human liberty, those whatever their colour who are eager to see liberty, should identify themselves actively with a non-racial, non-sectional organization like the Liberal Party.

An effort should be made by all those who believe in fundamental human rights, to counteract the dangerous doctrines expounded by the racialistic Afrikaner and African nationalists.

Afrikaner nationalism is arrogant, rabid, racialistic. It is determined, despite its boast that it is the guardian of western christian civilization, to reduce its fellow human beings to a state of perpetual helotry.

On the other hand we have African nationalism, more explicitly as expounded by the Pan Africanist Congress, that professes to believe in non-racial democracy. But what kind of non-racial democracy is this when every political right must be in the hands of the majority (the so-called Africans)?

To the Afrikaner nationalists we say that we are the workers and peasants who constitute the great majority of the South African people; we are not interested in political ideologies, but are striving to rescue ourselves from hunger, disease, poverty, ignorance and inhumanity. We do not seek to destroy your so-called western christian civilization.

To the African nationalists we say: you have nothing to lose but your chains by renouncing your futile nationalistic ideology that has helped to fan the embers of race hatred, selfishness and greed in the hearts of men.

Let us join in the march of all those who cherish democracy in pursuit of a better life in the land of our birth. A great struggle awaits everybody, be he Black or White, to liquidate racial oppression.

This challenge of history makes our struggle one of life and death, and it is inescapable.

AFRICANUS,
Cape Town

Away with Imperialism

SIR—Although I live in a wealthy and civilized country, Southern Rhodesia, I enjoy none of its pleasantness. I stand in the path of White Southern Rhodesian apartheid, a government imposed by force. My life-long desire is to increase my country's prosperity for all sections of our multi-racial community; but I am ignored; discriminated against because of my black skin; threatened with tear-gas and imprisoned as a Black nationalist without trial. I, as a Black Rhodesian, lead a precarious life in the land of my birth. Poverty, ignorance, colour bar and oppression are my hostile share.

The government says that it has no money for African schools; and yet it has enough money to build enough schools for Europeans.

In Southern Rhodesia, the number of African students who are deprived of opportunity for further education is shamefully high.

The Federal government claims to be democratic, but education in a democracy, whether it be the formal kind or self-teaching, can be put to use only through political activity. But an African is not allowed to pronounce any-

thing political, which means that he can never grow in knowledge and learn how his government runs.

The African student must realize that the communists and imperialists are fighting over Africa; the tug-of-war goes on between East and West over the continent in transition.

Teachers talk about "Liberty and Freedom" as if this applied only to communism and Russian domination; but it also means freedom from colonialism and the colour-bar.

One surprising thing is that there are ignorant Africans who ignorantly join political parties like the Dominion Party, and, not content with their ignorance, try to force their political impurity on us. The D.P. operates to the immediate suffering of the African people. The D.P., the U.F.P. and C.A.P. have one aim in common, and that is to plant the seeds of White domination: to support this, most members of the C.A.P. resigned, saying that the party's franchise policy was the excuse; yet it was really because the C.A.P. was gradually inclining to African aspiration, forgetting White domination.

African nationalism and democracy are two sides of a single coin, while apartheid and partnership as practised in the Federation are also two sides of a single coin.

African nationalism and true democracy represent the awakening of the indigenous African people to shape their destiny as free people. Apartheid and partnership mean "keeping down the Native" and withholding his rights indefinitely.

Please, my government, give me enough schooling and education to prepare myself for better service to my countrymen.

Away with imperialism.

LAZARUS G. M. DHLAKAMA,
Plumtree, S.R.

"In Exile" ?

SIR—Reading through an English magazine a few days ago, I was faintly amused by a large advertisement headed "Africa South in Exile". This stated that "since the State of Emergency declared in the Union of South Africa makes it impossible for *Africa South* to continue publishing from there, it goes into exile . . . We shall require a large sum of money to publish *Africa South in Exile*, and we beg you to send us your maximum possible contribution." I have no recollection of *Africa South* having been suppressed in this country; nor can I understand why it did not follow the fine example of your newspaper by publishing the facts and speaking out for human rights in South Africa.

Having just read the first edition of *Africa South in Exile*, I find it even more difficult to understand the reason for "in Exile". The magazine is almost as mild as a South African English-

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language newspaper in April; its description of the March-April events in Cape Town is a pallid précis of the real facts published by *Contact in South Africa* during the worst period of the Emergency. I long admired the quality and the militant views of *Africa South*, but as an active politician, who stayed in this country—and remained active—right through the critical months of 1960, I respect and I support the publications that stayed to help and to fight on. By doing just this, *Contact* has earned an honourable place in South African journalism, and deserves tribute from all who believe it the duty of a free newspaper to speak out against oppression—in its own country.

Your newspaper, more than any others, should be sent the "maximum possible contribution".

"NOT IN EXILE,"
Cape Town

You have erred seriously

SIR—In your column, "Fair Comment", in the last edition of *Contact*, you welcome suggestions made by various people "that the government are thinking of having a couple of Coloured senators in parliament".

While there is nothing in this suggestion which runs counter to the spirit of racial separatism and discrimination or apartheid—separate communal (racial) representation of one sort or another having always been a feature of racial discrimination in South Africa—it is precisely for this reason that it runs completely counter, is in diametrical opposition, to the concept of non-racial democracy.

By welcoming suggestions for racial representation in the Senate you are, quite irrespective of your intentions, completely turning your back on the very basis upon which your paper, *Contact* declaredly stands: the premises of democratic, non-racial South African patriotism!

How can you welcome any form of racial representation? For does not the acceptance of racial representation consolidate the separatist, racial consciousness of the whole people?

I am convinced that you have made a serious error in welcoming the possible appearance of "Coloured" senators as separate representatives of the "Coloured people". The error should immediately be corrected. It is a position which the Liberal Party, of which I am a member, cannot accept.

K. J. HENDRICKSE,
Kenilworth, Cape

On further consideration I believe I was wrong to comment as I did.
—Editor.

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Published by the proprietor, P. Duncan, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town, P.O. Box 1979. Telephone 2-4524. Printed by Lincay & Watson (Pty.) Limited, 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

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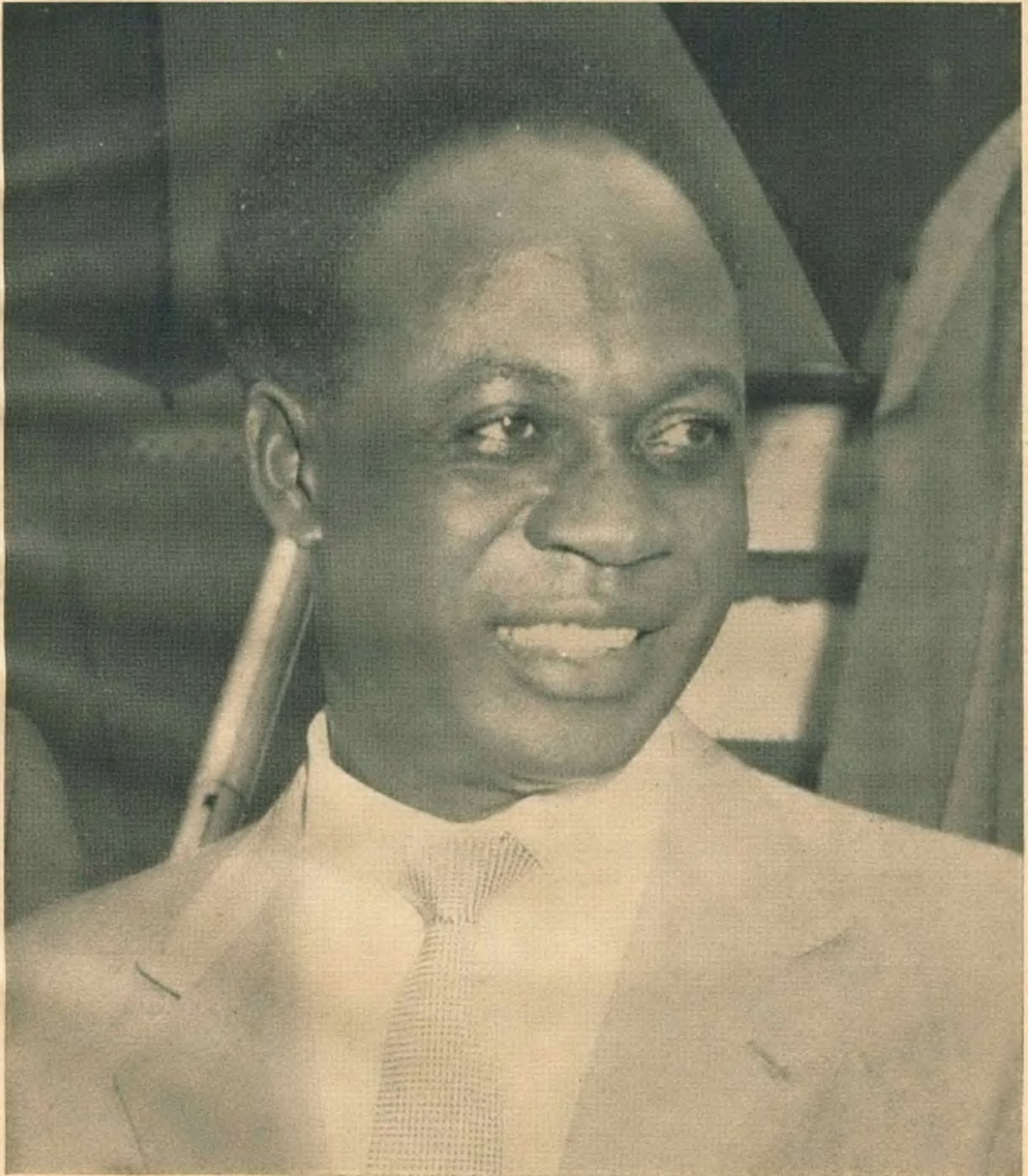
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Vol. 3 No. 16

MODDER "B" EYEWITNESS REPORT

—see page 2



President Kwame Nkrumah—Ghana slams the door on Apartheid

Investigator Penetrates Mystery Gaol

MODDER B — MORE FACTS

TWO big daily newspapers are on the track of the secret of Modder B gaol, near Johannesburg. They are busy checking their facts and hope to publish the truth soon. In the meantime, and also in case the full story is never told, *Contact* brings you the actual report of a private investigator who managed to get into the gaol on 1st July.

He and his companion got some of their facts from prisoners they talked to while waiting in a passage for the four people they had been permitted to see. Only two of these, both young boys, finally appeared and they learned more from them, and from officials and their own observation. Concrete points are:

- There are political prisoners in Modder B.
- The men are screened by De Wet Nel's B.A.D. officials and then brought before a Magistrate in the gaol.
- They are allowed no visitors or legal representation.
- Men not sentenced by a court of law are being made to do labour.
- It is believed in Modder B that six prisoners were shot dead there on 28th June.

Arrived at about 10 a.m. Immediately sought out the Superintendent. Saw Superintendent and made enquiries regarding the several persons on our list. Superintendent looked through files but could not find any of the wanted persons. He volunteered information that one of them had long since been discharged. We were not satisfied and asked to see the senior warder. We were ushered through the prison gates and taken to the chief warder's offices, one Gouws, who remembered R— from Alexandria. The chief warder took down the names of the four persons we wanted and sent his cleaner to call them.

IN THE PASSAGE

We stood in a passage directly in front of the warders' offices. Along the passages stood a number of detainees who were being called singly into a small office adjoining the warders'. We had an excellent opportunity of questioning some of them as they came out of this office.

Whilst we are speaking to prisoners in the passage we saw splashes of blood on the walls. The blood looked fresh and there were some old stains as well.

They told us they were being asked by an official of the B.A.D. why they had been arrested, where they were arrested, where they came from originally, where they had worked. This appeared to be a screening process preparatory to the Landdrost's (Magistrate's) Court which sits within the precincts.

We took the names and addresses of four people whose only crime seems to be that they had no passes at the time of arrest, but there were some who had their passes with them. We asked them why they had been arrested. They told us it was because they were "Congress".

The World Slams its Doors on South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA is losing her valuable markets in Africa and other parts of the world because of the Nationalist government's determination to continue with its policies of racial discrimination. Until South Africa has a government which is fully representative of all the people of the country, it can expect the tide of boycotts to grow stronger.

AFRICA

Ghana is the first country in Africa to impose an official boycott on all South African goods, and has also forbidden any South Africans who support White supremacy to set foot in the country or even to pass through the country in aeroplanes. The loss of this market alone will cost South Africa many millions of pounds, but Ghana is not the only country in Africa in which South African products are not welcome.

Nigeria will probably boycott South Africa when it gets its independence in

We spoke to a person who informed us that he had been arrested some four months ago and sent to a farm. He had escaped from the farm because people were being shot. The police had re-arrested him near Daveyton. He was now being charged together with the rest of the people we saw in front of the warder's office for being "Congress". We took the name and address of this person; by a stroke of good fortune an uncle is known to us.

We also took the name and address of a youngster of about 17 years of age. He, too, was arrested on a pass offence.

CONTACTS MADE

None of the people spoken to had come before the Landdrost.

From several of the people we spoke to (this included also long-term prisoners, three of whom are known to us, and to whom we gave a false name and a proper address), we heard that six people had been shot dead on Wednesday. There were four others in hospital who had also been shot by the police. We have the names of two of those in hospital.

We have definitely established contact within the prison itself. Information will soon be available giving the names of the six (or some of them) who were shot.

We were able, not without some trepidation, to pass money and cigarettes to our prison contacts.

We had a chance to speak to the African clerk from the B.A.D. He was a bit non-committal, but he did say they came to the prison to screen prisoners.

TWO ALEX LADS

We had asked to see four persons, but only two were produced to us. Strange as it may seem, we were allowed to speak all to ourselves with the two lads from Alex without anyone bother-

PRETORIA: The Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Brigadier J. C. Steyn, confirmed here yesterday that 18 African prisoners had died of pneumonia in the Modder B Gaol near Benoni in the past two weeks.

There have been no further deaths.

Brigadier Steyn said: "Whatever can be done, is being done."

—Cape Times, 1st August, 1960.

ing to know what we were talking about. No questions were asked of us. Nobody seemed interested in knowing who we were. From these two boys, one aged 15 and the other 16, we learnt that they had been arrested for being without a pass.

One had a school pass which had expired. He had been trying to get a regular pass when he was arrested. He had been allowed no visits, as is the case of all of those detained.

From these two boys we learnt that spans were daily sent out to work on municipal projects and government establishments. They were picked up in the morning and brought in the evening by municipal trucks (Benoni) and G.G. lorries.

TWO NOT SEEN

At this stage a long conference between the chief warder and a senior officer was taking place behind closed doors. All this time we were waiting for the other two men. The cleaner-messenger, arrived, entered the office, closing the door behind him. He was off again without saying a word to us. When we had asked to see all four men, this same cleaner told us that two were still dressing up and in the same breath he said they were dishing up.

We never saw these men at all, nor did the chief warder say anything about them when he later emerged from his office. This made us suspicious and we immediately asked our contacts to make a report as soon as possible. The chief warder asked if we had finished with the two boys and immediately asked them to go back to the prison yard.

The Philippines will follow suit. (This means disaster for the fish-canning industry at Walvis Bay.)

Ceylon, Korea, Thailand, Pakistan and Burma will probably join the boycott.

EUROPE

Norway, Sweden and Great Britain are taking less and less Union goods as a result of unofficial Trades Union boycotts.

AMERICA

The West Indies Federation (Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados and other islands) will not allow Union goods in.

In the United States an unofficial boycott will start soon.

In Canada, Trades Unions are organizing a boycott.

To this may be added proposed Trades Union boycotts in Australia and New Zealand.

The harm being done to South Africa will continue for as long as apartheid lasts.

NO LAWYERS / VISITORS

We asked him why these people were being detained. He said it was under the emergency regulations, Proclamation 91. Detainees appeared before a landdrost from time to time. He questioned them and decided upon their release. No legal representation was allowed and positively no visits from parents or anyone else.

Whilst awaiting entry into the prison itself, we saw a group of about nine people from the prison, escorted by a policeman. Outside the prison, these people were handed over to a European who showed them to a van. We actually saw them enter the van, but were too far to look at the registration. A number of papers were handed to this European by the police constable.

There is confirmation that people are still being "sold" to European farmers.

BUT S.A.P. WON'T TALK

From OBED MUSI

HERE is a sample of telephone conversations and personal interviews between a reporter and Prison and Police Officers. The reporter is trying to get information about Modder B.

- The Director of Prisons, Mr. R. Verster, is on leave. In his place is Brigadier J. C. Steyn, Assistant-Director of Prisons, the switch-board operator declares.
- Brigadier Steyn's office replies that he is not available, on the first day of the inquiries. Four days and six telephone calls later the reporter is informed that Brigadier Steyn is on leave. Colonel M. M. Coetzee is acting in his place, it is said.
- Colonel Coetzee firmly denies any knowledge that missing pass offenders are being kept in the new Modder B gaol, outside Daveyton, Benoni. Reminded by the reporter that the Minister of Justice had himself tabled these facts, and had even given statistics before Parliament, Col. Coetzee demurely said: "This is the first time I hear of it."
- Over to the Director of the Modder B gaol, Colonel D. Denhyzen. "I'm allergic to the Press. I'm not in a position to tell you whether these people are being kept here or not."
- Enter another Colonel Steyn into the breach. He is the new gaol Superintendent. "Secret courts no longer sit," he says. But refuses all further information.
- Rand Police Chief, Col. J. Lemmer, firmly tells a reporter that there are no such things as "Pass offenders". "No one carries passes any more," he says. "They carry Reference Books," he says enlighteningly. Colonel Lemmer further adds: "I carry one myself." The reporter asks him, "Is it a Reference Book?" The Colonel gives no reply and the interview ends.

A.N.C. PASS TRIALISTS

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Six leaders of a now banned African National Congress appeared before Magistrate F. E. Mentz on a charge of incitement. They are alleged to have burned or destroyed their passes on the Sunday of 27th March, 1960. The leaders are Peter Magano (38), a member of the Provincial Working Committee of the A.N.C.; Morris Matsemela (40), Johannes Matsemela (40), April Mogotlane (29), Abel Tlale (36), and Andries Seane (40).

trates' Court, too. They are all from Lady Selborne in Pretoria.

S.B. on "Coolies and Jews"

THE following account, of an interrogation by the Security Branch of a person who was at the time detained in prison, has come to our hands:

Botha looked at the list but did not see my name. He produced his T.T. book and showed me the photos and said, "Do you know this book?"

"Yes," I said.

"Do you know these coolies?" he asked. "Do you know these Jews? Are you aware that these people are foreigners in this country?"

I replied, "No."

"All that they are here for is so that you should fight (referring to himself). During the process of the fight, all the pennies and pounds that drop out of our pockets they pick them up and buy bigger and better cars."

"Do you know how many Naickers are detained?" he asked.

I said I did not know.

"There are five," he answered. "Do you remember that in 1952 you people wanted to kill all the Indians in Durban?"

To which I said, "I remember the riots but I don't remember the year."

"You remember how your people wanted to destroy the Indian community in Durban? You burned the shops — when the shops are burning you take a small Indian child, swing her round and throw her in the flame."

"I don't remember that the riots went to such as that," I replied.

"Do you think that the Indian has forgotten that?" he asked.

"I couldn't say," I replied.

"I can tell you he hasn't forgotten that," the Captain replied, "that is why he is instigating you to fight against me — in order to take over the government. Well, I have nothing to say much. Go and organize your people, but send your grievances through the right channels — people like your chiefs — not through these coolies and Jews. Because these people are even richer than your people — the owners of the country. You can have these organizations. They must not have these foreigners and the government can take your grievances. Let me tell you that we can have a Black government or a White government, but bear in mind that the government cannot accept grievances from the foreigners," the Captain ended.

When I came here they asked, "Did you work before you were arrested?" I said I was hawking soft goods. After that the Captain said that he had come not to investigate a political matter, but a criminal matter. He spoke about £10,000 which he said was in the financial statement of the A.N.C. in 1958. He further wanted to know what had happened to the money. I said I did not know a thing about this money.

They wanted to know about the money which was reflected in the financial report at Orlando in 1958 of the A.N.C. conference — about £10,000, but they further hinted that with various other collections, this amount runs into millions of pounds.

"Where is the money? I can assure you that you can tell me where the money is."

I said, "I do not know anything about this."

Then afterwards he said, "You were being visited by the Indian and Jewish people." He was going to recommend to the Minister for my release, but I must look out, otherwise I would be sorry.

And since I was not prepared to answer, he said, "You may go."

Second round of interrogation.

Q: "Are you prepared to answer questions?"

A: "No."

Then Capt. Botha started speaking about the 1950 Durban riots and said that the sole aim of the Indians here is to drive out the Whites and Africans out of South Africa so that they could bring the poor Indians from India to

settle in South Africa. In short, they are using the A.N.C. to achieve their own ends.

I asked him about the causes of the Durban riots. He was not prepared to give the causes. I further asked him if he had a better idea of the causes of the riots, than the *Vaderland* or the *Transvaler* which gave him the causes of the riot. Unfortunately I had no paper with me which gave the causes. The report which I read was through the White paper, the *Star* and *Rand Daily Mail*.

He said that the A.N.C. is an African organization, and it is a good organization, but now of late it has been taken over by the Indians.

He produced the T.T. booklet and said to me, "Do you think that these are your leaders?"

I told him that these are my leaders. For you won't find a Macmillan or Krushchev on the list, and I don't expect a Mac or Nikita to assist me in my freedom fight here in South Africa. He said that my own people will kill me outside for I am not representing them in their liberation.

I told him that I am not worried about that. Jesus was killed by his own people. For me to be killed by them is a blessing for me for history will prove who was wrong or right.

He said I was still young and he feels I am wrong.

I told him that it is unfortunate for me not to see his point of view. Then I was ordered to get out. I went out.

OVAMBO TO U.N.

DAR ES SALAAM, capital of Tanganyika, is fast becoming the freedom centre for Southern Africa. Hutchinson passed through there on his way to Ghana. Other South African refugees make it their first port of call on their way further north.

In Dar es Salaam at the moment are two men who have made their way there by devious routes. One is Mr. Patrick van Rensburg, Liberal Party member who did a lot to get the boycott movement going in England and Europe; he went to Swaziland when the government declared the State of Emergency and later went on to Tanganyika. The other is Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, South



KUHANGUA

West African leader, who is on his way to give evidence before the United Nations Committee on South West Africa. Mr. Kuhangua reached Dar es Salaam after a long and difficult journey from Ovamboland, in the far north of South West. He will soon go on to New York.

In *Contact* of 23rd January, 1960, we reported the unhappy adventures of Mr. Kuhangua, who was sent from Windhoek to Ovamboland after the disturbances in Windhoek in December last year.

He was kept in detention and forbidden to leave Ovambo territory on orders from the S.W.A. government. But on 19th March this year he told his guards that he was leaving, and asked them not to betray him.

He was next heard of in Lobito, 300 miles north of his home, when he sent a telegram to friends asking for money.

From Lobito he travelled to Leopoldville, but the Belgians sent him back to Angola. He tried again twice to get into the Congo, but was each time sent back.

He then met some American missionaries who took him to Okovangoland, in the south of Angola, and from there some British missionaries drove him to Northern Rhodesia.

He wrote from there to say that he was going on to Tanganyika, where he has arrived safely in Dar es Salaam.

Mr. Kuhangua has travelled with one object in mind: To get to New York and speak on behalf of his people to the United Nations Committee on South West Africa.

It is reported in the *Cape Times* (2nd August, 1960) that the Committee had agreed to grant him a hearing after he had cabled it from Dar es Salaam, asking to appear before it as a petitioner.

T.U. TRAINING

DAR ES SALAAM: George P. McCray, one-time labour editor of the *Chicago Defender* newspaper, has been named by 60,000-member Tanganyika Federation of Labour to conduct a course in trade union leadership training for 500 Tanganyikan trade unionists.

McCray, who is currently serving as lecturer for the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Brussels, at its labour college, in Kampala, Uganda, was selected for the training programme by Rahidi Kawawa, president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, and an elected member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council.

The programme began on 1st August and will last until 30th September. It was developed in co-operation with the labour college, and will be carried out by two teams of qualified instructors from Tanganyika. McCray will also aid in the preparation of study material. — (World News Service.)

P.E. PASS BLOW

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: A large Afrikaans firm of building contractors are at present doing a £20,000 job in Kwazakle. Port Elizabeth's newest township. They badly needed African tradesmen and were disappointed at the standard of some of those whom they had employed.

One day the foreman gave a job to an African carpenter who was extremely good. He was promised £6.10.0. a week, rising to £9.10.0. before the job was finished. He had worked four years for the Port Elizabeth Municipality but had just returned from a three months' visit to a country town where he had been on family affairs. Before leaving, he had taken the precaution of getting his reference book signed by the local Magistrate, permitting him to go to Port Elizabeth.

The Port Elizabeth Pass office refused to give him anything else but a pass to seek work in the rural area. An interview on the carpenter's behalf was sought with the Chief Native Commissioner, who, having ascertained that there were no carpenters looking for work in New Brighton, still refused to grant permission.

The man had to leave Port Elizabeth, the city which he had served well from 1956 to 1960; a European carpenter is employed in his place.

AFRICANS TRAIN

ONE HUNDRED young civil servants from Togo, the Cameroons and the States of the Franco-African Community, who have been following courses at the Overseas Institute for Higher Studies in Paris, have now been attached to government offices all over France. They will spend six months gaining practical experience in administration before returning to their countries. A further group is gaining similar experience in financial administration. — (Unesco.)

ORGANIZING PONDOS

Mr. Cornelius Ngudli, of Egosso Village, is chairman of the Anti-Bantu Authorities Committee of Eastern Pondoland. Committees have been formed in Bizana, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki districts and are gaining members fast. A young man told an Anti-Bantu Authorities meeting of Pondos in Cape Town on 7th August: "Soon after my arrival in East Pondoland last



NGUDLI

month, my parents insisted that I must consult with the leading members of the Anti-B.A. Committee before sleeping that night. When I attended the interview these men were at pains to explain exactly what Bantu Authorities had done—the sufferings, hardships, the bribery and even beatings to which people had been subjected by agents of the Bantu Authorities. I was left to choose on which side I would be. It was made clear to me that the question of neutrality did not exist. I was given two days to investigate independently the truthfulness or otherwise of what I had heard. But before the two days had elapsed I was convinced of the truthfulness of their statements and I paid my first 2s. 6d. monthly membership fee. To-day I am an Anti-Bantu Authorities member." We have had many such reports of the following that the Anti-Bantu Authorities Committees are gaining. Next *Contact*: How Bantu Authorities works — further report from E. Pondoland.

STUDENTS MIX

From "Contact" Correspondent

Student leaders from all the South African universities and colleges met in Maritzburg on Friday and Saturday at one of the most representative student conferences ever held.

For the first time for many years, English-, Afrikaans-speaking and non-White students sat down around a conference table.

They discussed relations between South African students, the Government's tribal colleges, and the position of the two national student organizations, the National Union of South African Students and the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

An attempt to hold a similar conference in May this year failed because of a racial restriction on delegates requested by the organizers, the students of the University of Natal, Maritzburg.

Because of a condition that non-Whites could not represent the "open" universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, both these universities refused to attend the planned conference.

The restriction was dropped, and Wits. and Cape Town accepted the invitations.

All the other universities were also represented by their S.R.C. presidents and vice-presidents. The tribal colleges were also invited.

contact

S.A. in the Dock

THE next sitting of the World Parliament, the United Nations, is due to be held in September. The government of South Africa is likely to be in the dock on three charges.

The first is the South West African issue. For years the United Nations has been calling for South West Africa to be administered in the spirit of the mandate and for years the South African government has been ignoring the call.

The second is the issue of the treatment of people of Indian origin. On this issue, too, no agreement has been reached, and the Union has ignored the opinion of the world.

The third is the simple issue of apartheid.

Mr. Hammarskjöld comes to South Africa to speak in the name of the United Nations and to call on the Union government to abandon its apartheid policies and to introduce measures designed to achieve racial harmony on a basis of equality. It is clear that he will go back empty-handed. No more could be expected, for he visits a capital city which has thoughts for nothing but the earth-shaking question of Mr. Swart's title—for that is the whole meaning of the republican referendum.

It is clear, too, that the United Nations is not going to accept the failure of his mission. As *Contact* reported in a special dispatch some months ago from the United Nations, the great majority of these nations is determined to act if the Union should refuse all concessions.

Just last week a Sapa-Reuter dispatch spoke of an Afro-Asian leader

welcoming eight new African nations to the World Parliament, and pointing out that the Afro-Asian bloc could now count on a two-thirds majority.

A new factor has arisen since the post-Sharpeville debate. That is, of course, the presence of the United Nations in the Congo.

It is our view that the United Nations will not leave the Congo until peace, order and good government are guaranteed all over the southern limb of Africa. No peace or stability is going to be possible so long as there is any apartheid left in this area, be it Portuguese, Federation or Union apartheid. It is, therefore, probable that the United Nations will hold on and expand its authority and power over the whole area until apartheid is ended.

This is the central fact of the Hammarskjöld visit.

Todd's Master Stroke

IT is our view that Mr. Todd has completely outplayed his opponents. He called for Britain to intervene in Southern Rhodesia and help that unhappy country on the road to democracy. By doing so he has forced the Central African Party to dismiss him as leader and he has drawn the wrath of the White supremacists, some of whom have expressed themselves in ridiculous medievalisms.

At one stroke he has got rid of a Party that was dying on its feet and staked his claim to share in the rapidly approaching rise to power of movements like the National Democratic Party.

Muddled Progs.

DR. JAN STEYTLER, leader of the Progressive Party, has condemned the Ghana and Malaya boycotts of apartheid. "If a bit of patience and understanding was exercised towards South Africa," he said, "it would do far more good than boycotts."

This is surely extremely muddled

thinking. Does Dr. Steytler imagine that if White South Africa is allowed to go on undisturbed it will of its own accord abandon apartheid? Surely the success of his Party in the Johannesburg municipal election, when it came within an ace of defeating the United Party, was due solely to the fact that the White electorate has at last woken up to the freedom tide in Africa.

We have said and we say again that the alternative to non-violent weapons such as boycotts is violence, and we wish to save our country from war and violence. For this reason we congratulate Malaya and Ghana on their decision. It is a decision which has involved them in many sacrifices and which has been made to help free the subject peoples of South Africa.

It is up to Dr. Steytler and the Progressives to say clearly whether they are for or against apartheid.

Way to Power

NOW that March and April can be seen in perspective, it is clear that the P.A.C. in Cape Town discovered one method of political struggle which is completely new and devastatingly effective.

It is the presence in the centre of a great city of vast crowds of people wanting something from the authorities.

It is a way of exerting tremendous pressure which is very suited to our South African conditions where White and Black share our great cities in approximately equal numbers, both working in or near the centres of the cities.

There is no need for great processions to be organized, for it would be enough in, say, Johannesburg for all people hostile to apartheid in the central area to collect round the central police station or city hall during the lunch interval, going there as individuals.

It is, of course, essential that these crowds go to the city in the same spirit of absolute non-violence which animated the March crowds in Cape Town.

It is absolutely essential also that next

time the crowd should collect with demands so reasonable and so modest that there is no doubt at all of the demands being met.

On later occasions much more ambitious demands will, of course, be made. Doing it in this way will ensure that this powerful weapon will not become discredited through failure.

One of the most remarkable features of the use of this weapon in Cape Town in March was the reaction of the authorities to it.

In theory the presence of a crowd however vast, of peaceful people near a police headquarters should produce no inconvenience except to traffic. But in South Africa the presence of a huge crowd of Africans making demands produces on the authorities an electric effect. They show themselves desperately eager for the crowds to go away. In this fact lies the effectiveness of this weapon.

The weapon is legal, too. Other methods of non-violent resistance may contravene some law or bye-law, but it is perfectly legal for a crowd to collect in a city and to make some demand on those in authority.

As the weapon proves successful, so it may be used for gaining more and more concessions until equality itself is attained.

Into Freedom

CONTACT congratulates the people of the new republics of Dahomey, Niger and Upper Volta. These three states have passed into freedom amid rejoicing and hope for the future.

With the formal proclamation last week of the independence of Niger and Upper Volta, and a week before of Dahomey, the free nations of Africa have gained companions, and those not yet free have gained courage in their development towards freedom.

In those unhappy countries of Africa where apartheid of one kind or another exists, the sufferers under that evil system are given new heart in their struggle against it.

A lot of things that happen never get into the papers: you will find some here.

HOT TIPS!

You will also read about a lot of things that are going to happen . . .

NATS. FÊTE ARAB IN CAPE

On 27th July, Mr. Fouad Arsan, new U.A.R. consul in Cape Town spoke on "Modern Egypt" at Stellenbosch University. He was guest of honour at a buffet supper party attended by Dr. I. D. du Plessis, top-broederbonder Dr. H. B. Thom, Prof. Nic Olivier, and other leading apartheiders. The Arab V.I.P.'s entertainment at the home of Afrikaner culture was rare because, first, only a tiny handful of dark-skinned non-Europeans (such as the late Mr. Sastri and Mr. S. V. Petersen) have been so treated, and, secondly, this friendly occasion followed the announcement from Cairo that the U.A.R.'s diplomats would soon be withdrawn from the Union.

MOST OF S.A. BACK "ALL BLACKS"

The 1960 All Blacks having colour-barred Maoris from the touring team to suit South African apartheid, might have been boycotted by non-White sports fans. But so great is hostility towards White South Africans becoming, the all-White All Blacks are more popular with the non-Whites than any team that has ever visited or represented South Africa. Is there any other country in which the national team at its national game is booed by three-quarters of the population, who wildly cheer the foreign visitors?

A REPUBLICAN GRAAFF

Dr. Jannie Graaff has gravely weakened his brother Sir de Villiers's case against a republic by showing that having the republic will have no economic consequences for South Africa. Dr. Graaff is a small-l "liberal" on colour, and a republican, though anti-Verwoerd. He is almost equally scornful of the Nationalist and United Parties.

NO "GOVT. IN EXILE" YET

Two million pounds were offered by Nkrumah to Oliver Tambo of the A.N.C. to set up a "government in exile". He refused on the grounds that he did not have a mandate for this purpose. The scheme for such a government has failed for the time being, with Cairo, Accra and certain circles in London competing for the honour of acting host to it. The S.A. political bureau set up with £30,000 a year, near Accra, may be the forerunner.

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN UNWELCOME

An important White South African legal authority, known for his liberal views, was made to feel very unwelcome on a visit to Ghana and Nigeria in July. Had he not been accompanied by a leading African politician, also from the South, he would probably have been asked to leave the country. As it was, he was asked not to attend a Nigerian law conference to which he had originally been invited.

VERWOERD'S OPPORTUNISM

Shortly after Paul Sauer's Humansdorp speech, some very prominent Transvaal nationalists decided to force their party to do something about the suggested "new deal" for Africans. An English daily newspaper was even approached to spread the word. But Verwoerd got wind of the attempt and smashed it. It was one of the factors that caused him to announce that there would be a republican referendum, without consulting the cabinet. This tough, opportunist side of Verwoerd is going to be a weapon for White domination. In the struggle ahead Verwoerd may well make concessions to keep his power. He has already made the biggest concession that has ever come from White baasskap—the Bantustan idea. His new concessions may be equally deceitful.

MAHOMO ADDIS LEADER

Leader of the South African delegation that presented the "boycott S.A." memorandum to the Addis Ababa Conference was 27-year-old Nana Mahomo, who, with Messrs. Molotsi, Tambo, Dadoo and Make, have been touring independent African states seeking support for the boycotts, and raising funds. Mr. Make, least-known of the team, is a P.A.C. member, was in the Treason Trial, was banished to Sibasa, whence he escaped and found his way to Addis Ababa and then to London.

CONGO CHAOS PLOT ALLEGED

The likelihood that the post-30th June chaos in the Congo was engineered as a businessmen's plot is alleged by an observer recently returned from Leopoldville. As an excuse for the secession of Katanga the chaos suited certain alleged plans by a secret group (which also has South African interests). A pointer to this is a French news item that 10,000 Congolese workers were dismissed in Leopoldville—on *Independence Day*—creating the disgruntled mob the plotters needed. A U.N. inquiry into the circumstances of the Belgian handing over is likely to follow the restoration of law and order in the Congo, and may well expose the whole bloody intrigue.

DÖNGES'S POWER CHANCE

Through the result of the republican referendum Dr. Dönges is believed to be planning to unseat Verwoerd and take the premiership for himself. Whether the republic is lost on 5th October, or won at the price of South Africa's being kicked out of the Commonwealth, Verwoerd is in bad trouble, for having caused his Party's defeat or White South Africa's humiliation. Dönges can then make his bid for Verwoerd's job. If he is short of a few votes, he can renew his old talks with Graaff and Mitchell and offer them minor posts in his cabinet.

ALAN PATON takes

. THE LONG VIEW

END OF AN AGE



Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party

FOR a month I have been, to use a well-known phrase, "away from civilization". Now that I have returned, and can again hear the news and read the newspapers, I realize that an age has come to an end. It is the change in the newspapers that strikes me most of all. Years ago—if I may say so with modesty—it was only persons like myself who spoke of early independence for many countries, the instability of the Federation, the continental hatred of apartheid, the threat of closed markets and harbours and airports. In those days people used to tell me that economic self-interest ruled the life of nations. That statement is now seen to be a dangerous half-truth.

It is only a few short months ago that people told me that United Nations intervention was a delusion. Our papers pooh-pooed the boycott, and stated that its only effect in England was to advertise South African sherry and fruit. A few months ago many of our poli-

ticians were talking of South African leadership of the continent. Sir de Villiers Graaff was one of them. None of these persons would face the hard fact that apartheid and continental leadership were totally irreconcilable.

To-day the newspapers are beginning to face up to the hard facts. I say they are beginning to face up to it, but the *Daily News* can still record, in bold headlines, that Mr. Lulofs has "flayed" Ghana over the boycott. Mr. Louw condemns Ghana's action as a sign of political immaturity. Sir de Villiers and Dr. Steytler condemn it as contrary to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. The *Natal Mercury* reports a speaker who says that "law-abiding natives" have won the respect of South Africa. Which South Africa is this? And what does this particular South Africa intend to do to retain this law-abidingness, because it is certain that its continuance must not be taken for granted.

We are also being told by people in high positions that boycott is a two-edged sword. But this boycott is not. We may scratch our opponents, but they will inflict on us the most deadly wounds. The world may boycott us, but we cannot boycott the world.

I would not care to speak prematurely on the success or failure that may be expected to attend the United Nations intervention in the Congo. The intervention itself signals the end of an age, and may mean a greater measure of peace and security for a world that has suffered so much for the lack of both. It may mean that political problems so far insoluble will yield to the kind of authority that seeks neither power nor revenge. I predict that if White South Africa continues to elect an apartheid government, and if it shows no signs of adaptation except in the Bantustan direction, and if it provokes increasing hostility and aggressiveness from the other nations, then the United Nations may be forced to intervene here also. In any interim administration we may be sure that Liberals like Peter Brown and Jordan Ngubane will be given positions of responsibility, and that the non-racial ideal may be expected to grow stronger under the just authority of this kind of government. It is insecurity that now prevents the growth of these ideals which alone will give security in the future.

The Johannesburg *Star* says editorially that the Nationalist Party thinks the African can do no right, and the Liberal Party thinks the African can do no wrong. I can hardly think of a more stupid generalization. We have reached the end of the age of White supremacy, and it is imperative to prepare now for the kind of society in which all people can share equitably in the fruits of industry and the responsibilities of citizenship. It would be quite irrelevant to speculate on the relative goodness or badness of the different races of man in South Africa: what is more important is that they should all be given a social significance and their lives a social purpose, so that the talents of all may be used in the building of a new and more just society.

This editorial remark of the *Star* is downright defamatory. It implies that the Liberal Party thinks that it is not morally reprehensible for Africans to commit atrocities against their fellow humans. How on earth could that view be held by a party which has tried to bring people of all races together, to learn to live and plan in harmony? If the *Star* wishes to vent its spleen against the Party, it should at least not sink to calumny.

Let me make this known. It is a matter of the utmost difficulty for the Liberal Party to get any statement into most of the English-language papers in the country. There comes a time when one would rather choose to be silent than to court rebuff at the hands of some editorial dictator. The Party sent a statement including a condemnation of atrocities to the Johannesburg *Star* and it declined to publish it. What right has it thereafter to print such a defamation?

I myself have no doubt that this malicious generalization means one thing and one thing only and that is that the *Star* does not like the kind of human equality for which the Liberal Party has stood so uncompromisingly.

How irrelevant it is to "flay" Ghana in this new age! And to ascribe boy-

cotts to political immaturity! And to sneer at Mr. Lumumba for being only a post-office clerk! And to think that Dr. Diederichs achieved anything by going to Madagascar! And to talk as though Black people are the monopolizers of atrocity!

It will not help White South Africa to sneer at the new spirit that is sweeping through Africa, nor to say it comes too early, nor to say that people are savages even though some of them are savage. White South Africa needs to recognize that the withdrawal of colonial rule has loosed new forces in the continent and that it must come to terms with them for the sake of us all. If it fails to do so, all of us will suffer, but it is White South Africa that will suffer most of all.

THIS WICKED SYSTEM

The greatest handicap and embarrassment for the whole Christian enterprise throughout the entire continent (of Africa) remains the Union of South Africa and its policies of apartheid. The identification of the perpetrators of this wicked system with Christianity imposes an almost intolerable burden upon the preaching of the Gospel of Justice, Love, Truth and the Brotherhood of all men, turning it into something like mere sinister deceit or a hollow hypocritical joke.

Dr. Christian G. Beata of Ghana in *Christianity and Crisis*.



Out of Sight

"An extensive tour of northern African territories in South West Africa has been arranged for the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. De Wet Nel."

—Cape Times, 1st August, 1960.

"DAG is expected soon," said Henk, To a sleepy-looking Daan;
"You'd best be off as soon as you can To distant Ovambostan!"

"Dag is a shrewdie," Henkie said,
"And will ask you many things Of work camps, wages, reference books, And your happy baNtoe kings."

"So clear out quick while the going's good
As far as you can go;
We've quite enough embarrassments
And don't want you on show!"

Oom Danie raised a tired eye
"Yes Boss," he meekly said,
"But don't you think that after all
You'd better go instead."

"MKHONTO."

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d. plus 3d. postage.

from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

MESSAGE TO HAMMARSKJOELD

THREE hundred people of Cape Town attended a lunch-hour meeting of the Liberal Party in the Banqueting Hall of the City Hall on 4th August.

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Peter Hjul, Cape Chairman of the Party, and Mr. J. C. A. Daniels, member of the National Committee.

Mr. Hjul spoke about the Declaration of Human rights, and then proposed the following resolution to be sent to Mr. Hammarskjöld:

"We, citizens of Cape Town, join the United Nations, and the Free World, in condemning South Africa's racialist government, which in its treatment of the major part of the South African nation, and in its restrictive legislation over the past 12 years, violates most if not all of the articles of the United Nations Declaration of Human rights. For this reason, we welcome the visit of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld.

Secretary-General of the United Nations, to South Africa, and urge him to bring to the notice of U.N.O., that the existing policies, and actions of the present Government, constitute a grave threat to the peaceful solution of our country's problems. This meeting urges Mr. Hammarskjöld to use all his influence to induce the Nationalist Government of South Africa, to recognize and implement the Declaration of Human Rights forthwith."

Both this, and another resolution proposed by Mr. Daniels and calling on the government to end the state of emergency, were read in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa (the last-mentioned at the request of a majority of the audience) and were approved unanimously.

Five members of the Security Branch abstained from voting.

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

Federation

BUST-UP SOON

From JAMES SKINNER

MLANJE: The events that have taken place in Southern Rhodesia in the last three weeks have radically altered the whole Central African scene. Only a few days after Sir Edgar Whitehead had boasted that his country was the happiest and most peaceful in Africa, the police were forced to break their sixty-four year record and open fire on African crowds rioting in Bulawayo. In Salisbury the growing discontent in the African township—segregated several miles outside the town—at last expressed itself in a protest march. Some ten thousand people marched through the night and demanded to see the Prime Minister.

It is now clear that nationalism has become a force to be reckoned with in Southern Rhodesia: it seems equally clear that the White government has no idea how to reckon with it. Whitehead's reply to the outbreak has been to broadcast what is virtually an open declaration of war on the African people. Almost his entire speech was taken up with details of plans for arming every White man that could move his trigger finger. His only attempt to treat the roots rather than the symptoms of his country's troubles was contained in a casual reference to a "crash programme of African housing". Although there are many economic reasons why the African people detest the present government, their allegiance will not be bought by a few houses or a fractional rise in their depressed wage levels. Their resentment springs from deeper causes.

No doubt Southern Rhodesia has been profoundly affected by what has been happening in other countries in Africa—in particular those countries on her borders. Certainly the outburst in Southern Rhodesia will have its effect on outside countries in the now familiar pattern of reaction that is causing nationalism to spread and grow like a forest fire.

Nyasaland has a new constitution acceptable to Dr. Banda and his vast Malawi Party and this is likely to increase the Northern Rhodesian demands for a new constitution before the Federal review takes place. However, Mr. Macleod has repeatedly stated that this is not possible whilst offering assurances that the Africans will be fairly represented at the Federal review. The Northern Rhodesians are unwilling to accept these assurances as African leaders have been too often written off as the leaders of a "handful of agitators", whatever their party's membership may be. They feel that African opinion will never carry its full weight until the leaders have been properly and constitutionally elected.

Whitehead is still keen to confer with the British Government on the question of the removal of the Reserve powers, whilst liberals claim that recent events have made a full constitutional conference necessary for Southern Rhodesia. Should this come about it would certainly confirm those Northern Rhodesians who believe in violent methods that they are right in their opinion that progress comes only if it is forced. In fact neither of the Rhodesias is likely to get a new constitution this year.

It is far more probable that Whitehead will hold an early election, trusting that Garfield Todd's ill-advised request for British intervention, the Dominion Party split and his own strong arm reaction to African protest will bring

votes from left and right to ensure a resounding victory for his United Federal Party. The effect of all these constitutional complications on the future of the Federation is far from certain at this stage. It certainly seems that those wanting Nyasaland's secession will be strongly represented at the review whilst it is possible that the Southern Rhodesian government may prefer to "crush" the Africans in political though not economic isolation. Such attitudes could well lead at the very least to a drastic loosening of the Federal ties and the reduction of the Federation to little more than an economic association of independent states.

Whitehead's attempt to ring the Europeans with security forces in a laager and the delay in constitutional advance in Northern Rhodesia can both lead only to the most disastrous results. As more and more African states become independent and as Nyasaland approaches self-government only the most rapid rate of African progress can stave off a crisis in the Rhodesias.

It seems that the British government will not be able nor the Southern Rhodesian government willing to provide such rapid progress.

WHAT HAPPENED IN SALISBURY

THE dust seems to have settled in Southern Rhodesia, and people are asking themselves what caused the "riots" and disturbances. In this report from Salisbury our correspondent out-



MAWEMA

[African Mail]

lines what happened there and gives the background of the National Democratic Party, the arrest of whose leaders by the Southern Rhodesian government gave rise to the great demonstrations which took place.

The National Democratic Party was founded at the beginning of this year as a successor to the African National Congress which had been banned. The N.D.P. is non-racial and has White members; it believes in non-racial democracy based on universal adult suffrage; and believes that this is the only safeguard against racialism.

At the beginning of July this year the offices of the N.D.P. were raided and searched by the police and documents were removed.

On 19th July, at 6 a.m., three leaders of the party were arrested: Mr. Michael Mawema (founder and president of the party), Mr. Sketckley Samkange (treasurer) and Mr. Leopold Takawira (chairman of the Harare branch).

MALAWI!

DR. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, leader of the vast Malawi Congress Party, has won the first round in his campaign to win independence for Nyasaland.

Dr. Banda's success depended to a large degree upon the large following which he has in Nyasaland. That this following was built up during Dr. Banda's detention in Gwelo gaol is due to the hard work of Mr. Orton Chirwa, legal adviser to the Malawi Congress Party.

Dr. Banda has, by careful compromise and skilful negotiation, secured for Nyasaland a constitution which will place the government of the territory largely in the hands of Africans.



BANDA



Chiume



Macleod

Dr. Banda has not been able to win universal adult franchise for his country, but nearly 100,000 people will be on the new voters' roll, and will elect a

Legislative Council which will be predominantly African. This is the first step towards complete self-government.

A large share of the credit for the successful outcome of the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference must go to Mr. Iain Macleod, British Colonial Secretary for his skill and tact in framing a Constitution acceptable to all the people of Nyasaland.

And the hard work and long hours of travelling which Mr. Kanyama Chiume has over the past eighteen months devoted to his country's cause have at last born fruit.

Contact greets these men, and wishes them all success in the future.

That evening the N.D.P. called a meeting at the Jennings Hall. 2,000 Africans declared their solidarity with their leaders and decided to march to the Highfield police station to give themselves up. The police refused to arrest them. In protest it was decided to march through Harare and to the Prime Minister's residence to ask for an explanation for the arrest of the leaders.

At 1 o'clock on the morning of 20th July, the crowd was stopped by the Security force. The military commander spoke to the N.D.P. leader, Silanduka, a University researcher, and told them to wait. Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, would be asked to address the crowd.

At 2.30 a.m. they were told that the Prime Minister would speak to them at the Stoddart Hall at 10 a.m.

At 10 o'clock 40,000 people gathered at the Stoddart Hall. The majority were not N.D.P. members, but simply men and women wanting to hear the Prime Minister peaceably. At 10.30 there was no sign of any official and the N.D.P. sent a delegation to the Prime Minister's office. By 1 o'clock the delegation had not returned, and the crowd began

to get restless. The crowd started to march to the Prime Minister's office. They were stopped by the Security forces in Beatrice Road, and told that the delegation was on its way back, and that the Prime Minister would come.

After 45 tense minutes the delegation appeared with a letter from the office of Sir Edgar. The N.D.P. declared that they would read the letter to the people at the Stoddart Hall.

In the letter the Prime Minister said that he refused to address an unlawful assembly, and told the N.D.P. that they could send a delegation to the Minister of African Affairs to express their grievances.

At 5 o'clock on Thursday morning 10,000 people were still waiting, increasingly restive, but no stones had been thrown, no "rioting" had begun.

Then, without first asking for the crowd to disperse, the police fired the first tear gas bombs. The leaders quickly spoke to the police, but they were told that the meeting had been declared unlawful. The police used more tear gas.

Then came chaos, in a confusion of shouting, of people angry, tired, bitter and disappointed, violence was unleashed.

RED PAPER

SPARK, the secret newspaper begun in Johannesburg at the start of the State of Emergency, has announced plans for expansion.

Issue No. 5 of the four-page, duplicated paper says that the "Editorial and Management Boards" have been made "stronger", and that "Marxists of people's organisations have agreed to join together in bringing our paper to the people".

Readers are promised a better Spark, appearing more often and more regularly.

It is believed that the paper will aim at appearing weekly, and that it is making an intensive drive to step-up its circulation throughout the Reef.

The paper now describes itself as "Spark—the first underground Socialist paper in South Africa". It is still issued by the "Socialist League of Africa".



TAKAWIRA

[African Mail]

South West Africa

LABOUR SCANDAL

"A REGULAR supply of Ovambo labour for industry is recruited under time limit contracts. The boys must be suitably housed and fed according to standards set down by the Administration. Domestic servants are also available under the same conditions." Behind this statement, published in a brochure on the seaport town of Walvis Bay, is the story of a contract labour system which provides Ovambo workers at pitifully low wages to mines, industries, farms and private homes throughout South West Africa. It is an example of the worst form of migrant labour in which the worker is denied any other means of seeking employment and is entirely dependant on a recruiting company.

Of the 500,000 people in South West Africa, some 230,000 live north of the so-called "Police Zone" in the reserves of Ovamboland, the Kaokoveld and the Okavango. Comprising three-fifths of the territory and closed to all but a few officials and missionaries, these reserves are the most isolated in Southern Africa. Here, under the supervision of the Native Affairs Department of the South West Africa Administration, the tribal system and the rule of the chiefs has been scrupulously maintained. But the reserves, like most others, are unable to support all their people, and young men have for years been encouraged to find work in the towns, mines and farms of South West Africa.

Had South Africa really observed the terms of the League of Nations mandate given to it in 1920, these young men should by now be able to travel freely to find work, to remain if they find good jobs and prefer living out of the reserve, or to return if they don't. But the Ovambo worker has no such opportunity.

From the time he moves south and crosses into the "Police Zone" he becomes part of a tightly-organized system maintained—with the full support of the S.W.A. Administration and its Union-controlled Native Affairs Department—by a business with its headquarters at Grootfontein. Here it receives the prospective workers, recruited in the reserves, has them medically examined and then allocates them to jobs. A farmer, factory owner, or any other person or organization requiring labour applies to the company, pays a fee, and in return receives workers who are bound for a contract period of 12 to 18 months at a minimum basic wage of 1s. 3d. a day. At the end of the period, the worker has to return to his reserve for at least a year.

At his work, the Ovambo receives a blanket, certain articles of clothing and has to be given rations to a standard set down by the Native Affairs Department.

These "rations" are mealie-meal, from which the worker must make his own dry porridge, and meat very occasionally. On farms the workers have to make their own huts of sticks and grass made waterproof with cow dung, but sometimes they are not allowed to do even this, and have to sleep under trees.

Factory workers are accommodated in compounds, usually in crowded rooms. There are no welfare officers and few recreation facilities.

In some areas and industries it is all very official and well organized, and the worker has most things except a proper wage, a chance to acquire skills, the right to remain indefinitely in work he likes, and the opportunity of breaking out of the system.

Although some Ovambo labourers do earn more than the basic 1s. 3d. a day, this seldom rises above £5 a month.

A short time ago the fishing industry at Walvis Bay, appearing before a Wage

Board Enquiry, suggested that the basic wage be raised to 1s. 9d. a day. This provoked an outcry from the farmers of the territory who argued that the whole structure of Ovambo recruitment would be damaged by such an increase.

The minimum wage did not go up. But the comments of the Chairman of the Enquiry must have startled some South West African employers. Speaking at a session of the Enquiry at Walvis Bay, he said: "My colleagues and I would cut off our right hands rather than recommend a wage of even 1s. 9d. a day for human beings."

Not only is the Ovambo worker restricted to this system and wage, but he is denied any opportunity of demanding improvements or of encouraging his fellow workers to better themselves. Any man leading a protest against wages or working conditions would soon be marked as an "agitator", would be sent back, and would be prevented from returning.

Neither has the Ovambo worker much hope of getting out of South West Africa to find employment in neighbouring countries, although some young men have, by devious routes, reached Rhodesia and even the Union. Here they live precariously in daily fear of being found and sent home.

For years now the Ovambo people have tolerated this system of contract labour. They have even been pointed to as an example of African acceptance of White and South African rule in South West Africa—a counter to the lively protest of the 33,000 Hereros. But they cannot be insulated for ever against the changes in this continent. Their voice may become the most powerful of all in the demand for United Nations intervention in the territory. And, through such movements as the Ovamboland Peoples' Organization, this voice is rising to refute earlier claims that they were satisfied with the present administration.

They help in the Struggle

ALL over the world are groups and associations of people helping the freedom struggle in Africa. One of them is the American Committee on Africa which has its offices only a block away from United Nations Headquarters in New York, and serves as a convenient springboard for petitioners from the oppressed peoples of Africa. Through its offices have passed those who after sometimes hazardous escapes from South West Africa, have laid their case before the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations.

The American Committee was set up seven years ago "to create an informed public opinion on African affairs in the United States". Its chief directors are clergymen George Houser and Dr. Homer Jack, and its chairman is John Gunther, famous author of political travel books.

The Committee seeks to influence the government of the United States in its attitude towards the new African states, and towards the national movements in countries which are not yet free.



Houser



Jack



Patrick Duncan addresses a crowd of 1,200 on the City Hall steps, Johannesburg, on 1st August.

THE first political meeting on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall since the start of the State of Emergency four months ago, was held by the Liberal Party on 1st August. More than 1,200 people of all races heard four party leaders demand the ending of the Emergency.

The party's Transvaal African organiser, Mr. Julius Malie, was loudly applauded when he said: "Our government must recognize that South Africa is a multi-racial country. If we recognize this soon, we shall be able to avoid the mistakes made in the Congo and other countries."

Mr. Patrick Duncan, speaking about the P.A.C. campaign in Cape Town, and about Philip Kgosana, P.A.C. leader, said, "This P.A.C. demonstration

was so strong just because it was non-violent. If the crowd had come with sticks in its hands the police would have treated it as an enemy crowd. In fact they treated it like a crowd of citizens, and because of that the P.A.C. crowd got what it wanted. The P.A.C. crowd won, and it won through the power of non-violence.

"A few days later there was another demonstration. This time 14,000 people came and stood round the police station. (Not 30,000; the newspapers exaggerated the numbers.) The effect was similar to the first march, but much more so. The crowd was quiet and relaxed, and again it won what it asked for. This time the young leader asked for an interview with the Minister of Justice and was promised that he would get one.

"He was betrayed, as you all know. The fact of the promise was recorded in the Cape Nationalist daily, *Die Burger*. And that promise was not kept. The crowd went home because of the promise, and when it was safely back in Langa the young leader was arrested, and the state of emergency declared.

"Now many people say that this broken promise shows that non-violent resistance is bad. I disagree. Promises have been broken since the beginning of history. Some promises are made as a result of violence or the threat of violence. This sort of promise can also be broken. In fact it is much more likely to be broken, than the other kind, which is made in response to noble acts, to demonstrations which win the respect of the opponent, in accordance with Gandhi's laws."

Mr. Duncan then spoke in Sesuto.

STOP PRESS

ANGOLA
CRACK-DOWN

THE eight liberal leaders on trial in Luanda are the first to appear of the 50 Angolans arrested in mid-1959. Dr. Agostinho Neto, Angolan poet, was flogged before his family by the Chief of P.I.D.E., the Portuguese gestapo, and his assistant. Fr. de Andrade, African chancellor of the Luanda archbishopric, has been deported to Portugal under police escort. African homes are raided indiscriminately and radio sets smashed over their owners' heads. A correspondent got this news to the *London Spectator*, 5th August. Srs. Viriato Cruz, Mario de Andrade and Lucio Lara of the "Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola" are in Conakry, where they have called on Portugal to accept "self-determination of the people of Angola".

It invites to the United States African leaders who are not yet official leaders of their countries; Tom Mboya, Dr. Hastings Banda, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda have all paid visits to the U.S.A. on the initiative of the American Committee.

The Committee arranges public meetings, publishes pamphlets of its own, and brings out a magazine called "Africa To-day".

Mr. Houser gave evidence at a special hearing by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, regarding possible reform of United States Policy towards Africa. A few days after Mr. Houser had put the case for more active intervention in Africa, the State Department issued its unprecedented condemnation of the violence used by the South African government against Africans at Sharpeville and Langa.

At the moment the Committee is working to organize a massive campaign against the apartheid policies of the Verwoerd government; it hopes that it will get the support of both the people and the government of the United States.

It proposes a complete boycott of South African goods, including gold and uranium.

CORRESPONDENCE

Racial Sport

SIR.—It is with great concern that all sport-loving democrats view the current reports that there is a move afoot to send a "Coloured" rugby team to New Zealand and the Fiji Islands.

This is playing into the hands of the authorities who seek the people's support for the justification of their apartheid policies. It also impedes the struggle for social equality and goes against the support of people the world over who are supporting our fight against discrimination.

To those who pretend that that is the decent way to organize their sport, let me remind them that only last week another riot occurred at an inter-race soccer match in Durban. People who are racially kraaled simply cannot play against one another without animosity and the desire to be superior.

The only way to organize our sport is to cut across the degradation of racialism. That oppressed non-Whites still voluntarily degrade themselves by organizing themselves into separate sporting and political racial groups is un-South African and undemocratic.

It is hoped that all those who so determinedly protested against the ill-fated West Indian cricket tour will once again stand up as South Africans and expose all those who once again seek to gain political capital or self-aggrandizement out of inferior racial sports tours.

VICTOR BENJAMIN,
Claremont, Cape.

Easiest Path

SIR.—To-day we find the free world waging an aggressive struggle against Communism, which is a menace to the world. In the effort to further Communism, a propaganda-struggle is in progress. Night after night the radio stations of Moscow and Peking pour out a flood of propaganda which can be listened to by people in Africa.

Communism will find its easiest path in Africa, for there is a growing demand for better living conditions, better wages; where the people are downtrodden they turn easily to Communism, not because they feel it will necessarily be better than the present system, but because it is something new.

A big task lies ahead for all the free democracies to help and guide the emerging states in Africa as best they can. If they do not succeed in this, it will be impossible to preserve Western civilization in Africa.

All the resources of the free world should be mobilized to help the underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia.

ISMAIL M. MOOLLA,
Umzinto, Natal.

Bad Deeds, Bad Results

SIR.—The political situation in South Africa will never improve as long as Africans are treated like animals.

Influx Control is the most horrible legislation ever passed in a South African parliament. In the reserves today there are thousands of Africans who are unemployed as a result of it; it has resulted in broken families and hardship.

If we reason about the position of the country to-day, such laws are only breeding ill-feeling.

It is over a hundred years since the Europeans came to this country. Africans have accepted their ways and civilization, but the happenings in the Congo have shown that bad deeds breed bad results.

I, myself, am one of those who have been victimized by Influx Control. I feel the spear through my heart.

K. Y.,
Johannesburg.

What Justice?

SIR.—In all my official tours of the Union to visit chiefs I have discovered that it is not Communism that has brought about the bloodshed which could have been avoided, but mishandling and terrorizing by police. Why are Africans chased about and locked in jails even if they have passes which they have forgotten at home?

Is it not true that the government, causing hatred which cannot be appeased in heaven or on earth, is responsible?

A warning to those who try to oppress by Emergency Acts and jailing! They must expect something. We fear worse bloodshed and death and United Nations intervention. All this could be avoided if the government did not overlook the Africans who demand Freedom; Freedom of speech and political rights.

Meanwhile all eyes are looking out to see what justice there is for anybody from the Union government —our oppressors.

KING ISAAC ZULU,
Kwa Phumphele, Richmond, Natal.



Struggle for Freedom

SIR.—As an African worker within the capitalist society of which I am part, I am fully conscious of my political rights and I demand them uncompromisingly.

The Nationalist Minister of Labour has robbed the African workers of their birthright; the healthy democratic right to organize themselves into recognized Trade Unions, bargaining with our employers, and selling our labour to the highest bidder.

The attack on this right is no doubt brutal. The struggle of the African worker assumes a great part in the whole structure of the programme of any political movement engaged in the struggle for freedom.

We shall not and dare not rest until we have won our rightful place in the capitalist economy which has shattered successfully the bonds of tribalism that have hitherto prevented men from progress.

It has instead brought new ideas: ideas that have put men on the march.

The African worker is part of that march in an industrialized South Africa.

AFRICANUS,
Cape Town.

The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God unto the shepherds: Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Yet eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed: but ye feed not the flock.

—(Ezekiel, B.C. 600.)

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Ready to Rule

SIR.—The dilemma now besetting Nyasaland leaves one with no doubt that the will of the majority of the people will be followed. This has been due to the efficient organization of the Malawi Congress Party of which Dr. Kamuzu Banda is the national leader.

The ever-growing strength of the Party is looked at with derision by the settlers. This has been shown in the recent attack on the Party, saying that it follows a policy of intimidation.

The excellent organization of the Malawi Congress Party shows that the Africans are ready to take over the government of Nyasaland.

G. S. M. KAWONGA,
P.O. Rumpi, Nyasaland.

Non-Racial Sport

SIR.—There are a large number of sports clubs which are for "Europeans" only which have counterparts which are non-racial. Very few White people seem to avail themselves of the opportunity of joining the non-racial ones.

To be a member of an apartheid club is to show some hypocrisy if one is a Liberal and if there is an alternative club.

MAC,
Cape Town.

(Contact will be pleased to introduce interested people to the non-racial clubs.—Editor.)

A Job of Work

SIR.—I must say I was sorry you printed the letter from "Not in Exile" criticising *Africa South*.

I think Ronald Segal would certainly have been detained if he had stayed here. And I believe that the decision to stay or go was one for each individual to take for himself. Certainly anyone who was smart enough not to be taken captive, and who felt he could do a job of work outside the country, has done the right thing.

All credit to you for the wonderful job you did and are doing—but I think you should leave that sort of criticism to the Nats.

I notice all my friends were only too eager to read *Africa South in Exile*, and the few available copies were soon snatched up.

D. CLEMINSHAW,
Newlands, Cape.

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**LETTER FROM OVAMBO
LEADER**

—see page 7



ALAN PATON

—see page 6

Paton Condemns Lumumba

CAPE TOWN: A forthright condemnation of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Congolese premier, was made by Mr. Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party of South Africa, in an interview with *Contact* here.

Mr. Paton emphasized that he was speaking in the name of the Liberal Party in making his condemnation.

"I condemn outright the way Mr. Lumumba has attacked the United Nations and has impugned the integrity of Mr. Hammarskjöld," said Mr. Paton. Continuing, he said: "Mr. Lumumba is laying the United Nations open to attack from any country that would like to foment trouble in Africa."

Mr. Paton said that in this power-mad world the United Nations is the only guardian of all people who believe in peace and human rights. The United Nations, he said, might be called in to help in other parts of Africa. But if Mr. Lumumba were to cause it to fail in the Congo, all African problems might be much more difficult to solve.

"One of the most disturbing features," said Mr. Paton, "is the demand of Mr. Lumumba that all *White* troops be withdrawn. But the whole point of the United Nations is that it is a supra-national force operating non-racially. Mr. Lumumba's demand, if acceded to, would make nonsense of these high ideals."

Mr. Paton said that he hoped that Mr. Lumumba would be removed from his office at the next session of the Congolese parliament. He had noted with satisfaction the many signs that were appearing that other African governments were losing patience with Mr. Lumumba.

Asked what were his views on Soviet



LUMUMBA

policy in the Congo, Mr. Paton said: "I have no doubt that the U.S.S.R. has also acted very irresponsibly in attacking Mr. Hammarskjöld and Dr. Bunche. The Congo business is the acid test of the oft-proclaimed desire of the U.S.S.R. for peace."

"Why is the U.S.S.R. impugning the integrity of the United Nations? Is it because she hopes to create a chaotic situation from which she could benefit? I find it very difficult to come to any other conclusion."

Mr. Paton concluded: "The indignities to which Canadian troops were subjected have revolted all liberal-minded people."

"GET TO THE BACK OF THE BUS"—"NO!"

From Our Durban Correspondent

It was Saturday night about 11 o'clock and a friend and I climbed to the top deck of the bus. It was almost empty. A few non-White people sat in the back seats—where by custom or law they are required to sit—and a few White children sat at the front.

Then a young, well-dressed African man and an attractive young woman walked past us and sat on seats reserved for Whites.

A youngish White conductor approached the pair aggressively. "You must move to the back," he said.

The young man replied politely but firmly. "I'm sorry, I'm staying here."

The conductor said a little more loudly: "I tell you, you must go to the back."

The African went on sitting, his back slightly hunched, his eyes meeting the conductor's. He did not move.

More angrily now the conductor said: "I'm telling you to go to the back or get off the bus."

At this stage I said to the conductor that I thought he should allow the couple to sit there. No one was objecting and it would be a gesture of goodwill so necessary in present times.

The conductor said the by-laws required Africans to sit at the back. I said there was no sign to tell anyone of the by-law.

The conductor said there was a sign "in the cab".

I pointed out that Africans were denied access to the cab and could not read the sign.

I said I was a taxpayer and did not object to the pair sitting where they were.

My friend and I continued our appeals for the African to be allowed to sit

where he was. The African continued to give a courteous but unshakeable "no" to demands that he move to the back of the bus. The argument had continued through several stops and the rear of the bus was by now almost full.

The audience behind listened silently. Finally, with rather poor grace, the conductor accepted the man's fare and moved muttering away. The "resister" smiled at us and said "thank you".

Hundred Year old Liberal



Mr. Nkantaal Mzolo, of the Polela area, near Underberg, Natal. Well over 100 years of age, Mr. Mzolo has just applied for membership in the Liberal Party. There is a fast-growing branch in his area, and he too is anxious to play his part in winning freedom.

Bantu Education in S.W.A.

From Our Windhoek Correspondent

THE little light of knowledge will tragically be put out when the Bantu Education System is introduced in the African schools in South West Africa at the beginning of 1961. This system will be introduced on the recommendation of the Commission of Enquiry into non-European education in South West Africa appointed by the government in 1958 to formulate a system of education for the African and Coloured communities as two separate, independent racial groups.

Before this sham inquiry was put into effect, it was apparent that it was a move calculated to justify the implementation of Bantu Education in the territory.

The Commission's terms of reference have been stated explicitly: "The extent to which the Union systems of non-European education may serve as a basis for the non-European communities in S.W.A."

Teachers protest

The South West African Teachers' Association, the only body representing African teachers in the country, strenuously affirmed that it is opposed to the implementation of Bantu Education on the grounds that the present syllabi are more advanced than those of the Bantu Education Department. To accept the system, the Association added, would be a move contrary to its objectives—the improvement of the standard of education and better facilities for schools throughout the country.

This strong opposition has not prevented the commission from following its course. It is determined to implement the recommendations of the Eiselen Report and the Bantu Education Act.

Education was improving

Although African education in the territory has not attained as high a standard as desired, it is gradually improving. Missions have played their part, and since 1935 the government has been increasing educational facilities. In spite of all, however, the first secondary school for Africans was not opened until 1955, and facilities for education up to the School Leaving Certificate were not provided until 1959, and then in only a few schools. Proportionally, very few African children went to school at all.

The syllabi followed were those of the Cape Education Department and the Joint Matriculation Board, but now the Commission has recommended that "the syllabi recently drawn up for the Bantu schools in the Union should also be introduced into the Native schools of South West Africa."

It is clear that as these syllabi are of a lower standard than those previously followed, the introduction of Bantu Education will have a bad effect on education in the territory.

South West News

THE battle continues in South West Africa, according to reports published in *South West News*, the only non-racial newspaper in the territory.

Scores of men have been deported from Windhoek; municipal employees have been dismissed from their jobs for refusing to move to the new apartheid location at Katutura. Any Africans who are active politically are immediately deported to the reserves. The military is being used to frighten the residents of the Old Location in Windhoek so as to force them to move to Katutura.

South West News is published weekly at 6d. and is obtainable from the African Publishing Company, P.O. Box 749, Windhoek.

White African

From a Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN: Just back from Nigeria is Hugh Lewin, Vice-President (International Relations) of the National Union of South African Students.

He is pictured here in Nigerian national dress with Moses Adesunloye of the College of Technology, Zaria, Nigeria.

Mr. Lewin had attended the first All African students' study seminar on the United Nations at Ibadan University



ADESUNLOYE and LEWIN

College, Nigeria, from 25th - 30th July.

There were participants at the seminar from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Dahomey, Liberia, America, and Japan. From South Africa came John Shingler (President of Nusas), as well as Mr. Lewin.

Interviewed by *Contact*, Mr. Lewin said that the discussions were led by Paul Moritz, Secretary-General of the International Student Movement for U.N.

The theme, Mr. Lewin said, was "the role of the emergent African states in the U.N." The general tone of the discussion stressed:

- U.N. is the only hope for world peace.
- the African bloc has an increasingly important role to play in the U.N.
- the African states should form a "buffer block" between the communist and free world, drawing both together.
- the importance of technical assistance for underdeveloped countries, **without strings**.

Mr. Lewin told *Contact* that he had been very impressed with the way West Africa was shaping. He found Ghana go-ahead and economically sound. In Nigeria he found a great deal of progress, also good co-operation between the Nigerian authorities and the British.

In general in West Africa Mr. Lewin found a wonderful atmosphere of freedom and happiness and a youthful and healthy exuberance. "For a South African," he said, "it was like walking from a room stale with tobacco smoke into a fresh garden. I felt as if a weight had been lifted from my shoulders."

Mr. Lewin found that the African states were not violently anti-South African. But the people had an intense desire to see South Africa freed.

Asked what he thought would happen at the next session of the U.N. General Assembly in September, Mr. Lewin said, "I think we will see South African government policy really put on the mat on the apartheid and South West African issues."

On his way back to South Africa, Mr. Lewin signed the anti-apartheid declaration which the Ghana government is asking all White South Africans to sign.

INSIDE MODDER B AND CAPE FARM GAOL

PRISONERS are put to work in every country. In other countries they work for the government. But here in South Africa they are put to work for private employers — at ninepence a day.



The van parked in the yard of Modder B prison.

Recently the editor of *Contact* went into the yard of the notorious Modder B prison, near Benoni, Transvaal, with a friend. There the friend photographed a van, with about eight young men sitting in the back. A farmer got in and drove off. The editor followed the van, which had a Bethal number-plate. Bethal is the centre of the infamous area which grows rich on the labour of contract-labourers, many of whom are dressed in sacks, and on the labour of prisoners who are hired out to farmers for the ridiculously low sum of ninepence a day.

The friend photographed the van on the road. The young men in the back were in rags and looked unhappy.

Later they photographed the inside of a new farm gaol a few miles from Swellendam, Cape. A large notice outside this farm gaol says: "New prison outpost for the Buffeljags River Labour Co-operative Ltd". That means that some of the farmers in the area have

formed a company to build a "private enterprise" gaol into which the government will put prisoners for the private profit of the farmers.

This prison seemed big enough for some 800 prisoners.

Mr. Swart, now Governor-General, while Minister of Justice, was a warm defender of this farm gaol system. But economists in South Africa are disturbed at the way that this cheap labour keeps down the wages of other agricultural workers.

And other observers condemn strongly the growing influence of a vested interest in prison labour. They point to the cruelties practised in the Soviet Union under Stalin when the state had a vested interest in keeping millions of prisoners working in the factories and farms and forests belonging to the state. They believe that when the state has an interest in the gaols being full, the state will see to it that the courts keep the gaols full.



The van on the road.



INSIDE a farm gaol. The notice-board in the left-hand picture reads in Afrikaans "New prison outpost for the Buffeljags River Labour Co-operative Ltd."



The proud architect's notice.

INTER-RACIAL WORK CAMP



Bricklaying operations at the Southern Africa Workcamps Association site in Swaziland during the July vacation. The object of the camp, which was sponsored by UNESCO, was to build a set of classrooms for a mission school. Campers, of all races, paid 4/6 a day for accommodation. After work, camp leader Frank Krawolitzki led the workers in campfire singing. For information about future camps, write to South Africa Workcamps Association, Box 506, Durban. From a Correspondent

Basuto "Ministers" Interviewed



LEPOLESA

Mr. S. Mac Lepolesa, Member for Public Works in the new Basutoland Executive Committee of the Legislative Council.

Mr. Lepolesa, in the old days, used to be a leader of the African National Congress in the Free State. Of recent years he has been in political retirement, but is now playing a big part in the Progressive and Marema Tlou parties. He was the Paramount Chief's nominee for the Executive Committee.

Mr. Lepolesa told "Contact" that officials and non-officials were working together well. "It has been team-work from the word 'go'," he said.



KHAKETLA

Mr. B. Makalo Khaketta, of the Basutoland Congress Party, who is Member for Education and Health in the new Basutoland Executive Committee of the Legislative Council.

Speaking to "Contact" Mr. Khaketta said that things were going well. He said that the next big problem was that of economic development, but he believed that the Basutoland Government was preparing to meet this challenge in a big way.

In the very near future Mr. Khaketta will probably become the Minister for Education and Health. In the Executive Committee four Basuto and four representatives of the British administration share the work of a cabinet.

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The Vacuum

EVERYONE is talking about the vacuum in South African democratic politics. They mean, of course, the vacuum that has been caused by the suppression of the Pan-Africanist Congress and that African National Congress.

Many organizations are planning to fill the vacuum.

In the interests of our country it is necessary that the vacuum be filled by an organization that has the three big "nons". These are:

- (a) Non-violence;
- (b) Non-racialism;
- (c) Non-communism.

The Liberal Party measures up to these three conditions. It is, in addition, big enough in potential, and has already filled the vacuum in several areas.

It is urgently necessary that its members work hard, give hard, and plan hard, to enable it to fill the vacuum all over South Africa.

It is also urgently necessary that the Liberal leadership work out plans for an attack on apartheid fully as courageous and determined as that of the P.A.C. which we witnessed in March and April. These plans should learn from the successes—and the failures—of the P.A.C. campaign.

It is also urgently necessary that future campaigns be timed carefully to synchronize with United Nations activities. It would be highly desirable, for instance, for demonstrations to take place during the Security Council debate, scheduled for next month, September, on Sharpeville, and the General Assembly debate on South West Africa.

Such plans may sound daring. But the alternative is unthinkable.

For the alternative is to do nothing.

Resistance

RESISTANCE to apartheid need not always be on a grand scale. Sometimes quite small acts can deal telling blows against the apartheid house of ill fame.

For instance it is possible to speak, write, and act as if the impending crash of apartheid were certain. Just ignore the existence of Dr. Verwoerd. Treat him as if he were not there.

Again, it is possible for racially-mixed groups to foregather in public in our cities and talk naturally, as if there were no colour-bar. Perhaps they could have lunch together on the lawns of our central parks and gardens. There is no law against such racial mixing. And it could exercise a powerful influence on the minds of the hundreds of people who would see it.

Let our minds ceaselessly toil to find ever new ways, some great, and some small, by which democrats may be encouraged, and the men of apartheid discouraged.

S.A. Communism

IN our view, the recent formation of a new communist party in South Africa is a matter of importance.

What lies behind it? Probably, we are informed, two considerations. Firstly, to a certain extent the failure of the united front within the Congress movement is thereby acknowledged.

Secondly, and more interestingly, it is probable, say our informants, that the South African communists believe that our country has entered upon its final revolutionary period. This period will be somewhat chaotic and turbulent. In such a period, reason the communists, that group succeeds which is best able to define the correct political line.

No doubt our South African communists reason that with their knowledge of the Marxian scriptures they are more able than others to determine the correct line. They have thus formed themselves

into a purely communist group—the South African Communist Party—ten years after the old Communist Party of South Africa was dissolved, in order to concentrate all the available resources of South African marxism into one body.

When the list of committee members is examined, one interesting fact emerges: there is not listed one single fresh name, not one new recruit. Like the British Communist Party, now dying on its feet, the South African body is also an ageing party.

Democrats can derive much satisfaction from this fact.

Mean Farmers

IT is clear that the wages paid by South African farmers to their African labourers are a national disgrace.

There is much wrong with wages in the cities. But wages paid on the farms are far lower, in real purchasing power, than wages paid in the cities.

It is common to find married men earning £1 10s. a month, with scanty rations added, while £2 is fairly general.

Farmers have been enabled to retain their labour under these starvation conditions because the government, by its unfair use of the pass system, has prevented farm labourers from leaving the farms and looking for higher wages in the cities.

So cynically have the government done this that some weeks ago farmers at a conference complained that they were embarrassed by the numbers of labourers crowding on to the farms: they complained that the government had given them too much of a good thing.

Agricultural wages have been lowered also by the increasing use of prison labour at 9d. a day.

Democrats do not complain. They proudly draw in their belts and prepare to fight the great struggle that is now so close: the struggle for votes and for equality. The vote is the only defence against this brutal exploitation. The vote is a right. Let us go out and take our rights.

The Federation

DR. Hastings Kamuzu Banda's willingness to compromise with the British Government over the new Nyasaland constitution bodes well for the future of the peoples of the Federation. It will probably lead to happy co-operation between Black and White in Nyasaland.

But Dr. Banda's first words on returning home after the London Conference were: "To hell with Federation." His success in London thus bodes ill for the future of Sir Roy Welensky's gimcrack empire. For Banda in power will be a more formidable destroying angel than Banda in prison.

With Dr. Banda we say too: "Let the Federation be broken up." Though Sir Edgar Whitehead shows signs of yielding to African pressures, we believe that the White minority will not be prepared to give, in time, the minimum concessions necessary to the dignity of the African citizens.

All political comment and headlining in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

The best weathercock of the Wind of Change is the fortnightly

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COLONIALISM IN KATANGA

The phrase "technical assistance" covers the scavenger hunt that scores of overseas and African money-grubbers are busy with in the Congo. In Katanga, however, the "technical assistance", in the hands of General Geysens, Major Crevecoeur and Colonel Weber, is not open money-grubbing but a subtle form of colonialism. M. Jean Daniel of *L'Express*, Paris, reports to the *New Statesman*, London, that they control police, army, information, propaganda, food supplies, and have played a more crucial role in Katanga than have Messrs. Tshombe or Munongo.

SHIPPING OFFICE APARTHEID

A row is blowing up over the colour-bar and first-come last-served treatment of non-Whites by Union Castle line booking offices. On the ships there is no apartheid but to get on is another matter; only a small number per ship (30 for the *Carnarvon Castle* out of 450 passengers), dearer cabins, allotted so that Whites will not be offended by the nearness of non-Whites, more obstacles if the clerks suspect an applicant is not "respectable" enough. The head of the line, Sir Nicholas Cayzer, who told journalists that his Company would treat all applicants for berths as equals, is to be asked to end the apartheid booking set-up.

DONGES QUARTET

In spite of Dr. Dönges's hard work for the referendum, some believe he wants (and expects) Verwoerd to lose it, so that he and his cronies—Sauer, Fouché and Diederichs—can make their bid to oust the Verwoerd gang.

U.A.R. SELL TO CONGO

A U.A.R. embassy has opened at Leopoldville. Mr. Mohammed Fahmy's chief job will be to sell U.A.R.-made clothing, bicycles, batteries, toilet goods, refrigerators—for cash or credit. The *London Daily Telegraph* says the U.A.R. will tell the Congo "we can clothe you from head to toe and furnish your homes". U.A.R. is also giving real "technical assistance"—managing airports and telephone services.

AFRICAN ARMY BORN

In Accra on 13th August a U.A.R. military mission secretly discussed the Pan-African Army they hope to form with Ghana, Guinea and other states. Mr. Ibrahim Aboud has said Sudanese troops may join in. The U.A.R. will supply guns and ammunition: they make more than they need. This army will be sent to African states to keep order when they become independent. They call it the "African military club" now, but plan to make it a proper African army soon.

B.A.D. RESTORES DISORDER

Clear evidence of the retarding process of retribalization being imposed on African people here, is provided by the "Bantu" radio announcement that Commissioner-General Hans Abraham, in touring the Transkei (excluding Eastern Pondoland, of course), will attend *abakweta* dances. In the interests of law and order these have long been forbidden: they are now to be restored by De Wet Nel's B.A.D. Department (who disapprove of the hygienic methods of circumcision that are part of the *abakweta* initiation). A current joke asks whether Abraham will go the whole hog and submit to the little operation too, and if so if he will take it "traditional" or modern.

SCHEME TO KEEP COLONIES

Portugal is scheming to keep her African colonies. *Contact* has reported that she may try a "Portuguese community" idea if she can get Brazil in with her to make it seem non-colonial. Anti-colonialists are waiting to see the outcome of the treaty President Kubitschek of Brazil has just signed in Lisbon with the Portuguese: it is not known whether it takes the idea any further.

PASS PROMISE BROKEN

A Liberal Party meeting at Free-ground, Cape, on Sunday, 14th August, was preceded and followed by a full-scale pass raid—a few days after the announcement that pass and liquor raids were over.

New U.A.R. consul in Cape Town, Oxford man Mr. Fouad Arsan (see last *Contact*), found a nice flat for himself in smart White Sea Point. He was about to move in when the agent said: "Sorry, the proprietor says no."

Mr. de Wet Nel, who has told tribal audiences that democratic leaders are "skunks" and African Representative M.P.s "dogs", is known to the Xhosas as *incuke*—"the hyena".

Johannesburg gossip is that Mr. Harry Oppenheimer thought he was going to be detained in the emergency.

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

ALAN PATON takes

. THE LONG VIEW

OUR NEW BISHOP



Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party.

like a miracle—perhaps an answer to importunate prayer—he is told he may return! To Africa, to the continent and the people to whom he gave so freely of his love! Here, from six thousand miles away, I am willing to wager that he has laughed more this last few weeks than he has laughed the last few years before them. He is like that; he laughs when he is happy, not only at the best jokes but also at the feeblest, many of which latter, I might add, are his own.

It is going to be good news to hundreds of thousands of South Africans that Huddleston is coming back to Africa. They will feel better just to know that he is on the same piece of land. I think it is possible that the Bishop of Masasi may prove to be an important person in the times that lie ahead. I do not know what kind of a mess this southern part of Africa is going to get into, but I certainly do not want to see stark Black-White conflict. I do not know any person who could play a more important part in such a situation than Huddleston. And Nyerere too. Those two should get on well together. They are both exceptional human beings, full of vitality without vanity.

There have been few White men in Africa who earned the affection and trust of African people as Huddleston did. The reasons were simple. For one thing he loved them. For another, he knew injustice when he saw it, even if it had fancy names like industrial con-

iliation, extension of education, and autogenous development.

But I am not only glad for his sake and ours that he is coming back. I am glad for the sake of the Church. Huddleston believes strongly that it was the Church's duty to champion justice and to denounce injustice, and that means, to put it plainly, to champion *people*, especially the oppressed, the despised, the scorned. He saw, with the same clarity as Archbishop de Blank, that the Christian Church in Africa stood at the crossroads, and that her arch enemy was not Islam or Communism, but pseudo-Christianity, that is the Christian religion corrupted by power and possession and privilege. In pseudo-Christianity order is more important than freedom, stability more important than reform, the law more important than justice, and realism more important than love.

Huddleston believed that the duty of the Church is to show forth in her own body the true fellowship of Christians triumphing over the barriers created by men. He wanted the Church to be a transforming, not a conforming, body. The arguments about language difference, cultural difference, social difference—he understood them all; but his love was urgent and triumphed over all difference. He could see clearly that White Christians were allowing these differences to exercise over their lives a sovereignty that belonged only to God.

The Christian Church has lost much ground in Africa these last twenty years, largely because she has allowed herself to become identified with the status quo instead of with righteousness. It is men like Huddleston who can restore men's faith in her. Rebellion and obedience are perfectly combined in him. If it had not been so, his recall from South Africa would have broken his heart. Huddleston can well be called a dog of the Lord. When he is jerked in he growls and pulls, but he comes in the end to the beloved Heel. Fidelity, not self-will, is what he lives by. Behind what other Heel could such dog run?

There is another reason why I am glad that Huddleston is coming back. He is a champion of human rights, of the rights of men to freedoms which should be respected by the State. His championship is all the more trustworthy because he knows what it is to be subject to authority. No one knows better than he how to reconcile the claims of order and freedom. This reconciliation is going to be one of the most difficult problems of the new Africa, and there are many of us who hope that Tanganyika is going to set an example of a sane society to the rest of the continent. This is more likely now that Huddleston is going there. May his ministry in Masasi bring something for our comfort after all.

IF there is a happy man in the world to-day, it is Trevor Huddleston, for he is coming back to Africa. When he left it he was as miserable as a Christian may be without falling into *accidie*. He used to write me the most inconsolable letters, and I, believe it or not, used to give him spiritual advice! Yet even at that time his irrepressible spirit used to show itself: he used to write on the back of his letters, such absurd addresses

- Rev. O. Luton.
- Copse Watching.
- Stillfree,
- England.
- or
- Miss Scdgie Nation.
- "Piebaldings".
- Much Mixing.

He was like a man torn from the side of his beloved, almost, not quite, distraught. He was saved from utter misery by his obedience. Eventually he accepted his separation as one accepts a hair shirt. And then—almost

MALAWI FREE STATE?

THE suggestion that a self-governing Nyasaland might become a Free State within the Federation, is made by the British writer Philip Mason in a new book, *Year of Decision*.

This book was to have been the third of three on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, published for the Institute of Race Relations in London by the Oxford University Press. The first, *Birth of a Dilemma*, also by Philip Mason, who is the Director of the Institute, deals with the origins and early years of the Rhodesias; the second, *The Two Nations*, by Richard Gray, reviews the period from 1918 to 1953 and will be published in October.

The *Year of Decision*, which covers Federation and its effect on the three territories and their people, has had its publication date advanced so it may be "of value" in considering the constitutional talks to take place in London later this year.

The Federal experiment, Mr. Mason finds, is being threatened by the failure of the ruling White minority to carry out its policy of partnership proclaimed in 1953. To African eyes, the steps towards true partnership have been slight, and most voters have shown that they do not mean to give Africans any real share of power. But as long as this is denied "there will be agitation and violence; only when the peak is passed and a beginning has been made of a new regime will there be any prospect of calm".

He believes, however, that, if some means can be found of winning African confidence, Federation should continue, and Britain should encourage its rapid development into a healthy, non-racial state.

To achieve this, bold and unorthodox measures might be necessary and he suggests a Nyasaland Free State as a "step forward that might be acceptable to the Rhodesians as well as the Nyasalanders".

The Free State would be loosely tied to the Rhodesias and should eventually be allowed to decide whether "to cut the cord altogether".

In Nyasaland there should be a period of rapid training of African administrators. "To be any good," he writes, "the programme must be wildly unorthodox . . . the pace must be terrific. But nothing else should so clearly show that we meant business."

Northern Rhodesia should also become an African state "not in the end very different from Nyasaland". Although progress towards this end might be slower, it should not take too long.

For White Southern Rhodesians he can see no easy way out of their dilemma. The alternative to staying in a Federation ruled by the African majority, would be some form of union or association with South Africa, which will only postpone the inevitable change.

By remaining in a "loose Federation with a democratic franchise into which they entered whole-heartedly" they could continue as an important and respected minority. The transition might be difficult, but they would not be the only people in the world who have had to remould their lives in mid-career to face change and possible loss.



MASON

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

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Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d. plus 3d. postage.

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Freedom Award to Alan Paton

S.A.'s Great Honour

ON 5th October, 1960, Freedom House, New York — home of many institutions which uphold civil liberties, such as the N.A.A.C.P., the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the B'nai B'rith, the World University Service — will give its annual Freedom Award. The recipient, Alan Paton, will be the first South African since Smuts's day to whom one could expect such an organization to give an award that had previously gone to men like Franklin D. Roosevelt, Sir Winston Churchill, General George C. Marshall, Paul-Henri Spaak, Dag Hammarskjöld. This is an honour of which South Africa can be very proud: that our country has produced a man who measures up to these great men of other countries, and that the cause of Freedom has a champion in South Africa whom the world recognizes as what he is.

The career of Alan Paton is quite well known — a teacher, for 13 years principal of Diepkloof Reformatory, he was freed from this work by the success of his first novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country*.

"I AM AN AFRICAN"

His life, then and since, is remarkable for the broad South Africanism that he and his family have expressed. Paton feels no allegiance to the English-speaking South Africans or to the White group: "I am an African, not a European. I have great links with Europe but I am an African." His affinity for African and Indian people is clear in his life and writings, and for the Afrikaners he has deep feelings (in 1938 he grew a beard and went to the Voortrekker centenary in an ox-wagon flying the Vierkleur).

PUBLIC LIFE

He settled down to writing, but, as he has said, "it is practically impossible for a man to be a writer and nothing else, in Africa today". More and more of his time was given to public life, through the Liberal Party, which he had helped to found in 1953. He produced books, stories, articles, commentaries, a musical, a play, poems, all of them excellent, but none of them fully employing the gifts that *Cry, the Beloved Country* revealed. He gave up the Chairmanship of the Liberal Party in 1958, in order to have more time for writing, particularly to work on the life of his friend, the late J. H. Hofmeyr, and was given the specially-created post of President. Then in March, 1960, Peter Brown, his successor as Chairman (and a very great friend) was imprisoned without trial, and for the four months of his imprisonment, Paton acted for him. At real personal risk and cost, he ran the national office of the Party and led the Party in all ways. The Hofmeyr book and his other writings were put off again.

"HIS PEOPLE"

The seclusion and quiet routine needed by a writer of Paton's type have had to be sacrificed by the demands of his conscience as a patriot when his people need him. The wisdom of the men of Freedom House in honouring Alan Paton is clear if one looks at that phrase, "his people". Paton is a South African to whom "his people" means all his fellow countrymen. He is not a leader of one racial group or another, not a leader of an oppressed people or a critic of his fellow-oppressors, but a man who serves and loves all his fellow-countrymen, and works to guard their liberty, now and for the future.

THE OTHER FREEDOMS

This liberty is what concerns Freedom House, not only the independence of a state, or its freedom from colonialism, when that very freedom can mean the continued denial of liberty to the people. The cause of freedom in Africa is not

only one of freedom from foreign rule or racist domination, but of the other freedoms as well, the civil liberties which Paton's Liberal Party will continue to uphold after racist domination has been dealt with. Alan Paton has been honoured because all these freedoms are his cause, and because he is fighting for them in the very field of battle.

In September he will travel to New York via the United Kingdom, where he will visit his son Jonathan and daughter-in-law Margaret at Cambridge. He will return late in October after attending the World Council of Churches in Geneva. On 5th October, the day of the referendum, an honour will be paid to South Africa of far greater credit than are the pro- and anti-republic squabbling of the ruling racial group — Alan Paton will receive the 1960 Freedom Award from the poet Archibald MacLeish at a banquet in New York city.

SPORT SWINDLE

THE South African Sports Association, a non-racial body with 70,000 members may have lost its battle to have "non-White" South Africans included in the Union's Olympic team; but the exclusion was not done without a bit of juggling, especially in the weightlifting section.

Pietermaritzburg's Precious Mackenzie lifted 40 lb. more than the official South African record during trials held under the auspices of S.A.S.A. These followed the promise by Mr. Reg Honey that non-Whites would be included in the S.A. team if they were up to standard.

Several months after Mackenzie's brilliant performance, the all-White weightlifting body held its own trials. It has not published the weights lifted but has picked a team to represent "South Africa".

S.A.S.A. has been able to get no information from the White organization, but it is understood that some members of the team lift less than the "non-White" champions.

However, only Whites have gone to Rome for the Games.

Mr. Dennis Brutus, Secretary of S.A.S.A., applied for a passport to go to Rome to attend meetings of the International Olympic Committee to report on race discrimination in South African Olympic teams.

Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, President of S.A.S.A., also applied for a passport for the same purpose.

Mr. Brutus has been informed that his application has been refused.

Contact understands that Mr. Rangasamy has also been refused.

LUTHULI ON TRIAL

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Following the incident during March, when he burned his reference book, Chief Albert Luthuli is appearing in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court charged with incitement and alternative offences.

He is being defended by Mr. I. Maisels, Q.C.

The main argument in the case moves around the photograph of Chief Luthuli which was published in the *Sunday Times* of 27th March and which showed the Chief burning his reference book.

Mr. Maisels argued strongly on two points: the photograph meant nothing without the caption and the Crown had

no evidence that Chief Luthuli had "caused the photograph to be published".

He said also that there was no law to prevent any person from burning his reference book if he so desired as the book was the person's private property. Chief Luthuli had not called a public meeting at which he burned his book, but had done so in private; moreover, he had burned his book at a time when the pass laws were suspended.

The Crown case is that Chief Luthuli incited people to break the law, or to protest against the law or to have burned his pass in support of a protest.

The case has been remanded until 31st August. Chief Luthuli is still a detainee; if the Emergency is lifted bail of £100 will be allowed.

DEPORTED DOCTOR

DR. ARTHUR E. LETELE, for many years leader of the African National Congress in Kimberley, where there was a membership of 1,400, has been released by the Union authorities from imprisonment under the emergency regulations.

Dr. Letele was given thirty days in which to wind up his practice in Kimberley, and leave the Union. He has returned to his home, Basutoland, where he intends to set up in private practice.

The British administration in Basutoland feels that the Union's loss is their



LETELE

gain. They have welcomed the return of this distinguished son of Basutoland and offered him a post in the medical service there.

Dr. Letele gave *Contact* an interview, and told of his imprisonment, and of how Sir John Maud, the British High Commissioner, visited him personally in gaol. Asked if he intended to turn his back on the Union, Dr. Letele said, "I am going to maintain my interest in South African freedom".

JOKERS

SOMEONE — playful or hostile — has decided on a method of wasting the time of Liberal Party officials in Durban.

The telephone rings in the office but when it is picked up by a party official or member there is no voice speaking at the other end. Then the receiver clicks down. Some time later the telephone rings again.

The "game" has continued for the past few months.

All those who oppose intellectual truths merely stir up the fire; the cinders fly about and set fire to that which they would not otherwise have touched.

—Johan W. von Goethe
(1749-1832)

Alex. Fights on

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Since the banning of the A.N.C. the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board has begun to use irregular methods to force people out of Alexandra Township for re-housing in the South Western Areas (Diepkloof and Meadowlands).

Most irregular of these methods is one by which people are intimidated by the endorsement of special stamps in



GUMEDE

their reference books. The endorsements are done unofficially by members of the Peri-Urban Areas Board.

But the people of Alexandra have formed a non-political organization under the leadership of Mr. Dan W. Gumedde. It is called the Alexandra Standholders' Protection and Vigilance Association, and is waging a legal battle against the Peri-Urban Areas Board on behalf of all those inhabitants of Alexandra who hate ethnic grouping, permit raids, forced removals, and the irregular by-laws which are being used to frighten people into selling their property to the Board.

The Association has unified those who are fighting for human rights in the township.

UHURU!

From Our Durban Correspondent

A NEW "underground" organization is keeping the resistance to apartheid going in South Africa.

The slogan U for *uhuru* (a Swahili word meaning Freedom) has been appearing throughout the country.

Its latest appearance was in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Alice this week-end.

In Durban the sign seemed to be everywhere — in the City Square, the floor of the main Post Office building, the Esplanade, the "upper income bracket" Musgrave Road area, the Indian area and even the front wall of the jail where the Government has imprisoned political prisoners. In Durban, too, stickers appeared on pillars and poles in the central area of the city.

Some of the slogans drew considerable attention and the conservative *Natal Daily News* reported their presence on a main news page. The influential *Sunday Times* front-paged a report about the slogans and stated that Special Branch detectives visited Fort Hare university near Alice — to "consult the university authorities".

The resistance movement first hit the headlines in Johannesburg when the *Star* carried reports of it on its front page — and comparisons have been drawn with anti-Nazi resistance in allied Europe during World War II.

By a deft bit of paintwork another resister changed a Nationalist Party republican poster in Durban to a pro-Liberal sign. The Nat. poster was of two White hands clasped and bore the legend: Your people, my people, Our republic.

The unknown humorist painted one of the White hands black, thus making the poster similar to the Liberal Party badge and blacked the *re* out of republic.

The Bulawayo Flare-up

From "Contact" Correspondent

TWO days before the disturbances in Bulawayo there had been a meeting of the National Democratic Party in the Stanley Hall, called to protest against the manner in which the Southern Rhodesian government had treated the N.D.P. in Salisbury, especially the raid on the party's offices and the arrest of the leaders.

The Chairman of the Matabeleland region of the N.D.P., Mr. Z. K. Shiva, opened the meeting. Mr. J. Z. Moyo, who had been detained for thirteen months under Southern Rhodesia's emergency laws spoke and warned the government that there was a danger that "the lid would blow off in Whitehead's face" if changes were not made.

Then Mr. Clement M'chachi spoke, and said that the only solution for the country's problems was democratic rights for all. Mr. M'chachi said that imprisonment and tear gas would not deter the people from their aims. "Unity, solidarity and support for the leaders shall make us achieve our aims", he said.

of jeeps and armoured cars. About a hundred armed policemen blocked the road along which the demonstrators were going to walk.

A uniformed policeman came from one of the jeeps and tried to address



M'CHACHI

Protest meeting

As had been planned there was to be another protest meeting, this time a bigger one that would be a peaceful protest march to town.

While the leaders were preparing to call on their followers and supporters to march quietly to town, truckloads of armed police were also preparing to stop the meeting.

Policemen were seen nailing notices to trees and pasting them on walls.

The loudspeaker system also blared out over the location telling people that there was no longer to be a meeting at the Stanley Square (from where the march was planned to start).

Despite the announcement a handful of people gathered at the place where the meeting was to have been held.

At about 10.15 a.m. that Sunday, the few people who had gathered started

the crowd, but he was not given a hearing. Then the police wrote a note and gave it to the leaders. It told them to go and hold a meeting in the Stanley Square, but only for the purpose of choosing a delegation which would approach the Chief Magistrate and be told why the meeting had been banned.

Back to location

The crowd agreed to go back to the location, but there were some reluctant ones who stayed behind. Many people went into town to do their shopping.

Back in Stanley Square the choosing of delegates was in progress when the police appeared again in their jeeps and armoured cars. What the police wanted from the demonstrators again after giving them permission to hold the meeting, nobody knows.



People gather and sing *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*.

singing *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*. This attracted some of the bystanders and spectators who later joined in the singing.

"Asifuni ukulwa"

As the crowd grew bigger, some of the demonstrators decided to go around and collect more people. This they did and the crowd grew bigger and bigger.

Some of the speakers emphatically warned the people against violence in any form: "Asifuni ukulwa (we don't want fighting)", they said.

The crowd began to move towards town. Police jeeps which had been standing by disappeared. A spotter plane was seen flying about.

Jeeps and guns

As the demonstrators were just about to enter town, they were met by a fleet

This was when small boys started throwing stones at the police.

Then there was tear gas. The police shot off their tear gas bombs all over the place. Some of the shells landed on innocent people's heads.

Now the trouble had spread all over the township. Wherever the police saw a group of people they opened fire. Fleeing, unarmed men, women and children were shot.

A chaos of angry rioting followed. Everyone knows the terrible damage which was done.

But if the police had not turned the demonstrators back, and later followed the crowd and tried to interfere with the election of delegates, there would and could not have been such terrible trouble as followed during the three days of killing and bloodshed.

KUHANGUA

IN our last issue we published an account of the travels of Jacob Kuhangua. This week we received a letter from him. He should by now be on his way to New York by way of Addis Ababa. Mr. Kuhangua is a leading member of the Ovamboland People's Organization. This is his story, in which he gives details to the account we published in the last issue, and tells how he went from Northern Rhodesia to Dar es Salaam.



KUHANGUA

Chief Kambonde

"On 4th March, 1960, I went to the office of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Oshikango, requesting permission to stay with my sister who happened to be in the Ondangwa tribal area. After much argument the commissioner issued me with a letter referring my case to the commissioner at Ondangwa. He is turn referred me to Chief Kambonde, but when I went to him, he was not prepared to see me and kept me waiting for ten days.

On 16th March two of his lieutenants led by the tribal secretary who carried the message approached me. The message read:

"The Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Ondangwa.

Jacob is told by the chief to go back as soon as possible. Chief does not want him to stay here in Ondangwa.

Julius Ngaikukuete/Tribal Secretary.

As we were discussing the critical situation with Mr. Toivo Ja Toivo, a bicycle was quickly brought by a friend, who not only gave me the bicycle, but offered at great sacrifice to walk with me the same night a distance of 86 miles to Vila Pereira de Eca (Ondjira) in Angola.

Long walk

We walked the whole night and the whole day with our luggage on the bicycle which we pushed in turn. My companion waited with me until he was sure that I was on the bus to Nova Lisboa. From there I took a train to Lobito, where I stayed for six weeks.

Then I decided to go to the Congo, but due to the critical situation there I was not allowed to enter the country without the necessary documents. I tried four times, but my efforts were in vain.

On my last trip back from the Congo I met an American missionary who took me to his mission at Okavango. When we arrived there a lady missionary from Northern Rhodesia said she would help me.

The next day we started for Northern Rhodesia.

In that country I became the guest

of the United National Independence Party, whose leader is Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, a brilliant man; a man whose mouth never tastes wine and whose lips never touch a cigarette, but who is ever ready to fight for the liberation of his people.

The U.N.I.P. gave me money and helped me to get to Mbeya in Tanganyika.

In that country I came into the hands of the Tanganyika African National Union. I will be their guest until I leave for New York where I shall present my country's case to the United Nations, for the world to judge.

Message to Verwoerd

I demand strongly of the Union Government that it release Toivo Ja Toivo and Eliasel Tuhadelini immediately from house arrest.



JA TOIVO

How long is the Union Government going to intimidate our leaders and murder our brothers and sisters who demand the establishment of a democratic government?

On behalf of the Ovamboland People's Organization I am warning the rulers of the Territory to stop interfering with our political leaders.

The time has come for the Union Government to surrender the administration of the mandated territory of South West Africa.

The world has given her the chance for forty years to administer the territory during which time the country has shown little sign of progress towards Western Christian civilization.

The Union Government had failed to co-operate with Africans, but has rejected them.

We, the African people of the Territory can no longer tolerate a system which bars us from higher education, which enforces racial discrimination, an insult to human culture, and which restricts us from moving freely by the pass laws."



Thousands join the meeting and head for town.

CORRESPONDENCE

Spark must reply

SIR—The appearance of the underground and declaredly Communist paper the *Spark* serves to remind me, amongst other things, that there are certain questions which the gentlemen of the *Spark* and other Russian patriots in South Africa have as yet failed to answer.

1. Why have the Communists in South Africa presented the so-called "Soviet powers" as havens of democracy and socialism when it has been well known for more than thirty years that the Communist countries are brutal dictatorships maintained by the most lawless ruling class that the world has seen—a dictatorship which wiped out the flower of the Russian Socialist, Social Democratic and democratic intelligentsia; which destroyed the working class leadership, the Soviets and trade unions, and ground down the masses of the working people?

2. Why have they lied? They knew that freedom of speech had been abolished in the Communist countries, yet they praised these measures as being in defence of Socialist freedom. They knew that the Russian worker had been enslaved, yet they spoke of Russia as a "workers" paradise. They knew that the artist had been transformed into a hack for the dissemination of party propaganda, yet they applauded the achievements of Soviet culture. Why?

3. What of the revolts in Eastern Europe, in Poland and East Germany, countries ruled by Russian puppet governments, but which they have presented to us as happy peoples' democracies? What of the revolution in Hungary and the murderous Russian intervention which our brave South African Communists and their fellow travellers supported?

4. What have they to say about the Khrushchev report which exposed their one-time god, Stalin? According to that report "since 1954 to the present (1956), the military collegium of the Supreme Court has rehabilitated 7,679 persons, many of whom were rehabilitated posthumously"—persons whom our local Communists had damned as counter-revolutionary agents of bourgeois fascism.

We demand that the *Spark* reply. But not only the *Spark*, for the obligation of replying rests also upon those who ran *New Age*, and *Liberation* and those who control *Fighting Talk* and many of those in the Congress of Democrats.

The would-be critical supporters of the "Soviet bloc" of the *Torch* also have much to answer for in this regard.

KENNETH HENDRICKSE,
Kenilworth, Cape.

I Want Peace

SIR—It is with regret, not for my own sake, but for the sake of the importance of the work you do with the publishing of *Contact*, that I feel compelled to admit my failure to you. I find myself greatly ashamed as a man who is interested in bringing about permanent peace, security, and understanding in our country, more especially at this time when all available power is needed.

I wish to settle in peace, but I do not find it easy to find peace. The cause is a very simple one, but the solution does not lie in my own hands, I mean it does not lie solely in my hands. As it is, a man without a concrete financial background or a fairly promising position is even worse off than a man without initiative. My spirit is never at rest when I find myself trapped like a fly within the web of my own shortcomings, although I could be a useful part of society. I do not feel happy in the service of my present employer, not just because I get £5 a

month but because the job itself is unappealing to my heart. I do not believe in working for the mere sake of working; but a man should feel that he performs a duty for the benefit of the society in which he lives, and will therefore know with pride that he has a place within the community. As a man, I cannot in all truth and honesty to myself, and to my God, say that I am happy in my present occupation.

I have failed to sell *Contact* successfully, because since the Sharpeville shootings and "riots" as they are called, I have met with gross insults and criticisms from the Nationalist-minded Whites, as well as threats of intimidation for selling *Contact*. This does not mean that all Whites are anti-*Contact*, but you know to what lengths these Nationalist followers can go if they wish to browbeat a man.

Among the non-Whites there exists a mute kind of fear whenever they see a man selling a political paper.

MINE WORKER,
Dersley.

Non-Racial?

SIR—"Africanus" makes a grievous mistake in equating African nationalism with Afrikaner nationalism. The two nationalisms are totally different. They differ in nature and in concept.

He calls upon the people "to counteract the dangerous doctrines expounded by the racialistic Afrikaner and African Nationalisms". He would perhaps succeed with Afrikaner nationalism, but it will not be the same with African nationalism. There is no force in the world today that can stem the tide of African nationalism.

His call will have no response; how can he set Africans against African nationalism, except possibly for a few intellectuals who have sacrificed the national cause for some other ideologies.

African nationalism is democratic. It is non-racial at the same time because it regards people as individuals belonging to one race, the human race. It is non-racial too in that it revolts against group exclusiveness in Africa.

Every person in Africa must owe allegiance to Africa, and Africa alone. He must bind himself with the destiny of the Africans, thus becoming an African. This is non-racial democracy.

In an African nationalist society, the colour of a man will not count. Therefore nobody should complain if the government in power is predominantly of one colour, if it is the will of the majority.

It is only under the banner of African nationalism that we can ever hope to achieve peace and democracy in this land.

AFRICAN NATIONALIST,
Alice, C.P.

Fear of Truth

SIR—Federation has lapsed. Partnership which Federation has imposed on the innocent Africans of Central Africa has proved a failure. It is a word which in practice means apartheid.

The Whites of Central Africa have as a whole developed fear of the truth told by African nationalism. Fear without grounds; fear makes stupid and truth hurts.

Guns have been bought in abundance in the Federation; but what are they for? Are they for defence? If so, against whom?

Africans do not want to be regarded as second- or third-class citizens in their own land.

What is needed is the immediate change of both the Federal and territorial constitutions; dismantle the dictatorial governments and have democracy.

PURE BLACK,
Chingola, N.R.

Re-Think Needed

SIR—As a member of the Liberal Party I feel reluctant to accuse the Progressives of being a multi-facial party, but it might be in their own interests to be forced to re-think some of their policies which appear to be designed to catch White conservative votes and Black membership.

In his article "From me to you" in the *Golden City Post* (31st July) Dr. Steytler tells his readers that "every man must be allowed to live in the place of his choosing". And yet, the Progressive Party's presently distributed leaflet *The Progressive Answer* says this under the heading "Social Customs and Conventions": "We will free commercial and industrial property zoning from racial restrictions and take into account the wishes of the inhabitants of local areas who desire to live among members of their group". Does that look as if Mr. Sithole will be allowed to move into the house next to mine in Houghton?

In the same article Dr. Steytler writes that "trade union rights should be extended to all". But his Progressive Party's Main Principles as adopted at its Inaugural Congress in November 1959 condemns unskilled African workers to join only trade unions "under control of the Department of Labour" until such workers have learnt to undertake the responsibility of collective bargaining". A trade union chained to a government department is an abomination without freedom of bargaining power.

Much as I have admired the Progressives for the admirable direction they have taken away from U.P. and Nat. policies, I still cherish with pride the unequivocal non-racial liberalism which has been and still is and always will be the guiding principle of the Liberal Party of South Africa.

GERHARD COHN,
Johannesburg.

Surprised

SIR—I am waiting for a further supply of *Contact*.

Your articles are educating; they give us the idea of what is happening in South Africa.

We in Eastern Nigeria are living in a happy season where we are in the hands of a God-fearing government. Therefore we are surprised to hear and read most of the things happening in South Africa.

OLU JOHNSON,
Aba, E. Nigeria.

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Vol. 3 No. 18

WHAT NEXT IN NORTHERN RHODESIA?

—see page 6



*A daughter of
Africa
states a fact
No longer a
distant hope*

South West Africa Round-up

NEW EXILE CAMP IN FOREST

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The existence of a new exile camp in the forests of South West Africa is disclosed in latest despatches from Ovamboland. This camp is at Ombongola in the extreme east of Ovamboland, near the Angolan border, and near the Okavango river.

Several young leaders have been sent there recently in an attempt by the Union government to suppress the people's growing demands for freedom. To this camp has been sent Mr. Eliezer Noah Tuhadeleni. No one is allowed to visit him; not even his own family.

The Windhoek vice-president of the Ovamboland People's Organization, Mr. Louis Nelengeni, has been sent to exile in Ovamboland, leaving in Windhoek his wife and six-month-old baby.

Messrs. J. Kashikliku and Herman Ja Toivo are still under house arrest in Ovamboland at the kraal of a chief. And a fifth leader, Mr. Paroly, who is working at the Consolidated Diamond Mines, Oranjemund, has been removed from the compound and made to live, pending the end of his contract, in an isolated hut four miles from his work. He is allowed to talk to none of his fellows. When his contract is finished, he has been told, he will be deported to Ovamboland.

BUSHMAN-OVAMBO APARTHEID

During his recent visit to Ovamboland, Minister De Wet Nel promised the Ovakuangala people (Bushmen) that he would "protect them from the Bantu", and give them a place of their own so they should not have to mix with the Ovambo people. This promise has caused much resentment, as there has never been any trouble between the two peoples. The Ovambo have been glad to share their harvests and their milk with the Bushmen, who have paid for favours with presents. No fighting has occurred between the two peoples.

Police Reforms Follow "Contact" Survey

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Efficiency and courtesy to all people are the qualities called for from the police force by its newly-appointed head, Lt.-General A. du Plooy, in a statement issued in August. The statement outlined reforms to be introduced.

Many of the reforms are in line with recommendations which appeared in *Contact's* survey on the police of 26th December 1959.

In *Contact's* survey certain points were made. They are tabulated for ease of reference next to Gen. Du Plooy's reforms.

- **Survey:** The age and educational requirements for recruiting must be raised. In the past few years there have crept into the force youngsters who have behaved little better than "ducktails".

Reform: Better recruits are to be attracted to the force. Minimum: Std. VIII.

- **Survey:** Because salaries are not attractive to more educated men, hundreds have resigned from the force, and have been replaced by less educated men.

Reform: Salaries are to be looked into and increases made soon.

- **The survey** gave statistics compiled from the retiring commissioner's annual report showing the alarming increase in crimes by the police. It spotlighted the fact that some policemen, though convicted, had been reinstated.

Reform: 11st August went down in police history as "Black Thursday". This was the day when large numbers of policemen were served with dismissal notices.

As the B.A.D. Department tightens its grip on the South West African reserves, so discontent mounts. The people's complaints are similar to those of the Pondo. They say that the chiefs do not consult the people as they did in the past. Particular resentment has been caused by a new regulation that the Ovambo cattle may no longer range freely, but that the cattle of one small area must stay within that area. Great bitterness has been caused also by the strict labour laws. People are not allowed to leave Ovamboland to seek work, but are compelled to take a contract before they are allowed out. Wages are kept low, a common wage being 1s. 9d. a day. (See *Contact* 13th August.)

NEW ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS

No longer does the South West press ignore the freedom movement. When Mr. Uatja Kaukuetu, vice-president of the S.W.A. National Union, disappeared recently, *Die Suidwes Afrikaner* commented: "His disappearance... is viewed in a serious light, because... he... is a good speaker and is an intellectual person." The *Windhoek Advertiser* said: "Kaukuetu is a polished orator and politician" and went on to pay tribute to the manner in which he had led the people during the Windhoek riot and had given evidence before the Hall commission.

The coming General Assembly of the United Nations is clearly causing all the White political parties some concern, and the earlier patronizing attitude to the leaders who have escaped from the territory has disappeared.

Helmets will continue to roll in this manner, we are assured, in the new drive to purify the force.

- It was also reported in the survey that some policemen have behaved badly towards the public—particularly towards Africans.

Reform: General Du Plooy has given prominence to his orders that any policeman using the word "Kaffir" will be immediately and severely punished. He has urged that any person who is thus referred to should make a report to a senior police officer.

Five experienced officers have been promoted to inspectors-general whose primary duty will be to "foster goodwill between police and the public and the press".

General Du Plooy has ordered that his men should be polite and courteous. And he has said that they should exercise restraint and moderation, particularly with regard to pass and liquor raids.

- The survey added that at times it was difficult to distinguish between officers and constables since they were all on first-name terms, and since C.I.D. men usually wore civilian clothes.

Reform: Du Plooy has announced

(Continued in column 4)

Prosperity—for Whites only

925/26 1930/31 1935/36 1940/41 1945/46 1950/51 1955/56



The above chart shows how African, Indian and Coloured wages have failed to keep pace with the increase in the wages of White workers during the last thirteen years.

The chart shows that in 1945/6 Coloured workers in private and public undertakings had risen to 42% of White wages; Indian to 40% and African to 25% of White wages. But, by 1955/6 Coloured wages had dropped to 32%; Indian to 33%; and African to 19% of White wages. These were years of massive immigration followed by apartheid.

The chart was taken from a recently-published valuable study of the economic conditions of the people, and how democracy could improve them. It is called "The Economic Implications of Political Democracy", by Sheila van der Horst, published by the Anglo American Corporation as a supplement to its periodical "Optima".

REFUSED TO CONFESS

PRETORIA: Colyn van Reenen, 21-year-old member of the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party and student at Pretoria University, who was detained on 6th July under the Emergency Regulations, was unexpectedly released from Pretoria gaol on Saturday 20th August.

Colyn's mother received a telephone call at midday from a member of the Security Branch who said, "Go and fetch your son". She was taken completely by surprise, as no indication had been given her that he might be released.

Mrs. van Reenen had recently undergone a serious operation and had begun a two weeks' recuperative holiday the day before her son was detained. Her husband kept the news from her so that she might finish her holiday untroubled. We were afraid that she might be very upset on her return, but she telephoned me immediately she arrived to say, "Don't worry about me, I am proud of Colyn and I know that he will come through this experience on top!"

That set the tone for her weeks of waiting. She would not be downhearted but telephoned the Security Branch day

after day and was not upset by their constant attempts to intimidate her.

Her only concern was that they would use her poor state of health to play on Colyn's feelings to get a confession from him. They suspected that he had painted "Uhuru" slogans in public places in Pretoria. They told him from time to time that his mother was very ill and that if he "confessed" they would release him. The first time she visited him she told him that he must on no account take any notice of what they told him about her and "Even if I don't come to visit you you must not make an incorrect statement for my sake." He answered, "Ma, as much as I'd like to be home with you at this time, I'll not be intimidated even if they keep me here for six years!"

This was Colyn's attitude throughout, and when I saw him on Saturday he was longing to get back on the job.



Colyn van Reenen (r.) being welcomed home by Maritz van der Berg (l.) acting chairman of the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party.

(Continued from column 2)

that all officers should wear their uniforms at all times "plus all the medals and decorations that have been awarded them". It was fashionable for C.I.D. men to wear plain-clothes even at times when this was unnecessary. Now for this they will have to receive special permission from headquarters.

ARLOW DAYS OVER

"This virtually means that Arlow days are over in the force," a policeman told me. At the same time it means more men on the beat; and the C.I.D. are to concentrate more on looking for criminals than checking on identity cards and reference books.

A hard-bitten African detective, with twenty years' service, told me: "Most of us are pleased at these new orders. Particularly with the orders that we were to go easy on passes and liquor raids. It was we who bore the brunt of hostility from the public."

PONDOS SWEAR "NO RETREAT"

From "Contact" Correspondent

WITH the burning on 2nd September of the trading station at Ecani, four miles from the "great place" of Pondo Paramount Chief Botha Sigcawu, the resistance in East Pondoland entered a new, more serious phase.

The people are determined to intensify their struggle against Bantu Authorities and against the government itself.

Bantu Authorities have destroyed the last links between the government and the people by completely breaking the system of tribal rule which had had the support of many of the people of Pondoland.

Pondos throughout the Union are being organized into groups and committees, pledged to support their friends and relatives in Pondoland in their struggle against the government.

CAPE TOWN

In Cape Town a meeting of Pondos was held on 3rd September; about 100 men attended, and £54 was collected to be sent to Pondoland to help the people there. Further meetings will take place and eventually men will be sent from Cape Town to Pondoland to assist with the organization of the Anti-Bantu Authorities Committee (see *Contact* 13th August).

PONDOS TAKE VOW

In Pondoland itself the committee is continuing to organize the tribesmen against Bantu Authorities, and all able bodied men are being enrolled. They have taken a solemn vow never to retreat in their opposition to government policy.

Word has been sent to Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and all other major centres of the Union that Pondos are to support the committee.

"ABAFANA BASENTABENI"

Men in Pondoland have gone into the mountains to train and prepare for their struggle against the Bantu Authorities. Those who have done so are known as *abafana basentabeni* (the boys in the mountains). Their wives send them food and keep them supplied with whatever they need.

Many women too are being enrolled in special women's brigades, which are taking to the hills to assist their menfolk more actively. These women of the mountains are called *abafazi basentabeni*. In a short time every man, woman and youth who is fit and well will be united in one organization against the government.

EX-STUDENT ORGANIZES

A young man (Mr. Ganyile) who was refused re-admission to Fort Hare when the College was taken over by the government, tried to get into the non-European Medical School in Durban and was again refused.

So he went back to his home in the Bizana district, and has become a full-time organizer against the government among his people of the Amanikwe tribe.

WEST PONDOLAND

Agents of the committee have been sent to West Pondoland and are being successful in organizing the people there along lines suggested by the Committee.

AMAXESIBE

In the Mount Ayliff district there was a flare-up against the government in 1952, which was successfully crushed by the police.

Members of the Organization which brought about that resistance have been given new courage by the developments in East Pondoland and have re-formed their committee, and are building an organization known as "Congo".

TERRIFIED CHIEFS

Meanwhile the Chiefs who support the government have had to leave their traditional homes and take refuge in the towns. Some are in Bizana, Kokstad, Flagstaff and many in Umtata itself.

They have sensed that the spirit of the people is against them.

SIBANYE!



Young Moses Banda, of Fort Jameson, Northern Rhodesia, gives the U.N.I.P. greeting.

Strangely enough, the same sign is being used by members of the Liberal Party in the Western Cape; with it goes the slogan SIBANYE (we are one) emphasizing the non-racial character of the Liberal Party.

"BANTU" RADIO MONITORED

HEAVILY biased political reporting is a feature of the new "Bantu" radio service of the S.A.B.C.

This is disclosed in a survey by a *Contact* reporter. Here are some of the things our reporter noted during the month of August on the Xhosa programme from Grahamstown:

- Verwoerd, Nel, Commissioner Abraham down to Botha Sigcawu and other Bantustan chiefs were glorified.
- A tremendous fuss was made over the arrival of Mr. J. H. Abraham, commissioner-general, Transkei. He was going to introduce himself to the people of the Transkei. Here was a chance to hear the true and saving voice of our father, the Government, said announcer Crosby Maxhakana morning after morning. His itinerary was 19th August Gcalekaland; 23rd, Maluti area; on 26th he was to meet all Tembuland Bantu Authorities, and to end up at Bumbane, where all Tembus were to give him a great welcome. After this more visits to places unmentioned, accompanied by Chief Sahata, the Tembu paramount.
- There were several appeals to join the police force. Many Africans had received promotion, and their names were read out. "Here is a chance for educated Africans to prove themselves among their own people," said Mr. Maxhakana.
- Several calls were made to make the Bantu Authorities system a success. There were said to be prospects of educated Africans being magistrates in their own areas.
- Some mornings the music programme was purely tribal songs. "Enjoy natural Bantu music at its best," said the announcer. Folk music predominated.
- Preparations were being made at Willowvale for Minister de Wet Nel's visit in September. The date was only to be announced a few days before his arrival.
- For the whole month of August, no mention of the troubles in Pondoland.

WHERE IS SONKOSI?

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Where is Zolile Slingsby Sonkosi? This former *Contact* correspondent and free-lance journalist is reputed to be working for an East German newspaper. One of his friends told me that he had received letters from him postmarked in London.

A snappy dresser and an imaginative writer, Sonkosi is believed to have been given a job on the *East Berlin Zeitung*. Another theory is that he is working for the *Tropic Negro Magazine*, published in New York and distributed in London.

It is not known how he slipped through the clutches of a bearded African security branch policeman who had long been seen hovering furtively and watchfully near Sonkosi's office in Johannesburg.

The last that was seen of him was on the night of 20th July when he told friends that he "would spend the night in Natalspruit" (Germiston). Since then, there has been no trace of him.

REFUGEE ATTORNEY



Mr. Joe Matthews, formerly of Durban, has started to practise as an attorney in Maseru, after taking refuge in Basutoland at the start of the Emergency in the Union. He is seen here interviewing one of his first clients, Mr. "Anti-pass" Kumalo, who was in difficulty about his Basutoland residence permit. With Mr. Matthews are his two secretaries. Mr. Matthews is the son of Professor Matthews, and was active in the A.N.C. before leaving the Union.

JHB. MEN UNWELCOME

NYASALAND'S Malawi Congress Party, through its magazine, *Malawi News*, has issued a stern warning against co-operation with the four Johannesburg Africans who are to tour the Federation under the sponsorship of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Department.

The Africans are all advisory board members. They will make a "look-see" tour of the Federation together with top-ranking White members and officials of the department. Because of the disturbances in the Federation, this trip has been postponed.

Quoting a letter from Ghana, the magazine says that the advisory board members are working against African liberation. "It is possible they are sent to spy on the progress of nationalism from the North so that they can forewarn their masters."



The Republic and us

THE daily press is full of arguments on the republican referendum. It is *Contact's* duty to say where it stands.

We reject the all-White segregated referendum. How can a constitutional change be brought about without the votes of the "Coloured" voters, who were told by the Nats that their rights had not been diminished by the Separate Representation Act? And how can the White people dare, in this year of 1960, to go alone about a constitutional change in the pretence that there are no Africans, or that their wishes do not matter? The segregated referendum is an insult to Africans and to all true South Africans.

On the other hand, we reject the phony opposition of the Progressive and United Parties. They seek to suggest that the change-over to a republic would be a great disaster. "Reject this Republic" shouts the Progressive Party (cost of their advertising campaign = £80,000), as if they would be all in favour of another republic, or as if the present set-up were good, but were menaced by some harmful decision that the voters might take at the referendum next month.

"No to a Verwoerd Republic" says the United Party, suggesting, again, that the present referendum is going to bring in the fascist "draft republican constitution" of 1942.

Let's get the facts straight. If the Nats win this referendum (which is doubtful, to judge by public opinion polls, and by the popularity of the Commonwealth, and by the number of U.P. voters that will turn out to vote) nothing will be changed at all except Mr. Swart's title. That is the legal position, and one which should always be kept in mind.

And Mr. Swart does not enjoy enough of our esteem to make us lose one moment's sleep over whether he dresses

like Admiral Benbow and is called a Governor-General, or whether he dresses like Paul Kruger and is called a President.

Swart the Minister and Swart the Governor-General have both earned our contempt, and we have little doubt that Swart the President will do so too.

The government at present has shown that it can act tyrannically and semi-dictatorially. And we have no doubt that this will continue to be the case.

Having said this we would like to go further and say that we hope that the government win their republic. Here are our reasons:

It is admitted now on all sides that the British did wrong by their attack on the two republics of the Transvaal and the Free State in 1899. The wrongful destruction of those republics has left an unhealed wound in the minds of a majority of Afrikaners. They believe that a new South African Republic will help to heal that wound. They ought to know. Surely good South Africans ought to favour the healing of that wound, and rejoice if the Afrikaners get the healing salve that they need.

It is our view that if that wound could be healed, many more Afrikaners would be able to think and speak constructively about the only question that matters: the basis on which the White and the other South Africans can live together in our country.

It is also our view that the declaration of a republic here will hasten the removal of the apartheid government from the Commonwealth, and hasten the total isolation of that government. That is surely all to the good. For a long period *Contact* has done what is can to isolate the Nationalists from all possible sources of support. If Dr. Verwoerd tries to do our job for us, who are we to try to stop him?

The Commonwealth stands between the apartheid government and total trade boycotts, possibly even oil sanctions. The declaration of Dr. Verwoerd's republic will thus bring much nearer the day when apartheid grinds to a stop.

So if a republican were to say to us in the street: "DIE REPUBLIEK KOM!" we would reply "HOERA!"

End of Emergency

THE State of Emergency ended on 31st August, after one hundred and fifty-six days.

Nothing is gained by complaints and backward looks. The government had to act to save itself, and any government would have acted as it did in assuming total powers. Also, with few exceptions, the government acted moderately. Most prison officials made life as tolerable as possible for the political prisoners. And, after five months, the state of emergency was called off.

Let us on the contrary look forward. It is becoming accepted on all sides that apartheid is nearing its end. Therefore the one political consideration that matters is: what will replace apartheid?

Three great ideas are competing to succeed apartheid. Firstly there is the communist idea. It has taken a great setback through the exposed weakness of the "united front" through which South African communists were seeking to gain power. Communist newspapers have been closed down, but now that the field is open again we can expect a great upsurge of energy, as our home-grown communists seek to undo some of the recent damage to their cause.

Then there is the "Black nationalist" idea. These people have been so deeply influenced by Dr. Verwoerd's racism that they, too, think racially. To them the darker skinned people of South Africa form a nation. The Whites, they believe, are something to be worked against, then, after victory, to be treated as the Whites have treated the others.

Opposed to both these are the democrats. Democrats in South Africa are non-racial, and they are committed, in the long term, to seeing democracy established here, democracy as it is understood in countries such as India and Sweden. Realistic democrats know that democracy may not be immediately obtainable here: the way to democracy may lie through autocracy, as in Pakistan and the Sudan, autocracies which are aiming at democracy and freedom.

Democrats know that only if large numbers of South Africans of all races commit themselves to democracy will

their cause triumph, and that if they hold back now democracy will be in danger.

Let the end of the emergency therefore be the signal for work and dedication. Let all democrats decide to double the time and money which they have in the past given to the cause.

Only thus can we move forward to the great future which is ours — on the condition that we prove ourselves worthy of this historic moment.

For a United Congo

DEMOCRATS have, rightly, been upset to learn of the close friendship that exists between Mr. Patrice Lumumba and the communists, and fear that he may be the channel by which a new imperialism will come to our continent.

Some of them have reasoned that it would therefore be good if the Katanga Province could break away from Mr. Lumumba's government, arguing that, at any rate one area would be safe from communism. This argument does not seem to make sense.

In this matter Mr. Lumumba has the law on his side, and any leader in Katanga who tries to secede does so illegally. Law is one of the best defences against chaos, and the law ought, wherever possible, to be upheld.

Again, Mr. Lumumba is a determined man. If Belgian interests should try to help Katanga to secede, Mr. Lumumba will take military help from wherever he can get it to drive them out, and this help can come from nowhere but the soviet bloc. Nato makes it difficult for the United States to offer help, and the U.N. cannot intervene in an internal fight in the Congo. A seceding Katanga, thus, will increase, not lessen, the danger of bringing Russian military power into Africa.

Mr. Lumumba has energetically defended a united Congo, and the United Nations should do what lies within its power to help him restore the authority of his central government over the whole of the Congo.

And democrats should never forget that in the integrity of the new nations of Africa, and in nationalism itself, lies the surest defence against the threat of a new, soviet, imperialism.

Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

WELL, I'm back on the job after a long trip round South Africa. I went to try to help sales of your paper, also to find out what I could about what's going on inside South Africa.

My main impression: the final showdown has begun. In a couple of years—five at the very outside—race discrimination in South Africa will be as dead as the dodo.

We have a lovely country, big enough for South Africans to live and expand in for centuries. A good deal has been done to develop it, and build roads and industries, much more than in any other African state. What a joy it will be to build it together once we get this race obsession out of our minds.

Now that I'm back this column will take the place of "Hot Tips".

A STRONG London rumour is that the Monckton Commission will call on the Federation to undergo a five-year trial period, with two conditions: one, loosening of federal ties between the territories; and two, that any of the three territories may leave after the five years, but not before.

COLIN LANG'S statement, made to the press when he resigned from the chairmanship of the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party, disappointed me. It is not like him to make a public demonstration which can only harm his Party. And his suggestion that the Party is doing the work of the Reds—for his veiled words can bear no other meaning—is ludicrously untrue.

The contrary is true: that South African liberalism is the main barrier against South African communism.

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All political comment and headlining in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

THE United Party's one contribution to real opposition during the emergency was the sacking of General Rademeyer, who was at the time South African Police Commissioner.

I learn from sources inside the United Party that Capt. Jack Basson, M.P., during the emergency, laid bets that Dr. Verwoerd would cease to be Prime Minister by a certain date.

As a result of his gamble he was investigated, and interrogated, just as if he were a real democrat!

The United Party took the matter badly, and threatened to let all hell loose unless Rademeyer went.

Rademeyer went!

GOOD news for African mine-workers! Wages are going up—on some mines. The old system, that all mines paid the same wages, is on the way out. Some mines are simply not able to increase their wage bill. If they were forced to pay more they'd have to close down. But others are treasure-houses, and could well pay decent wages.

"BOYCOTTS stimulate interest in South African products", ran a hopeful headline in a recent Information Service *Fortnightly Digest*, that apartheid propaganda sheet.

Lying next to this headline, on my desk, is a "confidential" letter from Mr. A. Kotzenburg, Secretary for Commerce and Industries. This letter deals, in sombre tones, with the threats that

boycotts hold for South African exports. It is dated 6th August, and debates how much of exporters' losses shall be made good to them by the Government.

It appears from related correspondence that the fruit and fish exporters are "concerned with the loss in market potential and in the slowing down of orders received which boycott action brings with it".

So it seems that the Information Service has been doing a bit of whistling in the dark, to keep up their own spirits.

SO the All Blacks are off home again. It will take South Africans a good many years to forget that this team chose to come, even after they knew that to come was to insult three-quarters of our people.

Suitably ending a political tour with a couple of articles in the pro-apartheid newspaper *Die Burger*, J. M. Mackenzie, one of the New Zealand journalists who came with the team, spoke of "the Bantu" as "primitive" and spoke of democrats as "fanatical long-haired liberators".

I bet he never took a friendly cup of tea with either a "Bantu" or a "long-haired liberator".

I used to think highly of New Zealanders and their handling of racial problems, but I do so no longer.

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

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW

AFTER FIVE MONTHS



Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, recently released from detention.

tics too indifferent to trouble to find out whether there was any substance to their protests or not. All these people, lumped together in official terminology as "loafers", have now been released from the gaols and returned to precisely the same conditions of employment or unemployment as those they were whisked away from—unless they have been unlucky enough to lose their jobs in the meantime. Was there ever anything more pointless?

And then there were the political prisoners—close on two thousand of them. It is with them that I and the Liberal Party were most concerned and it is about them that I would like to say a little here. If, in doing so, I concern myself particularly with those of them who were members of the Liberal Party it is only because it is of them that I know most and because I write this article as Chairman of their Party.

As everyone reading this column will know, a number of Liberal Party members were detained on March 30th or subsequently. These members came from all ranks of the Party and from all racial groups and they were in gaol for periods of up to three months. One of them, Hannah Stanton, was taken straight from the gaol and deported. Another, Colyn van Reenen, was only detained in July after all the others had been released. None of them has been charged with any offence and one must assume that this is because none of them had ever committed any. Why then

were they arrested? A primary object was obviously intimidation. The government decided that by arresting Liberal Party members it would persuade those it did arrest to give up opposing its policies. It would frighten those it did not arrest into silence and it would frighten away from the Party other people who might be thinking of supporting it.

In case it should be under any illusions I should like to assure the Government that it has succeeded in none of these purposes. The Party was by no means frightened into inactivity by the arrests. In fact it seemed to thrive on them and the one thing which has rather distressed those of us who were detained is how very well everyone seems to have got on without us! Neither were potential members frightened away. If anything they joined the Party at a higher rate during the emergency than ever before. Most important of all, those people who were arrested have not been deflected one iota from the views they held before. On the contrary, the mere fact of being imprisoned with fellow-members of all races has confirmed the conviction that support for the same ideas and political principles should and can override any question of race in South Africa and that the only effective answer to racialism is through a thoroughly non-racial organization such as ours. One cannot share an experience of this kind and not know that.

On March 30th the foundations of Afrikaner baasskap were shaking. Today they seem to be as firm as ever. This is an illusion. They are no more firm today than they were on March 15th. The truth is that there is no future for White racialism in Africa. We know it and Dr. Verwoerd knows it. The difference between us is that he will not admit it. Instead he goes stubbornly on, treading a path which leads him inevitably to another Congo. But we do not intend to let him lead us there. We intend instead to build a non-racial organization of such a calibre that it will not only defeat apartheid by the effective use of peaceful pressures but will also ensure that apartheid will be succeeded, not by the chaos of the Congo, but by a non-racial democracy which commands the support of all groups and which enjoys the stability which only such support can give.

This is our intention. It is a good one. There could not be better. But good intentions are not enough. We must turn them into reality if the things in which we believe so profoundly are to survive in the deteriorating economic and political situation which will undoubtedly accompany the remaining days of Dr. Verwoerd's office. Too many of us do nothing and hope that everything will come right in the end. It will not unless we see that it does. That means giving more time and more money towards the Liberal cause than many of us have ever done before. It also, of course, means the risk of persecution in the future. Too many of us prefer this thought of persecution and spectacular sacrifice to the thought of hard work and the host of insignificant, unnoticed sacrifices which that implies. But in the end it will be those which will swing the scales our way.

"Black Sash" must ask

EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

THE goodwill, skill and energy of the women of the Black Sash are an asset to South Africa. Another special issue of their magazine has just appeared, this time called *Education for Isolation* (2s.). It shows these qualities of theirs. The twenty-odd articles, pictures and quotes are solid material, well presented. One piece, "Jabulani!", about a farm school, is a little gem. Others, like Mrs. McCormick's on text-books, are as good, though serious and factual. There are quotations that should not be forgotten, like Verwoerd in the 1953 parliament: "When I have control of Native education I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them."

The main attack, on Christian National Education, leads the editor to ask parents to work for "the establishment of schools in which children of both language groups are given the opportunity to know each other". The word "official" after "both" would repair the error, but is this what the Black Sash wants? Or have they also left "White" out after "which"? The sentence illustrates the weakness of the publication, of the Black Sash itself and of the many valuable organizations of similar qualities who are concerned about South Africa. This is the weakness:—

- They only know what they DON'T want. In this case—no Bantu Education, no C.N.E., no salary differentiation between Coloured and White teachers, no pro-White bias in text-books, no centralization, and many more noes.
- But they don't know what they want instead, or how to get it if they did know. At the recent National Conference on Education in Durban, the most consistent attack was on

ignorance, on retardation, on re-tribalization, on illiteracy, but no one could, or dared, say how they were to be replaced.

- They can only be replaced in a new South Africa, which Liberals believe can only be built on liberalism and democracy. People of goodwill who belong to and work in organizations like the Black Sash must make up their minds whether they agree or disagree.
- *Contact* welcomes their excellent latest issue, *Education for Isolation*, and urges them to face the question: **If not for isolation, then education for what?**

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Northern Rhodesia's

ANGER RISES

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: The United National Independence Party (U.N.I.P.) is this week expected to pass a vote of confidence in their 36-year-old leader Mr. Kenneth Kaunda.

Since Mr. Kaunda returned from Britain and the United States, there has been mounting speculation in the Press about Mr. Kaunda's leadership. The Press has alleged that a split on tribal lines is looming in the leadership of U.N.I.P. which would tear the Party into two warring factions.

DISSATISFIED

Suggested reasons for the split are that many U.N.I.P. supporters are dissatisfied with Kaunda for having come back "empty handed" from the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, without even the promise to change the constitution of Northern Rhodesia.

U.N.I.P. has been demanding "Independence Before October, 1960" from the British Government and the slogan "Independence Before October" has now become a household word among U.N.I.P. supporters.

Mr. Macleod had told Mr. Kaunda that there would be no constitutional changes this year as the British Govern-

ment was waiting for the Monckton Commission, which is enquiring into the future of the Federation, to report.

leaders of Divisions and head office officials. For organizational purposes, the country is divided into Divisions, each of which is controlled by a divisional president. He has a secretary whose special job is to organize. Some of the Divisions also have a publicity secretary. The publicity chief at national headquarters also organizes international publicity. He is directly responsible for running the U.N.I.P. foreign offices in London, Cairo and New York.

YOUTH AND WOMEN

To each branch is attached a women's auxiliary and a youth brigade. These concentrate on boosting membership amongst women and youth.

This week several hundred U.N.I.P. delegates will converge on Lusaka for the first annual delegates' conference. It is expected that U.N.I.P. will renew its demand for constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia.

Amongst provinces to be represented will be Copperbelt, where U.N.I.P. activity was banned earlier this year following an incident in which a White woman, Mrs. Lilian Burton and her



Kaunda addresses a meeting on the Copperbelt before U.N.I.P. was banned in that area. Policemen in a Land Rover tape-record the speeches.

Photo: African Mail

children had their car set on fire by a mob. Mrs. Burton died later from burns.

"HIGHLY EXPLOSIVE"

Other delegates will come from the touchy Northern and Luapula Provinces, where the situation is considered "highly explosive". A White non-supporter of U.N.I.P. who recently returned from Luapula said that U.N.I.P. was so strong there that it was "almost an alternative government".

He went on to say that in one village, villagers had refused to pay taxes to Government and were paying money to U.N.I.P. instead. There are over 200 registered and unregistered branches in the area with a membership of some 30,000.

NEW SLOGAN?

Political observers here believe that the forthcoming U.N.I.P. conference will change the U.N.I.P. slogan of "Independence Before October, 1960" to something as close to it as possible. However, no one can question U.N.I.P.'s determination over their main objective—immediate self-determination.

To that end, U.N.I.P. is now making preparations to launch a party newspaper with an initial circulation of 20,000, which "shall uncompromisingly champion the divine right of the majority towards immediate self-determination."

WHAT MANNER OF MAN?

KENNETH KAUNDA is a tall, dark, wiry man who commands much respect among Europeans and Africans alike in Northern Rhodesia. His hair is combed upward like an old tribal warrior. And his face shows intelligent determination. He is leader of the United National Independence Party and has full support of the African workers in the Copperbelt, the largest industrial centre in Central Africa.

Kaunda is a vegetarian, non-smoker, non-drinker. He is 36. His father, a teacher-evangelist, came from Nyasaland to the Mission of the Church of Scotland in Lubwa.

TEACHING

Kaunda followed his father's footsteps. At the age of 15 he passed Std. VI, which was unusual in those days. He then went to the country's only secondary school—Munali, where he passed the Junior Certificate, the highest examination in the country at that time.

After graduation he went home to Lubwa Mission to teach and was later made headmaster of Lubwa Training School.

Dissatisfied with teaching, he set out for adventure, first to Tanganyika and then to Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. Finally he gained employment in the Social Welfare organization on the Copperbelt. However, he felt he was underpaid and resigned and went back to teaching.

POLITICS

Soon he joined the African National Congress under the leadership of Godwin Lewanika, now a Federal M.P.

In 1949, Kaunda went back to Lubwa Mission to establish a Congress branch, and from that time he was engaged actively in politics.

In 1952 he was made Provincial Organizing Secretary of the African National Congress. For a whole year he cycled through wild country forming Congress branches.

PROMOTION

As a reward for having formed one hundred Congress branches in the Northern Province, Kaunda was made Secretary-General of the African National Congress, whose President at that time was Harry Nkumbula. Kaunda followed Nkumbula right through the 1950's when the young intellectuals pressed for action and changes within the framework of the African National Congress. Many were saying that Nkumbula should be replaced by Kaunda.

In 1957 Kaunda went to Britain for six months, where he read Politics and Economics under the auspices of the British Labour Party. He also visited France, Greece and Italy.

In June 1958 he went to Tanganyika to attend the World Assembly of the Youth Conference in Dar es Salaam. There he stayed with Julius Nyerere for one month. From Tanganyika he sailed for India.

On his return to Northern Rhodesia he founded the militant Zambia African National Congress. It was in the capacity of leader of Zambia that he attended the first All African Peoples' Conference in Ghana in December 1958.

Through the Zambia African National Congress Kaunda opposed the Lennox Boyd Constitution proposals on Northern Rhodesia. In March 1959 Governor Benson of Northern Rhodesia feared violence might start. He outlawed Zambia, and all its leaders, including



KAUNDA

Photo: African Mail

Kaunda, were rusticated to rural areas.

He was arrested two months later and sentenced to nine months hard labour for conspiracy and holding an unlawful assembly. He served this sentence in Salisbury (S.R.) prison.

While in prison Kaunda also studied politics and economics.

On 19th December, 1959, Sir John Moffat, leader of the Central African Party in Northern Rhodesia, drove Kaunda from Salisbury to Lusaka, where he was released from confinement on 10th January, 1960.

Mainza Chona, the young barrister who had founded U.N.I.P., immediately handed over the leadership of that party to Kaunda.

TO AMERICA

Now U.N.I.P. enters its international phase. Kaunda was invited to New York to be the principal speaker on the "Africa Day" on 13th April, 1960.

Before he left for America in April, Kaunda said, "I hope that Macleod, who has shown himself to be a brilliant Constitutional arranger, will bring about changes in Northern Rhodesia gracefully. If the Colonial Office does not do this, they are in fact destroying the European position and posterity in this country."

GANDHI

At a later occasion Kaunda said, "The White should not have any fear in an African majority rule. Those Europeans who are good and want to remain not as lords but as helpers we shall welcome. We shall need them for training our men in technical education."

This is Northern Rhodesia's Kaunda with his black toga tightened around his left shoulder, and in his simple sandals. He reminds us of Mahatma Gandhi, also a peace-maker. Kaunda too believes in the principles of simple living and cherishes high thinking.

SCHOOL BOARD SAID "NO"—SACKED

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Langa's "battle of the school" has dropped out of the headlines of the daily newspapers. But Tembani School, Langa, focal point of the dispute, is still closed. Its classrooms are empty—as they have been since the middle of July when teachers were withdrawn by the Bantu School Board.

The Langa dispute has been overshadowed by subsequent events—but its history provides a revealing illustration of the workings of the Bantu Education Act.

Tembani School, formerly the Methodist Primary School, was taken over by the Bantu Education Department. It has a proud record of examination successes.

Under the department, things went smoothly at the beginning.

DEPARTMENT INTERFERES

Then the department, pursuing its policy of dividing primary schools into two categories—higher primary and lower primary—decreed that Tembani School should henceforth cater for pupils up to Standard 2 only.

Parents reacted immediately: the school committee laid its objections before the school board which agreed with the parents that the school should remain a full primary school.

Then, early this year, the old school board was replaced by a newly-appointed one—and the new board, without consulting the parents, immediately upheld the departmental view.

The board decided that the change should take place on the day the third term began—12th July.

PICKETING

But picketing by parents prevented the change-over. So the school board withdrew the teachers and closed the school.

And it is still closed.

Under the re-classification scheme, Tembani School was to be a lower primary school and St. Cyprian's and the Dutch Reformed Church school were to be higher primary schools.

"BEST INTERESTS"

The fact that the parents and school committee of Tembani School did not think this plan in the best interests of their children has, apparently, carried no weight with the department.

The department announced on 26th July that the re-classification was felt by the (new) School Board to be "in the best interests of the community as such".

The parents say that the Bantu Education Act stipulated that parents should participate "actively in the control and management of their schools", and have

decided to carry on the battle. They have taken legal advice.

They feel that the department has acted in an arbitrary manner and has completely ignored their wishes.

They feel that their school has been down-graded, and they are determined that it be reinstated as a full primary school for pupils up to Standard 6.

A.A. AND R.A.C. APARTHEID

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Apartheid exists in both the Royal Automobile Club and the Automobile Association of South Africa, though in different degrees.

The Automobile Association, according to letters received from Mr. A. F. Trew, Secretary-General, has a clause restricting membership to persons "of European descent". The organization has, during the current year, been asked by a member to remove this restriction. The question was submitted to the General Committee, which stated that "it felt unable to undertake reconsideration of existing policy until such time as a substantial part of the membership urge that this should be done". Mr. Trew explained that "the General Committee, in dealing with these matters, cannot afford to disregard either Government policy or the feelings of the majority of White South Africans on race questions".

The Royal Automobile Club, on the other hand, "has no racial clause in the Constitution", according to a letter from Mr. J. B. Holmes, the General Secretary. But the Club fears that if it were to open its doors to all motorists, it might be prevented by the Group Areas Act from occupying its present offices, which are situated in a White group area.

The views of the committee would not be against membership being open to all and the committee has authorized "R.A.C. officials to provide touring and other facilities for non-Europeans on the same terms as to members without actually enrolling them as members". And the whole question is receiving consideration.

Both bodies must clearly be concerned with the effects on their relations with other motoring organizations of these restrictions.

"King Kong"

FASCISTS PREPARE UGLY WELCOME

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Members of the 60-odd "King Kong" cast who will leave in two weeks' time for London for their first appearance are looking forward to their trip—and the welcome which Mosley's fascist thugs are preparing for them.

A personal letter to a *Contact* correspondent from a friend in England states: "Sir Oswald Mosley's fascist groups are already filing their teeth and preparing slogans and banners such as 'Niggers go back home' in anticipation of the visit of Gluckman and his cast. They even claim that what Sammy Davies and the High Commissioner of Ghana got by way of welcome will be a lollipop compared to the King Kong welcome."

Members of the cast say that they are not in the least frightened. "Why man, we'll be so engrossed in putting up our show that we'll have little or no time for such things," one said to me.

At present the cast is hard at it in Johannesburg with rehearsals, and the director, Leon Gluckman, is carefully reorganizing his artists to accommodate the revised script.

SWAZILAND WAKES UP

POLITICAL life is starting in Swaziland, most prosperous but politically most backward of the Protectorates. A new Party has been formed in Swaziland, the Progressive Party. The leader of the Party, Mr. F. J. Nquku of Mbabane, later submitted a written statement on which the following interview is based.

CONTACT: What is your attitude to events in the Union?

gressives will play their part as the vanguard of the nation, directing and pointing out the way to be followed. The Swazi kingship will remain in order to ensure stability in the country.

CONTACT: What will happen to the non-Swazis when independence comes?

NQUKU: In Swazi law and custom there is never a foreigner; all are subjects of the King of Swaziland. But there will have to be a redistribution of land. Unless the land is shared out fairly there will never be peace. At the moment the Europeans live in luxury while the Swazis live in poverty. 3,000 Europeans own half the land and 350,000 Swazis the other half. They are overcrowded and their land is poor.

The country must be developed for all citizens, not as at present for Europeans only.

A new legislative council, representing all the citizens of Swaziland, will soon be formed. In it Mr. Nquku will be able to put the case for Swazi advance.

Mr. Nquku is a member of the South African Liberal Party.

Group Areas:

KRUGER PROMISE BROKEN

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Interviewing Mr. M. J. Damons, chairman of the "Coloured Vigilance Committee" at his home in the Cape Reserve, he told me that while the Coloureds there were prepared to be law-abiding citizens, they were dissatisfied with the promulgation of the Group Areas Act.

The reasons are these:

- Economics. Many young Coloured girls work in Johannesburg factories, and they will have to spend more on transport if they are to be sited 12 miles east of Pretoria. (At present they are one mile from town.)
- Transport to and from Derdepoort, the new Group Area, is inadequate.
- They do not want to take "what belonged to the Africans". Derdepoort, which is near Vlaktefontein, an African area, should be leased to Africans to live on.
- They prefer Highlands, a suggested alternate area, because there is space to accommodate a growing population.
- Cape Reserve and Highlands are held in freehold. At Derdepoort only leasehold is available.

"Derdepoort is uninhabitable," said Mr. Damons. "it is open veld."

He said that the Cape Reserve had been given to them by President Kruger, and they felt they should be allowed to stay there.

GAOL FOR THE POOR

CAPE TOWN: Cape Town authorities, like other South African authorities, are employing penal sanctions to collect purely civil debts.

Rent arrears in the Cape Town city townships of Langa and Nyanga are now being backed by prosecutions.

On 2nd September Mr. C. Nonkonyana was fined 10/- or 10 days imprisonment for being in arrears with his rent. And, Mr. Nonkonyana told *Contact*, other house occupiers had been fined £3 or three months' imprisonment for the same "offence".

Some went to gaol when they learned that payment of the fine would not lessen their debt to their landlord, the City Council, by one penny.

Observers pointed out in Cape Town that South Africa is one of the only countries, if not the only country, in the world, which imposes penal sanctions in purely civil matters, such as debts.



NQUKU

NQUKU: I am not concerned officially with Union politics; my sole concern is Swaziland.

CONTACT: What future have the Whites in Swaziland?

NQUKU: The future of the Whites is in their own hands. They must behave as good neighbours and change their attitude towards the Africans. They will have to live with the Africans on equal terms. If they are prepared to do this, their future is secure.

CONTACT: What of the constitutional future of Swaziland?

NQUKU: We cherish democracy, but in the application of Western democracy, great care must be taken not to disrupt traditional order. All change must come from the people themselves and must not be imposed from outside.

The chiefs will remain, and the Pro-

DANGER POINT

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: There is an atmosphere of tension in the township of Atteridgeville, Pretoria. The authorities do not understand the feelings of the African people when they praised them for their "good behaviour" during the pass campaign of the Pan-Africanist Congress. There is bitterness over the high rents, the frequent police raids and the low wages paid the Africans. These the authorities do not consider as genuine grievances. Authority has ignored the cries of these residents.

The ominous anger of the people can be seen at the railway stations. Every time the trains run late, armed railway police are sent to the principal railway stations (Atteridgeville and Saulsville) to protect the White railway employees.

On one occasion when the trains arrived late, a White driver and a ticket examiner were assaulted by young African hooligans. They forced the driver into the train and ordered him to get the train moving. Later, when the train got into town, Africans openly shouted abuse at any White they happened to meet on the way.

On Friday, 19th August, one train had a technical fault, which resulted in the blocking of traffic. Armed railway police could be seen amongst the crowd making a way for the White driver and ticket examiners amongst the hostile crowd. Later, on the instructions of the railways, buses arrived to collect some of the workers. These buses were stoned and cries of "Azikwela!" could be heard from the crowds.

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Positive Action

SIR—I am glad to see that the Liberal Party, unlike other groups, is treating the republican referendum with the contempt of indifference it deserves.

The question remains, however, for those of us who are allowed to vote, to decide what attitude we shall adopt on 5th October.

At first sight the choice seems easy; to join the United Party in telling the Prime Minister "go and be damned". If we make this choice and the republic is rejected, what then? Will we have contributed anything to the peaceful transition of all our people towards non-racial democracy?

As alternatives, we can either abstain from voting at all, or, distasteful as it may seem to some, help in bringing the republic into being.

I suggest that it is our duty not to sit on the fence and hope that something will turn up; we must take positive action to hasten the crisis which most of us feel must occur if our principles are going to become practical politics.

Out of all the arguments against the republic, the only one which I can find to hold water is the economic one. The government has all the powers it needs to introduce C.N.E. or any other of the horrors to which we are being subjected; it does not matter whether the proclamation is issued in the name of a Queen or a President.

As for the economic argument, we as a party gave our support to the boycott movement; we recognized that economic pressure was our most powerful non-violent ally. Why reject it now?

Die Burger has made many interesting statements in its pro-republican propaganda, the one I most like being—"It is the Nationalist Government that wants to expose its racial policy to the new condition of relaxed White relations that the republic will create." Can we reject the invitation to assist in this exposure?

P. M. HARKER,
"Kings Lynn",
Boyes Drive, Muizenberg, Cape.

One sided Views

SIR—I regret that I cannot renew my subscription to *Contact*.

I realize that a publication such as yours must of necessity be tendentious, but in its present form the views that it presents are so one-sided that it can only antagonize those who otherwise might be sympathetic to your cause.

In my opinion the present government will never suppress *Contact* since it considers that it is doing you more harm than good.

A READER,
Addo, C.P.

Want to be "Baas"

SIR—The Africans were wrong when they regarded the United Party and the Progressive Party as their saviours; those two parties are out-dated, and the two parties which they must now pin their faith on are the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Liberal Party; though their policies differ they are the only ones capable of getting rid of the governing clique.

The Liberals have their belief in fundamental human rights and freedom for all people in South Africa. Their policies have shown beyond doubt that they are capable of forming a government. They believe in justice for all people, in contrast to their opposition, the White supremacists.

The Liberal Party believes in universal manhood suffrage, but this policy will make no headway no matter how hard it is placed before the Africans, because a new party has emerged, the Pan-Africanist Congress.

P.A.C. believes in complete freedom

for the Africans, without compromise or concession. The P.A.C.'s aim is that the majority should rule the minority. The P.A.C. Africans want the chance to be Black "Baas". But don't misjudge the P.A.C.: it is strongly opposed to fascism, nazism, communism, totalitarianism and apartheid.

I, like the Liberals, like the P.A.C., like *Contact*, oppose apartheid and racial discrimination.



JOSEPH SONO,
Pietersburg.

Now I am ready

SIR—I have been detained under the Emergency Regulations since 30th March and I was released on 25th August.

Contact was sent during my absence from home and no one sold it.

Now I am ready. Send me 100 copies. The Council gave me a licence for 12 months and I paid £3 for it. I got it before my arrest.

AGENT,
O.F.S.

Europeans Cry

SIR—I personally oppose the Europeans of Nyasaland who are trying to cheat the world that we are not educated. How far have the official members of Legislative and Executive councils gone with their education? I am sure none of them can stand against Dr. Banda.

His demands are approved by a highly respected person like Mr. Macleod, but not by Sir Robert Armitage who is too little to speak with Dr. Banda.

Away with your stinking federation! Down with imperialism! Let Dr. Banda take over from Sir Robert Armitage! Europeans are crying out in Nyasaland because they got no accommodation in London.

WELANI CHISULOH,
Deep Bay, Nyasaland.

Black for White

SIR—"African Nationalist" alleges (*Contact* 27th August), that I have made a grievous mistake in equating African nationalism with Afrikaner nationalism.

All nationalisms have sought to cultivate in a people a sense of racial pride, prejudice and even hatred of another person's so-called race: it cultivates the very group exclusiveness which "African Nationalist" claims it is revolting against.

His allegation that I have intended to set Africans against Africans is completely unfounded: I had stated quite clearly that the millions of oppressed African workers and peasants did not and still do not understand political ideologies, let alone nationalism.

Their immediate need is the alleviation of the inhuman poverty, ignorance, disease and insecurity they suffer.

"African Nationalist's" assertion that every person who owes allegiance to Africa automatically becomes an African, is contradicted by his previous statement that nobody can complain if the majority elects a government predominantly of one colour.

I cannot understand how, by substituting White chauvinism with Black chauvinism, White intolerance with

Black intolerance. White domination with Black domination, we can ever hope to achieve a true and democratic peace in the land of our birth.

AFRICANUS,
Cape Town.

Sport into Politics

SIR—As teenagers ("White") we feel that the lack of fair play in South African sport is disgusting.

Surely a non-racial Olympic team would bring and foster better overseas relations? It is the present government's apartheid actions which make the Union's name stink overseas.

"Unity is strength" they say; well, where is the unity? If we had a non-racial Olympic team we would live up to that motto!

It is not a question of bringing politics into sport but of bringing sport into politics.

It is up to the youth of South Africa, not the old men, to say "NO" to racial discrimination in sport, and "YES" to non-racial sport. Only by showing their disgust at present so-called sport in South Africa will the youth realize the honour of non-racial sport.

The next rugby tour must be non-racial (no All White All Blacks and Slegs Blankes South Africans), and the way to make it so is for young people to show their lack of interest in racial sport.

TWO YOUNG NON-RACIALISTS,
Cape Town.

No Congo Wanted

SIR—The cry for better living conditions, better wages, freedom and independence is heard in every part of Africa.

The country where this cry is loudest is the multi-racial state. The people who make up the majority are eager to live and work side by side with the others to promote better understanding and goodwill—eager for people of other races to help African progress. But they haven't been given the chance to do so; thus people are beginning to believe that they are living in a police state, always downtrodden, under suspicion and looked upon as inferior.

A great many are developing a new idea in terms of violence. To rise to power they are working quietly in underground channels.

It is necessary for South Africa to be reorganized, for there is a difficult time ahead of us. One hopes it does not happen as it happened in the Congo, where innocent people were killed and outraged, and businesses looted and burned.

ISMAIL W. MOOLLA,
Umzinto, Natal.

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Telephone 2-4524. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Limited, 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

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NIGERIA— AFRICA'S MIGHTIEST STATE IS FREE

—see page 6



A march took place in Ibadan, Nigeria, shortly after the news of Sharpeville had been received. Over 1,000 students marched 5 miles into the city and gathered with many other citizens to declare their whole-hearted condemnation of apartheid.

SPECIAL **contact**

EDITORIAL

THE CONGO

AT the moment of writing Colonel Joseph Mobutu appears to be in charge of the Congolese government.

It is to be hoped that he will succeed in maintaining his position, for Mr. Patrice Lumumba, in his short tenure of the office of prime minister, has shown himself utterly unworthy of that position.

Not only had Mr. Lumumba behaved with arrogance towards his own people, and driven the Kasai and Katanga provinces out of sympathy with the central government, he had also done all he could to weaken the United Nations authorities in the Congo. And he had done what he could to bring into his troubled land the representatives of the communist nations, nations whose dearest wish is to gain a foothold on African soil, nations which represent the "new imperialism".

Colonel Mobutu has charged the communist embassies with distributing leaflets in the Congo's military camps. As a result he has expelled them from the country. And he has pledged support to the United Nations.

The situation looks easier than it did. But there are dangers in the future. It is to be hoped that the new Congo government will steer an intelligent way round them.

In the long run Col. Mobutu will be dependent for many essential services, and for forces to maintain law and order, on the United Nations. But the United Nations Secretary-General, to maintain his authority, must be able to muster a majority in the General Assembly. This majority will not be forthcoming if the Secretary-General were to lose the support of the Afro-Asian block. Mr. Hammarskjöld clearly recognizes this fact, and has taken the greatest care to preserve a position of absolute neutrality. Colonel Mobutu must do nothing to make it impossible for the Secretary-General to preserve this position.

It might be necessary, to this end, to re-admit the communist embassies, steps having been taken to compel them to do nothing undiplomatic, and to do nothing to intervene in the internal politics of the Congo. It might be wise, if they were to return, for Colonel Mobutu to insist that all aid, technical and military, must be channelled to the Congo through the United Nations. Only thus can the ever-present dangers of a new Korea be avoided.

It will be necessary for Colonel Mobutu to take drastic action to bring back the Kasai and Katanga provinces, and to remove all Belgians from key positions in the Congo. The Belgians have misused their advantages, and they have tried to preserve colonialism under the cover of Mr. Tshombe's "government" in the Katanga. This must end.

Colonel Mobutu must also take strong steps to stop Prime Minister Kalonji of the Kasai from calling in help from the most undesirable quarters. It is reported in *Golden City Post* that a deputation from the Kasai came to South Africa where they tried to get money, to recruit adventurers to fight against the Congo central government, and even to have interviews with Union Government personnel. However pressed Mr. Kalonji may be, it is amazing that he could stoop so low as to have sent such a deputation to such quarters.

In brief, Colonel Mobutu will be able to maintain himself in the Congo only if he takes determined steps to set up a truly African government, strong enough to repel imperialism, both old and new.

S.B. SEND SPY TO LONDON

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Facts have now emerged which have led observers here to believe that Zolile Slingsby Sonkosi—reported in *Contact* of 10th September to be in London—is in reality an informer working for the South African Security Branch.

While in South Africa Mr. Sonkosi used to travel round the country to trouble-spots interviewing people critical of apartheid. He claimed that he was doing this for an American research professor in California. He travelled by air, was well dressed, and had a scooter.

He left South Africa in the guise of a "refugee", and travelled up the continent via the escape routes which exist through Nyasaland.

● It is now known that before he left the country he paid several visits to the Records Branch in Gray's Building, the Johannesburg headquarters of the Security Police.

● In London he has submitted to the anti-apartheid press articles on "slavery" in South Africa and on the Modder B prison which are so unreliable that their publication could only harm the papers in question.

Mr. Sonkosi is virtually unknown to any of the refugees in London, while he knows their backgrounds well.

All in all it is likely that he is there to mingle with refugees, and get into the anti-apartheid fight abroad—all for the South African Security Branch.

FIVE CHARGED FOR PROCESSION

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: On Thursday, 15th September, five people were charged in the Magistrate's Court, Pretoria, with holding an illegal procession. They are Mr. Tony Brink, Mr. Peter Eedes, Mrs. Joey Swanson, Mrs. Pat Monson and Mrs. Adelaide Hain, who demonstrated outside the Pretoria gaol during the hunger strike of detainees on 18th May. They carried banners reading "They Starve for Justice", "Met Honger Pleit Hulle" and "Charge Them or Release Them". They stood with bowed heads over 100 yards from the gaol for a few minutes and then marched up Potgieter Street, outside the gaol. As they were folding their banners and preparing to leave they were approached by police who took their names and addresses and told them that they would be charged.

At the same time a number of pressmen and photographers were taken into custody by the police for questioning but were released later after their lawyers had been called in.

The case was adjourned till 29th September.

S.B. GETS DETAINEE SACKED

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Very few African ex-detainees have managed to find work, most of them having been dismissed from their work when they were arrested. One of the detainees, however, was taken back by his old firm when he was released.

I was passing his house a week ago and called in to see how he was doing. His wife told me the following story. "My husband had been working for three weeks in his old job when he came home very worried one night and told me that he had seen the Security Branch at his place of work. I asked him if they had spoken to him, but he said no, they had just gone to the office. Two days later he was called by his boss who told him that he was sorry but he had to pay him off as the work was finished. We know that another man was taken on to replace him." This is a clear case of intimidation.

POLICE SING NKOSI SIKELELE

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party held a public meeting in the African township of Lady Selborne on Sunday, 4th September, to mark the lifting of the Emergency Regulations. The branch had earlier applied for permission to (a) hold a meeting in Lady Selborne and (b) to hold a meeting on Council property. A blanket refusal was given by the City Council but it was later found that it was not necessary to obtain this permission when a meeting is held on private property. Permission was then obtained from a local resident to hold the meeting on a vacant plot which is known in Selborne as "Freedom Square".

The speakers were John Brink (Pretoria Branch Chairman) and Ernie Wentzel (Transvaal Secretary) who were detained during the emergency, and Samuel Mathebula of Alexandra Township. A crowd of over 150 gave the speakers an enthusiastic reception and were not discouraged by the presence of about a dozen police and Security Branch men who watched, listened and took notes.

Ernie Wentzel was cheered when he said that apartheid is a chain round the legs of our country and that we must strive for a non-racial society in which every person would be free. He said that the Liberal Party would oppose any organization which tried to make a man small. "We will fight Afrikaner nationalism, because it makes a man small, we will fight communism, because it makes a man small, we will fight Black nationalism, because it makes a man small, we will fight for a non-racial society where every man may grow to the best of his ability." Both Mr. Wentzel and Mr. Brink assured the crowd, and the police, that their detention had only strengthened their determination to continue to do all they could towards the liberation of our country. Samuel Mathebula said that the people of Lady Selborne must be united in their struggle. He spoke in Sotho and outlined briefly the policies of the Liberal Party. The meeting closed with the enthusiastic singing of "Nkosi Sikelele i-Afrika" and a prayer in which even some of the police joined.

The Party plans to hold regular monthly meetings in Lady Selborne.

NEW LIBERAL OFFICES OPENED

THE Liberal Party is opening offices in both Grahamstown and East London.

The party has never before had fixed offices in these cities, and the new offices are an index of the upwelling of strength which the party in both these centres is experiencing.

In East London a curry dinner was held for members and friends on 17th September to mark the opening of a fund-raising and membership drive.

The office address in Grahamstown: High Street (next to United Party offices). In East London: Britannia Arcade.

U.C.T. BACKS FORT HARE STUDENTS

From a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Following on the crisis at Fort Hare last week, student demonstrations at the University of Cape Town showed that opposition to government-enforced apartheid in education is as strong as ever.

POLICE QUELL STUDENTS

Fort Hare students had for some time been dissatisfied with the strict measures for their control, and the blatant imposition of an inferior "apartheid" education upon them. Their dissatisfaction reached a head two weeks ago, but their protests and requests to Prof. J. J. Ross, the rector, were rejected. Detachments of armed police were deployed on the campus in order to subjugate the students and force them to sign a declaration of their willingness to be bound by college regulations.

U.C.T. RESPONDS

This ruthless repression of legitimate student demands provoked an immediate outcry at the University of Cape Town. Thousands of handbills containing details of the hardships of students at the tribal colleges were circulated at U.C.T., and a special issue of *The Radical* (organ of the Radical Students' Society) called upon students to "fight to free Fort Hare".

MEETING

The following day, at a meeting attended by over 500 students, the following motion was adopted by an overwhelming majority:

"That this mass meeting of students of U.C.T. . . .

Noting (1) That since the government, in terms of its apartheid policy, has taken over the Fort Hare University College, students at that and other tribal colleges have been denied the basic freedoms of speech, movement and association, by means such as the banning of Nusas from the campus, in direct contradiction to the expressed wishes of the students.

(2) That the restrictions placed on students and the S.R.C. have made students' life at the tribal universities virtually impossible, supports the stand taken by the Fort Hare students in their legitimate struggle for their rights, and demands the formation of a democratic form of government in S.A. in which a truly democratic system of education in all spheres can flourish."

DEMONSTRATION

On Thursday, 15th September, the day after the meeting, some 40 students staged a sit-down strike on the steps of the Jameson Hall from 8.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. Their posters and placards read: "Free Fort Hare", "Ons studente wil geen apartheid hê", "Equal student rights" and "Away with all apartheid". Students of all races participated in this protest, which was held despite bad weather and the proximity of examinations. During the course of the morning a Security Branch car arrived, and its occupants started to jot down in their notebooks the wording of the posters, but before they could get down much they were asked to leave by the University traffic policeman. They left.

PETITION

A petition expressing sympathy with the plight of Fort Hare students is also being circulated at U.C.T. More than 120 people have already signed it.

SEASON'S GREETINGS

Contact wishes its Jewish readers a Happy New Year and well over the fast.

NOW THE TEMBUS RESIST

Anti-Bantu Authorities movement starts

By THE EDITOR

I HAVE just paid a visit to Tembuland in the Transkei. I heard the first notes being played of a great symphony of protest and opposition. I predict that within three months a further heavy blow will have been struck at the rickety stage-prop building that is Dr. Verwoerd's edifice of Bantu Authorities. And that blow will have been struck by the near-unanimous massed opposition of the 1.3 million Xhosa-speaking people of the territory.

What is happening in Pondoland (east of Umtata) is well known. But what is happening in Tembuland (west of Umtata) is not well known, largely because of the ban on journalists.

Journalists have been officially warned that they may not leave the main roads for any purpose without a permit. In the present mood of the government it is obviously useless for the independent press to apply, so I did not apply.

I spent some time in Tembuland meeting local high-ups. They told me of the resistance movement that was born on 17th August.

In one short month it has achieved virtually total support from the population, they told me.

When Mr. H. Abraham, M.P., the new Commissioner-General, visited the Tembuland "Great Place" on 30th August, and addressed a public gathering, he asked the Tembus what their demands were.

He received only one answer from the people, illiterate as well as educated. It was "Equal Rights".

Although late off the mark, the Tembus have followed the lead of the Pondos in boycotting the census. Many refused to reply to the census questions. And a hut belonging to a collaborator-headman Spalding Matyile was burnt at Lower Gobonco, Engcobo district, on 10th September, because it contained the census-returns for part of Tembuland.

A forceful sermon was preached on 27th August at Clarkebury Methodist

Institution by the Rev. Sol. K. Masela, a young minister. He referred to the apparent lack of courage shown by the Methodist church in resisting apartheid and contrasted the Wesleyan record with that of the Anglican church. He also referred to the dissatisfaction of the congregations with the manner in which the heavy church-dues are spent.

Preaching this sermon was a courageous act, as he preached it in the presence of his national president, the Rev. Leslie Hewson, as well as of his immediate superior, Dr. Bandey, Governor of Clarkebury Institution.

Mr. Masela was given an ovation after the service, and was carried part of the way from the church.

The opposition to Bantu Authorities among the Tembus is intense. But it is a movement short of experienced leaders. This is due to the widespread use of intimidation by the government, and also the use of the exile weapon. Three top leaders, Messrs. Twalimfene Joyi, Gangalizwe Joyi, and Nkosiane, have been exiled to distant areas.

To this lack of leadership is due the use of violence by some of the government's opponents. Apart from the arson attack on Headman Spalding Matyile, there was a murderous attack on Headman Absolom Yengwa of Baziya, near Umtata.

He is detested as a close collaborator. He had been expecting trouble, and had a gun in his hut.

One night, on about 12th September, he was asleep in the hut. With him was

his wife and a child. The hut was surrounded during the night by a group of armed men who set it on fire. Then they fired shots to prevent anyone from escaping.

When the roof began to fall in Headman Yengwa's wife said that she preferred to die outside. She then ran from the burning hut with the child. The arsonists shot at her, wounding her and the child. (She is now in Umtata hospital, but is not seriously injured.)

Then Mr. Yengwa began to shoot at his attackers and drove them away. He was thus able to escape from the burning hut in time.

On 16th September the press carried news of a "faction fight" at Mqanduli, south of Umtata, in which 11 people were killed. I learn that the fight was not, in fact, between tribal factions, but between supporters and opponents of Bantu Authorities.

The leaders are using non-violent methods of struggle, and a recent boycott of a store near Clarkebury in protest against high prices and insufficient politeness was completely successful.

Tembus all over the country are deeply interested in this struggle for the removal of the Bantu Authority system, and in some cities contributions are flowing in.

The struggle in Tembuland is still on a tribal basis, but leaders plan to broaden its base, firstly in concert with the Pondos and secondly by dovetailing the territorial struggle with the national struggle for full democratic rights.

Sports Colour-bar Crumbles

By "JAVELIN"

SOUTH AFRICA'S colour-bar in international sport continues to crumble. While the results of the Olympic meeting at Rome do not appear to be spectacular—a full report is still awaited—interest has been aroused throughout the world and there have already been promises of support in the fight from European and African countries.

By the time the International Olympic Committee meets next year to plan the 1964 Olympics at Tokyo, the snowball will have grown into an avalanche. The effect of world support can already be seen in the ultimatum of the world soccer federation that all countries must abolish the colour-bar within the next twelve months.

A further danger sign for sports apartheid has come from Britain. Brian O'Donovan of Wales, widely regarded as the finest fly-half in the U.K. and a certainty for the tests against the Springboks later this year, has refused to play in any matches as a protest against S.A.'s racial discrimination.

The Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport, which organized the demonstrations against the recent cricket tour, has announced a vigorous programme of action, details to be made available later.

South Africa's all-White cricket team, which returned recently, showed a loss of £17,000 on their tour of Britain—the previous tour showed a profit of £35,000.

The president of S.A.S.A., G. K. Rangasamy, has announced that he will press for an explanation from Reg Honey, of the S.A. Olympic Association, on the exclusion of Non-Whites from the Olympic trials.

WHY—AND HOW—MALI BROKE UP

Federation that lasted two months

ON 20th June this year, two ex-French West African colonies, Senegal and Soudan (not to be confused with Sudan in North East Africa) became independent. They joined together on the same day to form the Mali Federation, but the union was never entirely successful.

It was personal rivalry that finally caused the two countries to split. Both Mr. Léopold Senghor of Senegal and Mr. Modibo Keita of Soudan had designs on the presidency of the Mali Federation. Mr. Keita was already prime minister of the Mali Federation at the time elections were due on 21st August, and it was generally understood by the Senegalese that he would give Mr. Senghor a free run for the presidency. A few days before the election the news got out that Mr. Keita had reconsidered his original idea and had decided to run for president. If he had stood for president, victory for him was almost certain, so the Senegalese members of the government pulled their country out of the federation altogether.

What was the background leading to this drastic step on the part of the Senegalese leaders?

The answer lies in the fundamental difference in the nature and outlook of the two countries. Senegal is richer, more advanced and less populous than the Soudan, which is a vast, semi-desert country, entirely cut off from the sea. As Soudan was the poorer of the two, her premier, Mr. Keita, an ex-school-teacher and one time member of the national assembly in France, wanted complete unity with her neighbour and a strongly centralised government so that she could share Senegal's wealth and trade flowing through the prosperous port of Dakar.

The Senegalese leaders, on the other

hand, favoured a looser federal association. This was not simply because they did not want to share their country's wealth, but because they feared they would be entirely swamped by the superior voting power of the Soudanese in the Federal Assembly.

The present crisis has been simmering ever since Mali became independent on 20th June, but events did not actually come to a head until 19th August, two months later. On that day the Soudanese-dominated federal government suddenly declared a state of emergency and granted total powers to Mr. Keita. Mr. Keita stripped Mamadou

request such approval."

The quarrel between the leaders took place in the federal capital of Dakar, which is also the capital of Senegal. Though Mr. Keita had a majority in the assembly, Senghor, as leader in Senegal, had the backing of the Senegalese people and parliament.

After the broadcast he arranged for Keita, with 130 Soudanese deputies, to be put on a train and sent back to the Soudan capital, Bamako.



Dia



Keita

Dia, the Senegalese premier, of his responsibility for national defence and external affairs of the Mali Federation.

On the next day, 20th August, the Senegalese legislature proclaimed the independence of Senegal. Mr. Léopold Senghor broadcast a speech. He said: "urged by mad ambition, Mr. Modibo Keita has just attempted a coup against the Senegalese people. He has divested Mr. Dia of power, but for that he should have obtained the approval of the Senegal government. He did not

MALI FEDERATION

Independent 20th June
Broke up 20th August

	SENEGAL	SOUDAN
Leaders	Mr. Leopold Senghor (53), Mali President Designate, President of Senegal. Mr. Mamadou Dia (50), Senegal P.M.	Mr. Modibo Keita (45), Mali P.M., Soudan P.M.
Population	2,300,000	3,700,000.
Capital	Dakar (sea port, university).	Bamako (no outlet to sea).
Economy	Comparatively rich (some industry).	Poor (semi-desert, people more traditional).
Views on Mali Federation	Wanted a loose federal arrangement.	Wanted complete centralisation and pooling of resources.
Policies	Senghor, Gen. Secretary of Senegalese Progressive Union, with a long tradition of democratic socialism and alliance with French Socialist Party.	Keita, favours authoritarian, single party. Marxist-type government dominated by Moslems.
Allies and enemies	Wants to maintain independence of France but strong friendship. Traditional rivalry with Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast. Senegalese leaders are accused by Keita of being "more French than the French themselves".	Wants to maintain independence. Inclined to seek alliance with Sékou Touré of Guinea or Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast.

contact

FORCED LABOUR IN S.A.

A RECENT booklet of the Anti-Slavery Society of London contained an address by Mr. Robert Gavin, chief of the African Unit of the International Labour Office on "The I.L.O. and Forced Labour".

In the course of his address Mr. Gavin informed his hearers that in 1953 an ad hoc committee of the U.N. and the I.L.O. reported that "a system of forced labour of significance to the national economy appeared to exist" in South Africa.

The committee explained that this coercion was indirect, achieved mainly by means of apartheid laws, but it nevertheless found that the case against South Africa was proved.

It is also widely known, and not denied by the authorities, that a great, and increasing, proportion of South Africa's wealth is produced by convict labour. This scandal is at its worst on the farms.

These facts lend importance, and urgency, to a recent recommendation of the American Committee on Africa that "the United States Government should be asked to prohibit imports from South Africa under the U.S. Code, Title 19, Section 1307, which forbids

the importation of goods made by forced or convict labour".

Love of liberty for all people induced the people of America to pass a law like that. The United States is now the greatest citadel of freedom: let the United States stop these imports produced by a semi-slave system. Let the American aspirations of the law-maker be matched by a determination to enforce the law and at the same time to forward the cause of freedom.

THE EXPULSION OF BISHOP REEVES

FRIGHTENED rulers are like bad parents: they do not know when to be strict and when to be gentle.

Our present (and very temporary) rulers are frightened, and bewildered. They show this by their present policy, which is an unplanned mess of sour and sweet ingredients.

On the same day that Dr. Verwoerd announced a new policy of concessions to "the Urban Bantu" Bishop Reeves was arrested, bundled on to an outward-bound aircraft and deported.

Contradicting itself like this, the Union Government has made itself look like a dog growling savagely and wagging its tail at the same time.

Democrats cannot allow such an act to pass unnoticed. They will wish to protest in every way against this harshness which, at one stroke, harms the Anglican church, the English-speaking

minority, and the democratic movement.

They will also wish to record in gratitude the tremendous contribution made by Bishop Reeves to the cause of freedom.

What of the future? Bishop Reeves remains Bishop of Johannesburg: not even our "miraculously preserved" would-be messiah has yet dared to legislate in the spiritual field.

In our view, Bishop Reeves should continue to act as bishop. If he were to move to Basutoland he would be able, in our view, to continue to administer his diocese which lies only 250 miles away. A frequent air service now links London, Accra, and Leopoldville, with the High Commission Territories: there will thus be no transport difficulties.

In this way Bishop Reeves would be able to continue with his work for good in the Southern African field.

LIBERAL RESIGNATIONS

THE *Cape Times* of 14th September carried the news of the resignations from the Liberal Party of Dr. Oscar Wollheim and Mr. Gerald Gordon. It also carried, as we do on another page, statements by them and by Mr. Peter Hjul, chairman of the Cape Division.

Contact associates itself with the statements of Mr. Hjul. With him we

regret the departure of two honoured old comrades. But with him we believe that it is no longer realistic to look to the present electorate alone for the key to our democratic future.

The resignations have not weakened the party. Rather, by showing unmissably that the Liberal Party is utterly committed to democracy, they have strengthened the Party.

STATEMENT

In case there should be any misunderstanding on the point I should like to make it clear that the views expressed in *Contact* are not necessarily the views of the Liberal Party. In particular I should like to state that the views expressed on the Republican question in the leading article entitled "The Republic and Us" (*Contact* 10th September) do not reflect the attitude of the Party.

—PETER BROWN.

All political comment and headlining in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

SOME weeks ago, on the Grand Parade, Cape Town, a "mass" meeting was held by Sactu.

The purpose of the meeting was to celebrate the end of the emergency.

A speaker, Mr. S. Makhetha, made a violent personal attack on myself and on this paper. He said that I had made cowardly attacks on the A.N.C.

Maybe I am a coward: I leave history to judge on this point between Mr. Makhetha and me. But the fact is that I have not made any attack on the A.N.C.

I now challenge Mr. Makhetha to point to any passage in *Contact* where I have attacked the A.N.C.

What has of course happened is that Mr. Makhetha has been given orders by the leftists to attack *Contact* because *Contact* is not afraid to expose the leftist game.

That game is now the same as it has been for years: to use the power of "African nationalism" to pull the communist wagon. That is what Mr. Khrushchev is trying to do in the Congo. That is what he is trying to do here.

It isn't just me that says this: the P.A.C. left the A.N.C. on this very issue.

No matter what Mr. Makhetha says I will continue to attack all imperialisms that menace Africa, and will not, as some freedom fighters do, open the door and call in the Soviets—the worst imperialists of modern times.

NOWADAYS we hear a lot of D.R.C. ministers protesting that their church has nothing to do with apartheid.

The truth seems to be otherwise. Let's see what the fathers of Afrikanerdom say. Dr. D. F. Malan's book on the Congo (quoted in *Die Burger* of 10th September) reports a conversation between him and President Steyn. Dr. Malan asked the old president the reason why "our people have remained so pure".

"His reply was short and to the point: The Church. The Church kept morals pure, maintained the dividing line between Christendom and the

heathens and thereby drew the colour line."

We have it then on the very highest authority: the D.R.C. was the main author of apartheid.

LAST fortnight we reported the position in the R.A.C. and the A.A.

Since then (*Cape Times* 10th September) both organizations have made public statements about apartheid. The A.A. maintains its anti-colour position: but the R.A.C. says "there is no ban on Non-European membership. Our service is open to anyone complying with the standards set by the committee of the club".

After this there can be no doubt what the duty of every democratic car-owner is.

MRS. J. NEWTON THOMPSON, Cape Town's mayor, should watch her smiles more closely. Referring to increased emigration she said "I was referring to the cream of our Coloured citizens. These are the whitest of the Coloured people".

No doubt she tried to be kind but she has, in fact, made an outrageous statement. The only meaning that can be put on her words is that the Whiter you are, the better you are.

FOR years Moscow has gone to town on segregation in the United States.

Perhaps we may hear less of this cry now that the Russians have shown that they too are colour-conscious.

Part of the purpose behind the new "Friendship University" is to segregate Afro-Asian students and thus, like the Nats here, "minimize race friction".

I don't rejoice at this news from Moscow. Apartheid anywhere is a blot on the human race.

But let's hear less often the silly cry that "there's no racialism in the U.S.S.R."

"LET five hundred Kaffirs gather and form a republic and nobody worries," said M.P. Blaas Coetzee in Vereeniging. He then wept tears of self-pity over the fate of good Afrikaners who wanted a republic.



Two young men from Bloemfontein explaining to a friend why "Contact" has become so popular.

Mr. Coetzee ought to know by now what the effect on our country is of these irresponsible insults.

CONGRATULATIONS to the Basutoland Government on having promoted Inspector T. D. N. Molefe of the police to be an Assistant Superintendent.

Mr. Molefe is, I think, the first African to be a commissioned officer in Southern Africa since the eighties of last century.

I'M glad that the papers ran David Pratt's statement in full. On the statement itself I cannot comment—the matter is still before the courts. But thousands will always remember the remarkable frankness and transparent honesty of this historic statement.

A NEW booklet of the Institute of Race Relations has been making me very angry—*Social Development Since Union*, by Prof. H. Pollak.

It records calmly the destruction of much of the work of a century to uplift our people. Listen to a few facts.

Because they are now said to be in "White areas" the following institutions are doomed:

Institutions for blind Africans at Roodepoort, Westville, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley; the Kutlwanong institution

for deaf children, the Margaret Ballinger home for crippled and convalescent children at Roodepoort, and the Bridgman Memorial Hospital, Johannesburg.

The Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work was closed down in 1959. So was Alan Paton's Diepkloof Reformatory for African boys.

These facts fill me with cold anger.

So does the following: "Indians were excluded from family allowances in 1948. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers were excluded from the Unemployment Insurance Scheme. The provision of free milk to pre-school children in 1951 did not apply to Africans. Grants to African school feeding were reduced in 1949 and since the Bantu Education Act, school feeding has almost ceased. Nursery schools for African children no longer receive state aid. Almost all have had to close." And so on, and so on.

How in the name of Bantustan and apartheid can this be justified.

Only in the name of the Devil.

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

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW

REEVES'S REAL OFFENCE

and now, slyly, it has had its revenge upon him.

But Dr. Reeves was not only unpopular with the powers-that-be, he was as unpopular with many people who pretend to be opposed to apartheid and even with many members of his own church and his own diocese. Why? Because they said that he was a man who "meddled in politics" when he should have confined himself to managing the affairs of his church community.

But was Dr. Reeves's real offence that he "meddled in politics" or was it that he challenged the pernicious growth in South African society, and Christian society not least of all, of the acceptance of a dual morality which regards as right for people of colour what it would unhesitatingly regard as wrong for people who are White? It is quite true that Bishop Reeves became caught up in many vital "political" issues but the reason, I am quite certain, was not that he found politics attractive but that he found injustice abhorrent. Someone has called apartheid the politics of injustice. That is what it is and that is what Ambrose Reeves saw it to be and that is why he challenged it—and that is why he was deported.

Christianity's foundations in Africa are insecure. Almost every church complains of the turning away from it of young African people. One reason for this is undoubtedly that some White

Christian clergy preach one standard of behaviour while they practice another and that many White Christian laymen put on and take off their religion with their Sunday suits. Bishop Reeves was not that kind of a Christian. If he felt it necessary to take a stand he took it, whether his opponents were likely to construe it as "political" or not. Without him, would there have been a Treason Trials Defence Fund? And without that Fund would Chief Luthuli and others have ever been discharged or those who remain on trial ever have been adequately defended? And Sharpeville? If the Bishop had not immediately and unhesitatingly set out to discover all there was to learn about that grim occasion, would we have ever heard any more than the police account of what took place there?

Bishop Reeves did many things to make the Nationalists dislike him, but the one they most disliked was what he did at Sharpeville and they were right to do so. For it may well be that the information which he helped to make public and the international reaction which it provoked will be a vital factor in shaping future relations between the Union and the world. Bishop Reeves did many things to make some non-

Nationalists dislike him, but the one they disliked most was his going to Swaziland at the beginning of the Emergency. It is astonishing how accusations of "cowardice" against the Bishop are now bandied about by people whose main distinguishing mark in the past has been their failure to make any personal stand at all as White baaskap has ridden roughshod over the slender rights of those least able to defend themselves. Far from any question of abdication from his responsibilities I believe that the most difficult and the bravest decision taken by any man in the Emergency was the decision of Dr. Reeves to go to Swaziland—and I have yet to find anyone who was detained who thinks that what he did was wrong.

The Nationalists have heaved a sigh of relief to see Bishop Reeves go. Have some non-Nationalists also? If they have, it is because they have removed from their midst a person who was a continual challenge to their Christian conscience and they see in his going the opportunity to sink more securely back into the warm lethargy of that "colour-bar" Christianity which could, in the end, be the death of the Christian mission in South Africa.



Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

SO Bishop Reeves has been deported and the Government goes determinedly along its chosen way of intolerance and persecution.

South Africa has had its share of controversial church figures since the days of Dr. John Philip—Scott, Huddleston and Charles Hooper in the few years since the war—and Ambrose Reeves was in the forefront of them. For over ten years he was a thorn in the flesh of the Nationalist Government

APARTHEID IN CHURCH

ARE the Christian churches of South Africa aware how deeply they are implicated in apartheid?

On 7th May *Contact* published facts which tended to show that there is a growing dissatisfaction on the continent with the link-up between some Christian churches and the colour-bar. A photograph was published of a notice board outside St. Cyprian's Anglican Church, Retreat, showing that Sunday School was held at 10 a.m. for "Europeans" and 3 p.m. for "Non-Europeans".

One of the two priests' names has since been removed, but the notice stands otherwise unaltered.

Further facts showing how deeply some churches are implicated have since come to light.

● *The Dutch Reformed Church Monthly Newsletter*, which at times has been able to take a fairly unbiased view of the world has, since the events in the Congo, become a sort of priestly shadow of the Government Information Service. The September issue carries five "Current Comments" on the back page. The first is a quote from an American Presbyterian saying that the Dutch Reformed Church is as Christian as the other churches in South Africa. The second is a Christian comment from

Ceylon condemning criticism of apartheid. The third is a D.R.C. leader's remark defending apartheid. The fourth is a complaint from a Swedish missionary that pro-apartheid letters are not printed in the Swedish press. And the fifth is a quote from an American professor stressing the "positive and beneficial aspects" of "separate development".

● In the Church of the Province (Anglican) there remains much segregation, as acknowledged by the Archbishop, Dr. Joost de Blank.

In the whole diocese of George there is only one parish which is not segregated: Heidelberg. When this church was desegregated all the White parishioners, except three, left their church. As one observer said: "Being South Africans they chose Hell, which is no doubt segregated, to Heaven which is not."

In Bredasdorp there is an almost incredible arrangement. There is one Anglican church building. In about 1920 the Whites demanded, and got, separation. It was "wangled" in this way: the congregation was divided into two parts. The White part called itself the "Parish of All Saints". The Non-White part was called the "Chapel of All Saints". Naturally the White parish took the assets of the church. The two organizations use the same building, but otherwise have no contact. The Whites have their own churchwardens and councillors; the Non-Whites have their own chapelwardens and councillors. Services are carefully held at different times.

The wave of church burning which accompanied the demonstrations in March and April was a sign that the Africans are beginning to associate churches with apartheid. Many Christians are deeply concerned about this, not least the Archbishop. They are determined to root out apartheid wherever it can be found . . . before it is too late.

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Liberals Resign—Statements

LAST week Dr. Oscar Wollheim and Mr. Gerald Gordon, Q.C., resigned from the Liberal Party.

In an interview with the *Cape Times*, they made the following statement: "We have always been in favour of a qualified franchise and against the idea of "one man, one vote", our view being that the franchise should be exercised only by those whose education and civilized standards give them the necessary sense of responsibility.

This applies to all citizens, White as well as Non-White.

We feel that the Liberal Party is committed to the idea of universal franchise.

Secondly, we think that the function of a political party is to seek power to govern or to participate in government. This it can only do by appealing to those who have the vote.

The Liberal Party is to-day functioning mainly as a pressure group and we feel therefore that as a political party we can no longer support it."

In a statement on the resignation of Mr. Gordon and Dr. Wollheim, the Cape Chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Peter Hjul, said:

"The resignation of two such distinguished members is deeply regretted by the Liberal Party. Both played an important part in our formative years and we are sorry to lose them at a time when the party is experiencing a rapid growth in membership and has never been more active.

We do not apologise, however, for developing into a more militant body, heavily engaged in extra-parliamentary activity.

This development was perhaps inevitable from the day Dr. Wollheim and others founded this non-racial movement. Most of our members are to-day deprived of the vote; all of them urgently want a change from the system of White domination to a democratic society.

And they and the party they support are not prepared to restrict themselves to a field in which change, if it does come, will be too inadequate and much too late."

BEFORE VOTING IN THE
REFERENDUM
read

THE PEOPLES AND POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA

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by

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NIGERIA IS FREE

AFRICA'S GREATEST STATE

By ALAN RAKE

NIGERIA, Africa's most populous state (over 35 million inhabitants), is seldom in the news. But now it is due for independence on 1st October and seems certain to play a major part in the councils of Africa, yet it has attracted little comment from the world's press.

Compared with other colonial territories Nigeria has had a mild passage to independence. Its most colourful leader, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, was one of

- They thrashed out a satisfactory federal constitution among themselves in 1958;
- They are keen to retain Commonwealth membership and friendly links with Britain;
- Nigerians on the whole have a calm and democratic approach to politics.

REGIONAL POLITICS

Political parties in the country are based on their respective regions and the number of seats allocated to each region in the federal assembly is proportionate to its population. The northern region had a population in 1953 of about 17 million. There were 8 million in the East and 6½ million in the West. The consequences of this is that the northern region's Northern People's Congress Party has 134 seats in the Federal Assembly. It forms the federal government, in alliance with Dr. Azikiwe's National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons which has 89 seats. Chief Awolowo's Action Group has 73.

PAN-AFRICANIST

Dr. Azikiwe, commonly known as "Zik", is the leader who is nearest to the main-stream of African nationalist politics in other parts of Africa. He has always been a close friend of President Nkrumah and a keen Pan-Africanist. Like Nkrumah, he was educated at America's Howard University, and he returned to Nigeria in 1947 to build a monolithic political party, to edit a string of radical newspapers and to go into business. He has thundered against the British, but has shown an underlying respect for British political institutions.

The strange thing is that Zik should have chosen to make a political alliance, and later become strong friends, with the Sardauna of Sokoto, a descendant of the Fulani kings and a man who combines autocratic rule of the primitive Moslem north, with the leadership of a mass political party. The Sardauna holds effective power in the North. The Federal Premier, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, though tactful and diplomatic, is considered by many to be little more than the Sardauna's mouth-piece.

In previous years Zik's party had tried to make inroads into the northern region, but it had been met with the suspicion of the northerners, who feared domination by the slick southerners. Instead of joining Zik's early campaigns for independence, the north had actually sheltered for many years under British rule.

At one time it was expected that Zik would prefer an alliance with his southern rival Awolowo, for between them they could have held a majority



FACTS

- Nigeria is about the size of the Union of South Africa without the Transvaal.
- It has a population of over 35,000,000.
- It has a national income of £900,000,000, and this is rising steadily.
- Private investment in Nigeria from abroad amounts to £20,000,000 a year.
- In new enterprises regional governments go into partnership with private investors. These enterprises include textile mills, plastics, light metal industry, transport and motor assembly.
- By 1978 Nigeria will be producing 200,000 barrels of oil daily.
- Nigeria plans to build huge dams to control the flow of the River Niger to make river transport easier, to provide electricity and to irrigate 1,000,000 acres of plain where rice and other crops can be grown.

and the Yorubas in the west are both progressive, and have long wanted good education for their people and the full emancipation of women, but in the north men only have been allowed to vote, and a few years ago the country was run by feudal emirs.

DECLINE OF ACTION GROUP

Chief Awolowo's life has been coolly dedicated to fitting himself to leading his people. He has risen from humble beginnings to become a successful barrister. In the first federal elections of 1954 Zik's N.C.N.C. made considerable inroads into Awolowo's western region and in the north, but in the most recent elections the north gained ground again. At present all three political parties hold their own regions but the Action Group is weakest in its own area and its popularity is declining.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The explanation of Azikiwe's alliance with the north may be that he wants to deal with his political opponents one by one. First he forces Awolowo into a position of weak opposition where his support can be gradually eroded away. He has already been appointed Nigeria's future Governor-General and he is not likely to act as if this were a non-political appointment, any more than he does now as President of the Senate. It is only when he has won a decisive victory in the south that he will be strong enough to challenge the north.

The danger here is that the existence of an effective opposition in the shape of Awolowo's Action Group may be forced out of existence. But it would need a considerable change in Nigeria's present balance of power to bring this about. Even if Azikiwe has long-term plans to win power for his party alone, this would take many years to achieve.

DEMOCRACY AND UNITY

In the meantime there is a growing body of Nigerian educated opinion that appreciates the value of democracy and of healthy opposition. There were times in the 1950's when it was thought that the country would split into very loosely associated regions. Nigerian political wisdom was shown by the fact that by the 1958 constitutional conference, it was realised that federation was to the benefit of all regions. All parties have since made great efforts to get over regional differences.

To-day the youth of Nigeria is realizing the advantages of still closer unity. They know that the state with the largest population in Africa has a great opportunity to play a lead in the affairs of the continent.

It is the political horse-sense of Nigerians that makes their country a place where democracy can triumph.



BALEWA

the earliest African nationalists and a close friend of President Nkrumah, but even his fiery politics did not disrupt the country's steady progress towards independence. Nigeria never really suffered from attempts by its African leaders to outbid one another in their campaigns against British imperialism.

What problems there were were centred on the differences between the three regions—North, East and West. These differences will provide the problems of to-morrow.

NO DIFFICULTIES

But the country faces no immediate political difficulties. Both the east and west regions were self-governing, with their own parliaments, before the northern region joined them, by winning its self-government in March 1959. Thus Nigerians have long been making the political decisions in the country and its leaders have been working for some time through the framework of democratic government.

Nigeria has no settler problem, no racial problem, no danger of a breakdown in administration or of a loss of confidence by outside investors. It is generally quoted as a country where democracy will survive because

- It has three vigorous political parties, none of them strong enough to dominate the other two;
- Its leaders have shown a willingness to compromise over regional differences for the sake of national unity;



Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto.



Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Federal Leader of the Opposition.

In the Federal parliament. But the two men had long been personal rivals. At one time they had each run libel actions against the other. They both won their cases and were awarded roughly the same amounts in damages!

Despite their rivalry there is more in common between their people than there is between them and the conservative Moslem north. The Ibos in the east



AZIKIWE

- West Nigeria was the first African country to have a television network.
- The University College at Ibadan is run by the Federal Government and has 1,000 students training for degrees.
- The University College teaching hospital at Ibadan cost £4,500,000, has 510 beds, and turns out 50 qualified doctors and 80 nurses and midwives a year.
- There are 5,800 Nigerians at universities and technical colleges in Britain.
- Nigeria's exports were worth £163,000,000 in 1959.
- Nigeria is the world's largest exporter of palm kernels and oil, and of groundnuts. She also supplies four-fifths of world exports of columbite.

CUNNING WHITEHEAD?

From R. R. FARQUHARSON

IF only Sir Edgar Whitehead were a liberal, one could accuse him of extraordinary cunning. His decision to arrest the National Democratic Party leaders provoked the Salisbury and Bulawayo riots; those riots seem to have made measures of reform acceptable to the White electorate of Southern Rhodesia in a way they could hardly have been before the disturbances.

Even with these changes, of course, Southern Rhodesia has not come very far. Increasing the size of the Legislative Assembly will not give it more than three or four Africans out of 50; and some of those three or four may be partially dependent on White votes. The increased expenditure on African housing and education will still leave African standards far lower than White. The engagement of 18 African firemen and eight African stewards on the Rhodesia Railways is no more than a token—there were 2,000 applications. The new basic wage in the clothing industry is £8 10s. 0d. a month—an improvement on the earlier £6 but still far below subsistence level for a family.

Still, the shift in White public opinion is a good thing. Many members of the liberal Central Africa Party have left with the evident intention of joining the N.D.P., which now claims 100 White members. The fortnightly *Central African Examiner*, which used to support the United Federal Party fairly consistently, changed hands in June and may now be described as liberal. There has been no responsible opposition to the proposal to repeal the Land Apportionment Act (S.R.'s Group Areas Act): the commission which made this recommendation contained two members of the racist Dominion Party—now both sitting as independents.

Segregation still remains the rule in Salisbury's shops and restaurants—but exceptions are slowly becoming more numerous. At the inter-racial Jameson Hotel, the only Africans normally seen are visiting V.I.P.s. The Press Club is still housed by Meikle's Hotel, which is Whites only, and so the Club is Whites only too. But a former coffee-



WHITEHEAD

stall proprietor, Mr. "Shorty" Cawthorne, made history in August by opening a restaurant called "Shorty's", at the corner of Pioneer Street and Manica Road, which is not only open to but patronised by all races. On a Saturday evening, sedate crowds of Africans, Indians, Chinese, Coloureds and Whites can be seen enjoying the 10/- dinner-dance and listening to a delightful Coloured cabaret singer and a fine inter-racial jazz band.

Salisbury has put in a bid for the 1956 Commonwealth Games—could it be that segregation is expected to be gone by then?

MY ARREST

By S. J. T. SAMKANGE

SALISBURY: I was, in fact, arrested twice at the same place in one day. The first time I was arrested was in the morning of Thursday when my wife and I went to the Stoddart Hall—scene of the meetings of the previous day. It was about 7.30 a.m. When we arrived there there was a fair crowd—all spectators like ourselves. Police were throwing tear gas and making some arrests. My wife and I had not been at the Stoddart Hall five minutes when a White "cop" came to us.

"What are you doing here?"
(My wife) "What we are doing here has nothing to do with you."
"Why have you not gone to work?"
"That has nothing to do with you."
"If I see you here in five minutes' time I will arrest you."
"We will be right here."
"Well, you follow me now."

So without having said a word, I found myself under arrest with my wife. We were escorted to the police vehicle where we were to be charged.

The "cop" that had arrested us reported our arrests to a senior officer and after exchanging a few words with him, returned to us and said, "All right, you can go and join your friends." And we did.

"LET'S GO"

Later we went to Highfields and the city. On our return from town we decided to go through the Stoddart Hall.

We found several police trucks standing along the road in front of the hall. Near the hall itself was a crowd of people. My wife dropped me a short distance from the police trucks.

One man and another were arrested from our little group. While we were still wondering why these men had been taken, two policemen came towards us. One tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Let us go". I was again under arrest. I was taken to a police truck.

At the charge office I was consoled by the attitude of the African police.

They were horrified and obviously upset by my arrest. A White officer ordered me to remove my shoes. I refused. I told him that he could remove them himself. He did.

"NO DEFENCE, NO BAIL"

I was taken to the cells down below and locked up with three others. Later the others were removed and I was left alone. Word came from my White friends in the Central Africa Party, "Cheer up. Who do you want to defend you?" "No defence. No bail," I replied.

I was then told that my wife wanted to see me. As I came out of my cell I met three women who had been present when I was arrested. "Mr. Samkange, you see we have followed you. We could not remain after they had taken you."

When I talked to my wife and found that she approved of my plan of no defence and no bail, I came down to my cell a happier man. All along the corridors were men waiting to be taken into cells. These men stood up when they saw me and said, "We have followed you, Mr. Samkange. We saw them taking you and we just could not remain outside."

TO SERVE AFRICA

In my cell once more I was feeling much better because my wife had taken my arrest well. I decided to sleep. As I



Mr. S. J. T. Samkange, who was arrested in Salisbury during the demonstrations in July this year. (See "Contact" 13th August)

was trying to sleep I heard from several cells around mine the singing of the African National Anthem and shouts of "Freedom now". The music of *Ishe Komborera Africa* has never been so sweet.

I thought of all the great sons of Africa who had been locked up for the cause of her freedom. I felt that I did not deserve the honour of joining them.

The next day we were brought to court.

My wife and I will never forget the reception Africans in their thousands gave us when we emerged, having been acquitted on all charges. I was carried shoulder high to my car. The crowd insisted on pushing the car through the town to the location shouting, "Freedom. Freedom." They took us right to our home. They ordered the traffic to stop and give us the right of way and cleaned our car with their coats. This is an experience we shall never forget and we have only one ambition—to serve Africa and justify its confidence in us.

Liberals say

No Passes, No Land Barons

From a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: A meeting of the Liberal Party was held in Athlone, Cape, on 15th September. About 200 people were present.

The speakers were applauded eagerly by the audience when they stressed the need to build a large non-racial organization which would be able to show the government clearly that its policies were hated by all sections of the population.

The speakers stressed the need for a common South African patriotism based on non-racial democracy and binding together people who had been forced apart by the government.

Mr. Timothy Holmes spoke about the policies of the Liberal Party on the question of land ownership, housing, industry and education.

He said that when the Liberal Party came to power, it would share out the land to people who had been denied the right to own it. This would be done by abolishing racial discrimination in the land laws, and by giving generous financial help to all who wanted to buy land; but, he said, should this method fail to bring about a fair distribution of the land, the party would take more drastic measures to share out the land and to break the power of the land barons.

Mr. Hammington Majija said that the train of freedom was fast approaching from the north. It was a train that could not be stopped, and here in South Africa the Liberal Party was preparing



Holmes

the way for it. When it came, there would be no passes, no Bantustans, and equality for all.

Mr. Peter Hjul, Cape chairman of the party, said that apartheid was one of the most evil systems in the world and that the Liberal Party was pledged and determined to destroy it.

He said that the great key of strength in the struggle that lies ahead is the power of non-violence. "We must make our enemies guilty, we must disarm them with moral courage."

"The effect of the emergency has been to strengthen us and to weaken the upholders of apartheid."

Then Mr. Kenneth Hendrickse spoke: "We believe that the racial divisions in our country can only be overcome by a party which embodies a common non-racial South African patriotism. In the Liberal Party race has been forgotten. Everyone belongs to one party, with one loyalty to South Africa," he said.

Mr. Joseph Nkatlo, vice-chairman of the party in the Cape, presided.



Hjul

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

"No" to Republic

SIR.—I am greatly disturbed by your leading article ("The Republic and Us") and P. M. Harker's letter ("Positive Action") in your issue of 10th September.

You predict that if the Nationalists win the referendum "nothing will be changed at all except Mr. Swart's title". That, you say, is the legal position. I refrain from dealing at length with this bit of prophecy because it has nothing to do with your main argument; but it is remarkable that anyone familiar with Afrikaner nationalism in power can believe that a Nationalist victory will result in no more than a "little bill" to change Mr. Swart's title. Even *Die Burger* has dropped that particular line of argument.

What is, however, much more disturbing are the two reasons you give for wanting the government to win their republic.

1. The British did wrong to attack the two republics in 1899 and the majority of Afrikaners regard this as an "unhealed wound" that can now be healed by voting for a republic. By doing so, moreover, we shall enable many more Afrikaners to think and speak constructively about relations between White and non-White.

This argument, so beloved of Nationalist Party propaganda, is spurious and I sincerely hope your readers do not fall for it. It is precisely the same argument, so popular in Britain in the 'thirties, that because the Treaty of Versailles had been "unjust" to the Germans there was nothing that could be done about Hitler.

Where does this kind of reasoning stop? The Zulu were unjustly treated by the Whites. Are we, therefore, in a future non-racial state, to support the demands of a Zulu nationalist party that, to heal their wounds, we should go back to a system of government popular with Chaka?

I wish to goodness English-speaking South Africans would stop trying to escape from the realities of 1960 by allowing themselves to be dragged back to 1899. Because your father was on the side that captured mine in the Anglo-Boer War is no reason why I should be allowed to blackmail you politically.

To argue further that Afrikaners will be able to think more constructively in the pure air of a republic is to disregard, with breath-taking completeness, the age-old and powerful economic reasons why Afrikaners and British South Africans alike fail to think constructively about race relations.

2. Your second argument for supporting a republic is the curious one that it will hasten our exclusion from the Commonwealth and this, in turn, will hasten the day when apartheid grinds to a stop. This is perilously like the argument that if you assist the poor and the oppressed it only prolongs the agony and postpones the day when they will revolt.

P. M. Harker is concerned to know what those members of the Liberal Party who have the vote should do on 5th October. He advocates voting for the republic because, he says (quoting *Die Burger*), "it is the Nationalist Government that wants to expose its racial policy to the new condition of relaxed White relations that the republic will create".

Every Nationalist speaker and writer is pressing this point hard while, at the same time, maintaining that they will never give up apartheid. There is no reason whatsoever to believe that a republic will relax White relations unless one assumes that the Whites are all going to accept Nationalist policies.

Finally, there is a point consistently stressed by Nationalists: the Government does not regard the referendum as a question of confidence. Understandably, it is desperately anxious to keep it "pure" — a straight and almost academic

argument on the relative merits of a republic and a monarchy without any complicating factors such as race policies or respect for democratic constitutional forms. I can understand why Nationalists would want to play it that way; but I simply cannot understand why any Liberal would want to agree. If the Nationalists lose the referendum, which I fervently hope they will do, they have said that they will try again. In that sense the referendum will not be regarded by them as a matter of confidence. But do you and P. M. Harker really believe that if they win by the kind of substantial majority you seem bent on ensuring, they will not trumpet that abroad as a sign of confidence in their race policies? For years Nationalists have been saying, when no public fuss is made about a particular piece of legislation, that ninety per cent of the White electorate is behind them. And for years Liberals have been saying that for that, if for no other, reason we must continue to protest. That position has not changed, and I profoundly hope that Liberals will not, at the referendum, fail to protest on their own behalf and on behalf of those millions who have no chance to vote.

L. MARQUARD,
"Windrush", Draper Street,
Claremont, Cape.

We don't print Fakes

CONTACT recently received a long letter containing a violent attack on liberalism and *Contact* because of a report which was published on the United Nations in the Congo.

This letter also vociferously supported the Congress of Democrats. It was signed "G. Mahlasela, 1611 'Watville' Location".

Suspecting that the letter was not genuine, *Contact* checked on the address, and found, as expected, that no such person lives at 1611 Wattville Location.

Contact is always happy to publish genuine letters on matters of national concern, no matter what point of view is put forward. But *Contact* also has a duty not to waste its readers' time with fakes, and for this reason it has been decided not to publish this letter from "G. Mahlasela".

—EDITOR.

Nyasaland will be Free

SIR.—The review of Philip Mason's book, "The Year of Decision" (*Contact*, 27th August) puts it mildly when stating: "The suggestion is made that a self-governing Nyasaland might become a Free State within the Federation."

It is not a suggestion, but a positive fact that Nyasaland (and even Northern Rhodesia as well) will become a Free State (even outside the Federation) in the near future.

Anyone thinking otherwise should take a drive through these territories in a car with a Salisbury number-plate, and all the doubts as to the popularity of Federation will soon be dispelled from their minds when they are met with shouts of "Kwaca" from one end of the territory to the other!

Similar feelings are shown in Northern Rhodesia by the demands for a new constitution in 1960, based on universal adult suffrage. This, together with the fact that Northern Rhodesians are taking a closer look at the balance sheet whereby the Federal coffers are filled by the northern copper mines makes the review appear to be behind the times.

Events happen very quickly on the African continent.

R. A. COVENTRY,
Blantyre, Nyasaland.

Should be proud

SIR.—We feel it our duty, as it is of every South African, to express our disgust at the deportation of Bishop Reeves.

True South Africans are proud of Bishop Reeves, and when freedom comes, he will, we are sure, come back and do his work in peace.

The more men like Reeves, Huddlestone and Scott are persecuted the stronger they become. They are people of whom the Church should be proud. Of what use is religion if kept in an icy cell, and if it never leaves the stone walls of the Church?

Uhuru to all!

TWO YOUNG NON-RACIALISTS,
Cape Town.

St. Faith's

SIR.—In a previous letter I mentioned the state of affairs at St. Faith's Mission, Southern Rhodesia. I have had a letter from a friend of mine who has a parish not far from St. Faith's.

St. Faith's is a Christian mission station. Mr. Cluton-Brock is not a practising Christian or pretends to be. His followers have been indifferent and rather hostile to the Church and only interested in working out a sociological experiment. All the Church people are now satisfied that the settlement made by the bishop is best for the Church and for the African people who live at St. Faith's.

HARRY GRIGGS,
Tsolo.

Kwaca!

SIR.—When we enter European shops, butcheries and hotels, we Africans are forced to wait in long queues at a hole in the wall. We are not allowed to buy in their shops, nor to drink tea at one table with them, nor to be with them in one room in trains, ships and buses. We are forbidden all these things because of the colour-bar.

We don't want this kind of stupid treatment, that is why we want self-government.

Politics is the helper in the world. Without it we could never have achieved our democratic government of Malawi.

We Malawians are proud of the great job which was done in London at the Constitutional conference, by our great leader, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, and his followers Mr. Orton Chirwa, Mr. Kanyama Chiume, Chief Kuntaja, Chief Kabundure and others. They fought boldly until they got a new form of government for Malawi.

Malawi will be an example to the world.

Kwaca!

NELSON C. B. PHIRI,
Kota Kota, Malawi.

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Telephone 2-4524. Printed by Lincey &
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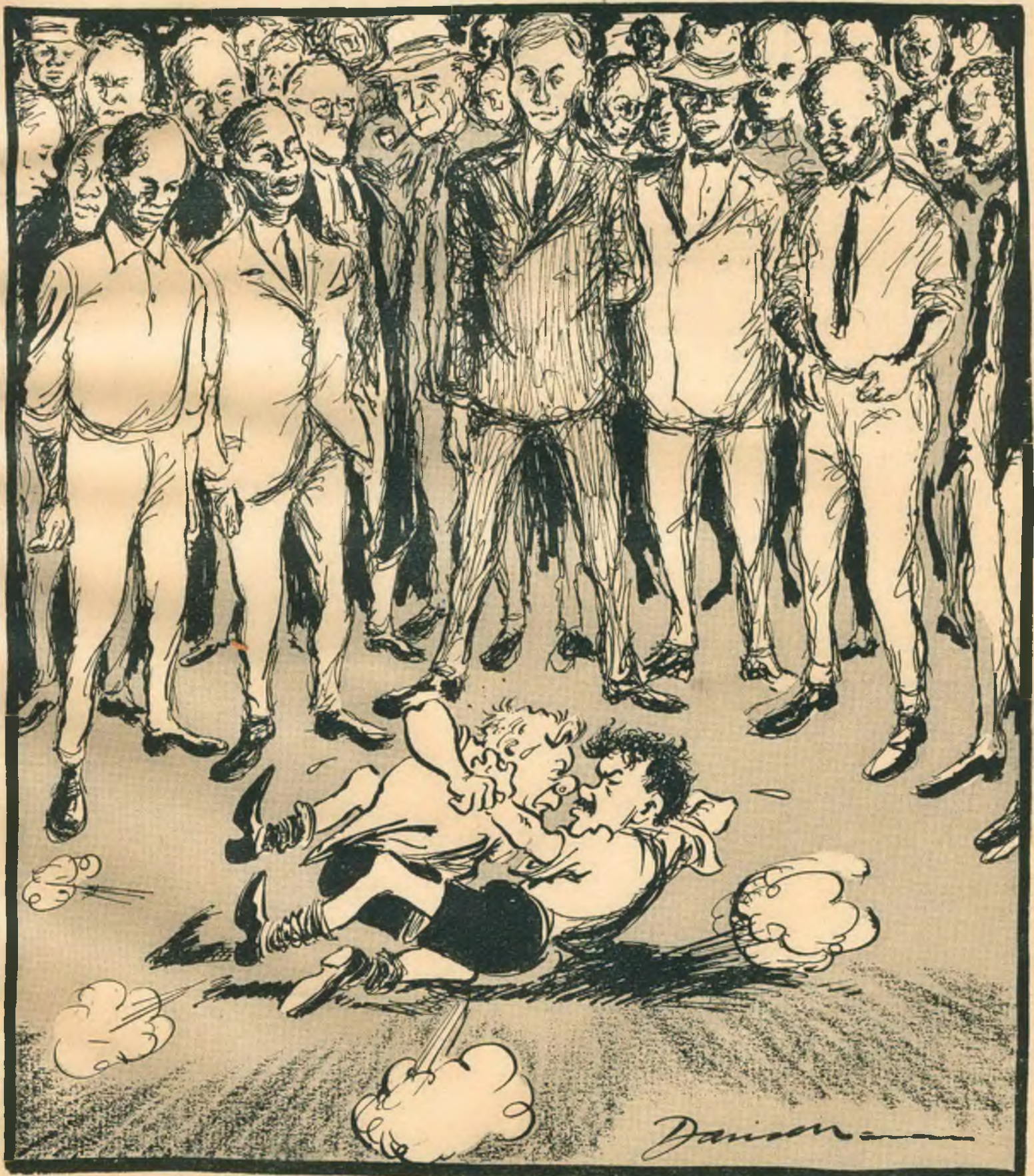
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MONCKTON REPORT WILL SHAKE WELENSKY

—SEE PAGE 6



SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC—a democrat's view of the Whites-only referendum.

SECURITY POLICE RELY ON INFORMERS

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Caught almost unawares by the Pan-Africanist anti-pass campaign in March, the Security Branch is relying more and more on the work of informers, whom it attempts to find or place in any militant, anti-government organisation.

The latest habit of the informers is to shadow all those ex-detainees regarded as "potentially dangerous agitators" by the Security Branch.

It is freely admitted — for instance — that the 11 so-called members of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress who were arrested on 10th September on the Reef were the victims of "informers". The arrested men are: B. M. Masekela, J. M. Lefuka, A. B. Ngcobo, H. Hlatshwayo, J. Walaza, A. Tshehlana, L. Makgothi, E. Makoti, Stanley Nkosi, T. Sehlohi, and Mrs. Ellen Molapo. These people have been charged with participating in the P.A.C. and have been remanded.

Intensive police investigations are now being carried out in Durban following the death of a self-confessed informer, Titus, "Uyi Khomanisiwena Mfana" Mthembu, who was found hanged in a shady part of Durban's notorious Sydenham. The Afrikaner press here says the murder of Mthembu, "who did some valuable work for the police" was committed by Communists seeking vengeance. Police refuse to comment on the case and will not deny or confirm that the man was murdered or whether he committed suicide.

PONDO TO UNITED NATIONS

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The tragic drama of Pondoland is fast working towards its climax. The Pondos are sending a representative to place their case before U.N. and the Security Branch are now anxiously trying to trace how a Pondo envoy slipped out of the country. A top-ranking Security Branch officer interviewed, it is said, at least two reporters representing Sunday newspapers. In both cases, *Contact* learns, the Security man was told: "We do not divulge our sources of information."

It will be recalled that a young Pondo, Mr. Enoch Mbhele (34), a tinsmith, slipped out of the country without even telling his wife where he was going. He carried a 9,000-word memorandum which he hopes to place before the U.N. This memorandum says:

That the people of Pondoland demand the immediate repeal of the Bantu Authorities Act. They also demand the immediate dismissal of Botha Sigcau as their Paramount Chief, and in his place want his brother Nelson.

That the ineffectual Bantu Education system should be scrapped.

That the Pondos want free trade within their areas — and not the monopolistic Nationalist-controlled border industries of Bantustan planned by the Government.

That the rehabilitation and betterment schemes of the Det Wet Nel-Verwoerd hierarchy have resulted in the drastic decline in the quality and quantity of their livestock.

AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

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Mr. Cornelius Ngudli, of Egosu Village, East Pondoland, leader of the Anti-Bantu Authorities Committee. He was shot and killed late in September by alleged supporters of Bantu Authorities while sitting at his fireside. He will be remembered always as a devoted champion of the rights of his people. May he rest in peace.

STUDENTS MARCH

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Two hundred and fifty tired and hungry students from the Augustine Training College of Okahandja marched 45 miles from Okahandja to Windhoek on 22nd September.

The students, taking part in this all-night walk, were protesting about the "unreasonable attitude" of Acting Principal, Mr. M. N. Smith, and against the food at the school hostel. One of their spokesmen said: "The quality of food is deteriorating from day to day. When we bring the matter to the attention of the Principal, we are often told that 'you are being fed at the expense of White taxpayers, but you are such ungrateful creatures'."

At lunch the day before the march they were served (he said) with minced meat from animals heads mixed with skins and intestines, and the food "smelled bad". The students gathered at the house of Mr. Smith, but "when he learned that the students had come to complain, he slammed his door on them".

The students then went to the bakery and bought bread to eat. When they returned, they said they were met by the Principal at the gate and told that they must not put their feet on the school grounds. They went to the river and stayed there, but later in the evening all of them, including the girls, decided to walk to Windhoek and put their problem to the Director of Education. They walked through the night and arrived in Windhoek before sunrise, tired, footsore and hungry.

In Windhoek they met the authorities concerned and stated their grievances. After that, they were told to return to school and that the Department would investigate the matter. The students agreed to return, but made it clear that they would not attend classes before their demands were met.

When all the students returned to the school, the Department threatened to discharge those who refused to attend classes. All students were then discharged, except ten from Ovamboland who could not return owing to the distance of their home.

NEW SUPPORT FOR N.U.S.A.S.

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The "Non-European section" of Natal University has applied to be re-affiliated to the National Union of South African Students (N.U.S.A.S.).

The "Non-European section" broke away from N.U.S.A.S. in 1954, claiming that N.U.S.A.S. was not militant enough and was not identified strongly enough with anti-apartheid forces.

The councils of the "Non-European section" were dominated by a Unity Movement group, but are now moving in a democratic direction: they are moving away from theory into action.

Instrumental in this were ex-Fort Hare students, and people associated with the Congress Movement, both at Marion Buildings and at Wentworth.

The theorists who had always accused N.U.S.A.S. of being passive and of being "a tool of American imperialism working in close association with the F.B.I." were outvoted in view of the aggressive stand N.U.S.A.S. is taking against government policy.

U.N.N.E. (University of Natal Non-European!) will be the largest Non-White body affiliated to N.U.S.A.S., with a membership of more than 900. Fort Hare has 350. The other "tribal" institutions under control of the Department of Bantu Education are forbidden by the government from affiliating to N.U.S.A.S.

It is felt that re-affiliation, which is a radical change in direction, might lead to a break in segregation at Natal University.

"CONTACT" AGENT TO SUE GOVT.

From "Contact" Correspondent

SPRINGS: On the 21st August, 1960, Mr. Chuma Robin Koti, a *Contact* agent, was travelling by train to Johannesburg, carrying with him a bundle of back issues of *Contact* for distribution at a meeting he was to attend in Johannesburg that afternoon.

On the train curious ticket examiners enquired as to what he was carrying and he gave three or four of them copies to read.

Further down the line at Benoni, Mr. Koti was taken from the train and handed over to the Railway Police.

With some difficulty a section of the

further investigation. On the 16th the charge was withdrawn.

Mr. Koti's lawyers are contemplating action against the perpetrators of this obviously false arrest and imprisonment and malicious prosecution.

Mr. Koti is continuing with his activities as "Contact" agent with renewed vigour, none the worse for his experience.



KOTI

railway regulations was found to justify his being charged. We are not quite sure at which stage this took place since immediately thereafter, the Security Branch was called in and Mr. Koti was removed to Boksburg gaol, where he spent until 2nd September, 1960, in solitary confinement.

On the 2nd September, 1960, he appeared before the Magistrate, Benoni, charged under regulation 264 (a) of the Railway Regulations, a regulation which prohibits advertising on railway property without the necessary authority.

On that date the case was postponed until the 16th September, 1960, for

BRITAIN MUST ACT ON S.W.A.

A STRONG plea has been made that Britain should identify herself with possible U.N. moves against the South African government over the South West African question. And an end should be made of the practice of supporting South Africa, says a booklet, *Mandate in Trust*, which has just been published in London by the "Africa 1960 Committee", a body of M.P.s and others in which the Conservative Party is well represented.

In June it was decided, at the Addis Ababa Conference of Independent African States, that the governments of Ethiopia and Liberia should raise the question of the Mandate with the International Court of Justice. "If, as seems likely, the Court should declare South Africa to be in breach of her obligations under the Mandate," runs the booklet, "the General Assembly must clearly call on South Africa either to renounce the Mandate or to fulfil her obligations under the supervision of the international community. Such an order should be supported by every member of the United Nations." The booklet goes on to point out how vital it is that Britain should take a leading part in ensuring that South Africa shall obey such an order when it is made.

This booklet costs 1s. 6d. and is obtainable from The Africa 1960 Committee, 33 Rutland Gate, London S.W.7, England.

ENCOUNTER

ENCOUNTER, edited in London by Stephen Spender and Melvin J. Lasky, is the most widely read monthly of its type in the world. In the words of one reviewer, "it is by far the most vital and immediate of the English literary magazines, and unique in the way it sees letters as being in the thick of affairs".

ENCOUNTER'S truly remarkable success (in the last few years the number of subscribers has more than trebled) can, we believe, be largely attributed to its awareness of contemporary trends. It has remained fully alive to the major political issues of the day, and gives considerable space to African affairs.

ENCOUNTER is in such demand nowadays that several recent issues have sold out soon after publication. To avoid disappointment, please place a regular order. The subscription rate is 45s. a year, including postage, payable to your newsagent or to ENCOUNTER, 25 Haymarket, London, S.W.1.

Denial in Accra**Are refugees being trained in Sabotage?**

From "Contact" Correspondent

ACCRA: The recent report in the *Rand Daily Mail* (2.9.60) that "the Ghana government is recruiting Africans from the Union to go to Ghana for political and military training—this will include methods of sabotage"—is incorrect. There is no airlift of guerrillas and saboteurs. But refugees have been helped with transport.

TRUE ATTITUDE

The true attitude of the Ghana government is contained in certain resolutions adopted at the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa, held in Accra from 7th to 10th April this year, and in President Nkrumah's opening address to the conference. Among other things, he said: "We salute Mahatma Gandhi and we remember in tribute that it was in South Africa that his method of non-violence and non-co-operation was first practised against the vicious race discrimination that still plagues that unhappy country."

POSITIVE ACTION

"But now positive action with non-violence, as advocated by us, has found expression in the defiance of the oppressive pass laws."

"In my view, therefore, this conference ought to consider the setting up of a training centre where volunteers would learn the essential disciplines of concerted positive action. Such an establishment might also become the centre for much needed research into the philosophy and technique of positive action which, in the age of nuclear madness and apartheid arrogance, offers the single

great hope for peace, security, and brotherhood among mankind. We who are gathered here today wish to see all violent conflicts stopped: we wish to secure freedom and ensure security in Africa."

RESOLUTIONS

The conference adopted specific resolutions regarding the Union of South Africa particularly, and Africa generally.

Some of the recommendations were:

- non-violent positive action for carrying the struggle to a successful end;
- boycott of the Union by independent African states;
- severing diplomatic relations with the Union;
- revocation of the South West Africa mandate.

THE TRAINING CENTRE

In practical application of the resolutions of the conference, Ghana thinks of setting up a political training centre in Winneba, 30 miles from Accra. Mike Randall, friend of Michael Scott, may help to run the centre.

The emphasis at the centre will

be on political training in non-violent methods.

The Union refugees in Accra are irritated by the *Rand Daily Mail* report and believe that that newspaper aims at killing support for anti-Verwoerdism.

Of the less than thirty refugees who recently left the Union, some are in London, Cairo, New York and in Accra, working on the South African United Front, and a few will take up scholarships for academic education. No South Africans are being trained in the Ghana defence forces.

Where, then, is the training in violence carried out?

Mr. Mahomo and Mr. Makiwane have never advocated violence in their speeches.

I suggest that the *Rand Daily Mail's* reporter may have met some African fire eater and taken down wishful thinking as a factual statement.

[NOTE BY EDITOR: Telephoned in Johannesburg by Contact, Benjamin Pogrund, *Rand Daily Mail African Affairs* reporter said: "I stand by my story about Africans going to Ghana for political and military training. I am still satisfied that the details published by my newspaper are completely correct."]

Pretoria Taxis Persecuted

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The Works and Traffic Committee of the Pretoria City Council has recommended to the Council that all Non-White taxi ranks in Pretoria be removed; that ranks be provided in the locations only; and that a loading point be provided in Pretoria for 12 taxis.

Taxis will not be allowed to stop for more than 3-5 minutes at the loading point so they will not be able to wait until full before moving off as is the practice at present.

Transport facilities for Non-Whites in Pretoria are far from adequate and thousands of passengers are carried daily



A Liberal Party member collects signatures for the petition.

POLICE BAN LIBERAL MEETINGS

THERE has been growing evidence in recent weeks of police attempts to suppress Liberal Party meetings. Hardest hit so far has been the Cape Division of the Party, whose successful "run" of some 20 meetings in the past six weeks has aroused official opposition and the banning of three meetings.

A proposed meeting in Langa was prohibited on the authority of a magistrate: a week later a gathering in Nyanga was prohibited. The venue was then changed to a place just outside the township, but the meeting was quickly stopped by the police. A third meeting, scheduled for the Grand Parade in Cape Town on 2nd October, was banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act. A notice prohibiting any meeting of the Party in the Cape Town area on 2nd October was signed by the Minister of Justice and was served on the Chairman of the Cape Division by a senior member of the Security Branch.

The banned meeting was to have been a small gathering of the City Branch to protest against the proposed increase in the price of bread. But Cape Liberals have become accustomed to a Security Branch suffering from an acute attack of "nerves".

Since the anti-pass campaign of March and April, which took the Security police completely by surprise, any hint of another outbreak stimulates a frenzy of police activity.

A half-hearted leaflet "raid" which won little or no support from the people of Langa and Nyanga brought a police cordon round these townships on 2nd October.

A Saracen was taken to Nyanga: no non-residents were allowed into the township; and wire mesh protected riot cars patrolling during the day and night. The people were amused, the police were anxious—and nothing happened.

JOHANNESBURG: Despite intimidation attempts by the police, the Liberal Party in the Transvaal is determined to continue its week-end meetings in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg.

28th August was to be the start of a regular series of week-end meetings in the township, but as the meeting was

about to start policemen arrived and warned the speaker, who included Transvaal chairman Mr. Jack Unterhalter, that as they did not have permission, the meeting could not be held.

The police acted in terms of regulations recently promulgated by the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board, which controls Alexandra.

The meeting was abandoned, but determined not to give way, party members launched "backyard" meetings which are held on private property in the township. Permission is not needed to hold these meetings.

Up to 200 Africans have attended the backyard meetings held on Saturdays or Sundays. They have listened to White and African party speakers, and discus-

sions have often been lively.

At the last meeting, on Saturday, 24th September, the police were again present. Four White uniformed policemen parked their car right across the entrance to the backyard where the meeting was held.

African Security Branch detectives also took notes of the speeches.

Meanwhile, formal permission was sought from the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board to hold regular Sunday morning meetings on No. 3 Square in the township.

The Board's secretary has now written stating that permission is refused. He gives no reasons.

Comment from a party spokesman: "We shall go on holding our meetings."

BOOST FOR DURBAN

DURBAN: The recent visit of Mr. Julius Malie to the Natal Coastal Region of the Liberal Party became a minor assault on public opinion in Natal. Over 400 people heard Mr. Peter Brown, Mr. Alan Paton, Mrs. Guin Ventress and Mr. Malie speak in the Caxton Hall.

Mr. Brown, Mr. Malie and Mr. David Evans spoke at Stanger to an enthusiastic audience of over 400 people. Mr. Malie spoke to a large audience of students at Pietermaritzburg and to a successful lunch hour forum in Durban. He also managed to fit in a visit to Pondoland, one of the most vital areas in South Africa today.

Addressing a gathering of some 400 people at Stanger, Mr. Evans said that the challenge which faced every person in South Africa today was to confront racialism with positive non-racialism. He did not think that there was any talk of non-White people demanding a denial of basic human rights to White people, but he believed that these rights should be extended to non-White people immediately if peaceful change was to be brought about.

"In the African continent," he said, "rapid change is taking place everywhere and South Africa, because of her industrial development and because she

possesses so much outstanding talent, has a great opportunity for leadership. But it is tragic that this dynamic opportunity is being lost through senseless policies or racial intolerance."

The Liberal Party's fortnightly lunch hour forums in Durban have become a regular feature of the city's political life. Speakers so far have been Mr. Patrick Duncan, Dr. Peter Hey and Mr. Julius Malie. At the latest meeting Mr. Terence Beard, one of the lecturers dismissed when the government took over Fort Hare and now Senior Lecturer in Philosophy and Politics at Rhodes University, spoke on "Police in a Democracy". This was listened to with interest by members of the Security Branch. After outlining the origin of police methods, Mr. Beard observed that the South African Police were victims of circumstances, and could not hope to win the confidence or approval of the public while they are called upon to administer unpopular laws.

The Natal Coastal Region of the Liberal Party held an open air meeting at the end of last month in Clermont African Township, near Durban.

About 200 people attended the meeting held on a vacant lot of land near where Africans were baton charged and some killed during the Emergency.

in the taxis. The township of Lady Selborne, particularly, is greatly dependent upon the taxi service. This township has 60,000 inhabitants; there is no train service and the bus service stops in the adjoining Coloured township of Claremont.

All the Non-White drivers, owners and passengers to whom I have spoken are shocked. They can hardly believe that such a recommendation could be made. The new plan will bring hardship all round; the biggest fear is that the fares will go up and drivers are afraid that they will lose passengers and so their jobs.

The Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party has drawn up a petition protesting again the move and calling upon the Mayor to use his influence with the Council so that it rejects the recommendation. The petition was presented on 28th September and the City Council met two days later to decide. In spite of a great deal of fear about their names being available to the authorities for intimidation, well over 1,500 people have signed.

Brutus to Challenge Honey

JOHANNESBURG: The South African Amateur Weightlifting and Body-Building Federation is to challenge the President of the S.A. Olympic Federation, Mr. Reg. Honey, to say why he broke his undertaking that the Olympic team would be selected non-racially.

This was reported in a report by Mr. Dennis Brutus to the Association on work done for international recognition during 1960.

Mr. Brutus drew the attention of the Association to "The attempts at disruption and confusion undertaken by the all-White sporting bodies in an effort to halt the fight of our non-racial bodies for recognition, including the all-White Weightlifting Union. It is necessary that we should at all times guard against these".

contact

The Transkei

THE biggest single fact of to-day's situation in South Africa is the rising tide of rebelliousness in the Transkei.

Contact has kept its readers informed fully, ahead of all other newspapers, and will continue to do so. It has done so because the Transkei is a key area.

By the Government it is claimed as a "model Bantu area", supporting "millions of happy Bantu" whose chief idea of happiness is a view of their beloved Minister, Mr. De Wet Nel.

By the well-informed public it is now being seen as the probable scene of Dr. Verwoerd's first shattering defeat. For if the whole of the Transkei follows the lead set by the Pondo people of Qawukeni (East Pondoland), which is now likely, it will not be possible for the area ever again to be brought back to obedience under the detested system of Bantu Authorities.

And if rural Bantu Authorities fail in the Transkei, they will fail in Zululand and elsewhere. And they will be rejected in advance by the people in the towns, and in places like South West Africa where the Government has not yet dared to introduce them.

Other newspapers have screamed "Civil War" in headlines that are not backed by factual reports. There is no civil war as yet anywhere in South Africa.

But intelligent readers will continue to watch the Transkei for it is likely to be the main focus of opposition during the next few months.

Police Touchstone

IS General Du Plooy in earnest about his police "new deal"?

Some say "yes", and some say "no".

We are sure that the General means what he says. There is one simple way in which he can make known to us, the public, his determination: the bringing back of the numbers which used to be on the uniforms of all policemen.

These were removed soon after the Nationalist take-over from the uniforms of the WHITE MEMBERS OF THE FORCE. They were left on the uniforms of the others.

More than any other factor this removal has produced the Ailows of detested memory. Let General Du Plooy bring back numbers for all policemen. He will reduce police crime, and he will show the public that he is in earnest with his reforms.

No British Sabotage Please!

READERS will have read in the papers that the British soccer leader, Sir Stanley Rous, is to throw all Britain's influence in the soccer world into keeping the South African White Football Association (F.A.S.A.) in the world body (F.I.F.A.).

He plans to do this by getting F.I.F.A. to recognize two South African bodies, a segregated F.A.S.A. and another non-racial body.

Britain's influence in world soccer is great. And the British Government's influence with British soccer is great. We would therefore like the British Government to be under no illusions: ignorant meddling such as Sir Stanley foreshadows will be regarded by the

great mass of South Africans as being sabotage of the freedom struggle here. Non-racial football won a great victory when the world body served notice on the South African Whites that they must abolish segregation, or else . . .

Democrats in South Africa will regard interference, by Britain or by any other country, which might cancel out this victory, as a hostile act.

Congo and Africa: Where we Stand

SOME readers have criticized us for having come out against Mr. Lumumba and in favour of Colonel Mobutu in the Congo. They have asked us why we did this. The reason is simple: it is that in Africa we stand for Africanism, for positive neutrality.

We are against Mr. Lumumba because he has shown that he was not neutral: he called in the Russians to fight for him against the United Nations; and, as documents captured by Colonel Mobutu proved, he was prepared to hand over the mineral wealth of his country to the Russians.

We regarded this as a betrayal of the Congo, and of Africa itself. We resented it just as much as we resented the earlier announcement that Mr. Detwiler, an American financier, had got the Congo government to give him a concession over the Congo wealth for a number of years.

Both were equal betrayals of Africa. Both proposals would have replaced the old imperialism of the Belgians with a new imperialism. Both would have lessened the area of freedom of Africa.

Mr. Lumumba was not able to see this fact, and it is for this reason that we came out against him.

The Referendum

THE referendum was a "Whites-only" affair. What will the main effect of this voting apartheid be? It will be just this: that in future all Non-Whites will have less respect for the future South African state than ever before, since their representatives were deliberately and insultingly excluded when it was set up.

In the letter page will be seen several letters disagreeing with this paper's editorial policy on the republican question. Our policy continues nevertheless to be unchanged.

Hated apartheid will only come to its end when the great crisis in which we are has been greatly sharpened. It is admitted by all anti-Republicans that proclaiming a republic here will sharpen the crisis.

Ourselves

At the time of writing these editorials the Editor had a subpoena served on him ordering him to divulge the names of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party.

At approximately the same time he and the Business Manager, Mr. J. C. A. Daniels, had summonses served on them for having published subversive matter during the emergency.

It will be seen that difficult times lie ahead of your paper.

But Contact will go on appearing—as long as it is possible for the voice of freedom to be heard.

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

All political comment and headlining in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Sam Sly

THIS part of Contact used to be called "fortnightly notes on books and the press", those left of my faithful little flock may recall. Called up again, I'm to rap out sharp, practical stuff about events and politics, with a line here and there on what I always avoided calling "culture" in the past. Or it's back into retirement, like Fair Comment.

IT is nonsense to say that opposition to the Government is "spreading from Pondoland to Tembuland". In Eastern Pondoland, Chief Botha Sigcawu imposed Bantu Authorities on his unwilling people and united them against it. But the Tembus' rejection of the *Gunyaziwe* was shared from the first by their young paramount chief, Sabata Dalindyabo. On 24th September 1957, the whole Tembu nation met at Bumbane, Sabata's Great Place, and unanimously rejected the Act. Powerful B.A.D. pressure later forced Sabata into temporary submission, and his sub-chiefs know that opposition means banishment, as it did to the Joyi brothers, and Messrs. Nkosiyané and Ngolombane in May 1958. Or deposition, as it did to two Qwati headmen in December 1957, over their people's refusal to stand up and salute a "Bantu" Commissioner at a meeting he had called. The Tembus have, in fact, never accepted Bantu Authorities, the Ama-Qwati (who are actually emigrant Pondomise) least of all. What is to be seen in Tembuland are signs that the Tembus' patience with the bullying enforcement of an order they detest is at an end.

MR. DE WET NEL has so far refused to justify the banishments to the families of the four Tembu leaders. On 24th October he will be challenged in the Supreme Court, Cape Town. Bangelizwe Joyi is near Louis Trichardt. Twalimfeni Joyi at Kuruman.

and Jackson Nkosiyané at Voorspoed, Soekmekear. Macgregor Ngolombane went into hiding in Cape Town, but in July this year he made a fatal visit home and was caught by De Wet Nel's men.

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER'S new book *Independence for Africa* (Thames & Hudson) will analyse this continent's many freedom movements, as her *The Politics of Inequality* did South Africa's government and opposition parties. Three new books, born of and about the new world in which Africa is taking shape, are Hugh Seton Watson's *Neither War nor Peace* (Methuen), Emerson's *Empire to Nation* (Harvard) and Brian Crozier's *The Rebels* (Chatto & Windus). They describe those post-war world events from which we who are working to change South Africa can learn deeply.

THE REBELS is largely about the people who have led the great insurrections of the past 15 years. Also about people, and full of lessons, are Chief Awolowo's autobiography (Cambridge) and Mary Benson's life of Tshekedi Khama (Faber).

A YOUNG English girl who became naturalized this month, had her photograph on the front page of a big daily newspaper next morning. Ever since she has been assailed by people who know her. How could she give up her British passport? How could she submit to this Nationalist rigmarole? How could she voluntarily claim the privilege of White first-class citizenship?

ON the defensive, she kept saying, "My husband's South African, why shouldn't I be?", "I want to use my vote to change things here", "In England we have a lot of mumbo-jumbo about the Queen, why shouldn't South Africa have it about a flag and anthem?" But she has been feeling guilty, as if she has harmed South Africa by becoming a citizen of it.

A LIVELY speaker, a crowd of sixty-odd, mostly members, and a few bewildered older men who thought the bus was taking them to a concert, a black and white Liberal Party flag. The speakers stand on a mound in a bushy arena, where recently workmen have dug out clay. The audience is around them in clumps divided by wide pools of rainwater which reflect the blue sky. Some are in tatters, most in Sunday clothes. The speech ends as half the crowd responds to the cry "We are one", "Sibanye". Then the heads turn to watch a line of 60 smart and gaily-postered motor-cars drive along the airport road which separates the meeting place from the location gates. Those who can't read the posters "Reject this Republic" and "Vote No" think this is an entertainer or a sporting team being "convoyed" to town. The thoughts of most, deep in freedom, better wages, votes for all, education, are scarcely disturbed by the one-minute distraction.

Some of the drivers see the little meeting and think it a separatist sect affair, a few notice pink faces in the crowd and wonder about them for a moment. An ex-Liberal recognizes the flag and wonders too. They pass in a hurry: their leader's plane was late, they are still 12 miles from town and the Anti-Republican Rally that awaits him there.

The next speaker begin: "Ladies and gentlemen, our brother has told you about the sufferings of our people in the country. Now I shall tell you how our Party will unite the people against these things." The crowd stirs.

THERE is to be a hopeful new political quarterly called *Phoenix*, from Natal. *Torch* and *New Age* haven't changed, except that *Torch* now recognizes the growth of the Liberal Party. All its post-ban issues have contained sabre-toothed anti-L.P. cracks which deserve better than its three-figure readership. *Phoenix* is due in October, I believe. Edward Roux's *The Rationalist* has progressed from roneo to print. The literary quarterly *Contrast*, to be edited by Jack Cope for its first year, starts in December.

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d. plus 3d. postage

from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

Peter Brown takes the long view

FORT HARE

LESS than a year after Fort Hare passed into the hands of the Bantu Education Department there has come the first public flare-up between the authorities and students.

When the college reopened at the beginning of this year returning students and new applicants had been carefully screened. Anyone thought to have been actively associated with the demonstrations against the new regime, which took place last year, was kept out. The idea was to ensure peace by excluding all "agitators", to give an impression of willing acquiescence in the new system by keeping out of it anyone who might be critical of it. Only the Nationalist Government could be so naive as to think that in Africa, in 1960, peace could be bought in this way.

Well, it could not, and now, in the early days of the second half of the year, the first rumblings of discontent and revolt against the new authority have come to ruffle the smooth surface of artificial calm in which the life of Fort Hare has seemed to lie these last months. Matters were brought to a head by the visit to Fort Hare of a group of leaders of the non-racial National Union of South African Students. The Union has been refused access to the new tribal colleges but Fort Hare, which was previously affiliated to N.U.S.A.S., is still regarded as being so by N.U.S.A.S. In spite of the fact that it had been refused an interview with the Rector, the delegation went on to the college grounds without permission and was finally able to see him.

From this incident seems to have followed the later, mass demonstration of Fort Hare students and finally, after several days of uncertainty, their signing of their acceptance of the rules and regulations under which the college is run.

The authorities at Fort Hare are probably congratulating themselves on having narrowly averted a crisis. Let us be quite clear. That is all that they have done. They have not won a vic-

tory. They have narrowly averted a crisis. And, if my information is correct, they did so by taking two steps. They flooded the village of Alice, on the outskirts of which Fort Hare stands, with armed police; and they told students that if they did not like Fort Hare and Government's policy, they could go elsewhere. As if there was anywhere they could go, when the open universities are now closed to them and the other "tribal" colleges will not have them. The choice before the students was clear. They either signed the document with which the Fort Hare authorities presented them, or they signed the death warrant of their university careers.

So the artificial air has returned to Fort Hare, brought back by a show of military force and by blackmail. It is now to be reinforced by a new and stringent code of regulations for the college which will make it impossible for any student to do anything of importance without first obtaining the sanction of the Rector. How long can things go on this way?

It is an indication of the barrenness of Nationalist policy that the government should think it can solve Fort Hare's problems by making stricter regulations. It is a further indication of this barrenness that it is increasing the control over press reports from the Transkei, in an attempt to hide the fact that resistance to Bantu Authorities is growing.

Censorship will not bring resistance in the Transkei to an end. The unwilling signing of a document will not bring discontent at Fort Hare to an end. All it will do is increase resentment. Students are students whether they are in Fort Hare or Tokio or Budapest. You cannot muzzle them indefinitely. The uneasy peace may be restored at Fort Hare but it will not last until students can conduct their affairs without unreasonable restraint, until they can affiliate to N.U.S.A.S. if they wish to, and until Fort Hare, and every other university in South Africa is open to any student who may wish to attend it.

BACK IN THE STRUGGLE



Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, addressing a meeting held by the Parktown North branch of the Liberal Party in the Vrede Hall on Monday, 26th September, to present the Party's "Prison Graduates" to the public. Other ex-detainees on the platform are (l. to r.): Colyn van Reenen (Pretoria Committee member), John Brink (Pretoria Chairman), Jock Isacowitz, and Ernest Wentzel (Transvaal Hon. Secretary). Mrs. Coty Ingram, who took the chair, apologized for the absence of the other ex-detainees who had found it impossible to attend, and conveyed messages of good wishes from them. Five hundred people in the audience gave the "Prison Graduates" an enthusiastic welcome.

In his speech Mr. Wentzel said: "We Liberals oppose the bogus mythology of these 'isms'—communism, nationalism Black and White—all these ideologies which make a man less than he should be. Liberalism proudly proclaims the inherent dignity and worth of all men. Our policy asserts that apartheid is a barrier between South Africa and the spiritual and material riches which will come if the people of this country are encouraged to develop to the fullest to which they are able.

"I fight apartheid not because I hate my White fellow-countrymen but because I love them and fear for our future. Liberalism is a policy of love in a land of hate, of peace in a land of fear, a policy of hope in a land of despair."

SPOTLIGHT ON VRYHEID

. by Ngifuna Inkululeko

FREEDOM! Uhuru! that magical and thrilling cry which echoes all over awakening Africa—this is the meaning of the word *vryheid*.

The question arises whether in apartheid-ridden South Africa a town founded in and for freedom would be anywhere near this ideal. This article is thus a spotlight on Vryheid, a fast-growing town of 12,200 people, nestling at the foot of Lancaster Hill in coal-producing Northern Natal, about 60 miles east of the Johannesburg-Durban main road.

HISTORY

Vryheid was founded in 1884 as the capital of the New Republic with Lucas Meyer as first President. Thus last year it celebrated its 75th anniversary. In 1888 Vryheid was incorporated into the Transvaal, then the South African Republic, and in 1900 was ceded to Natal.

This town is linked with the shedding of blood. Here parties of warring Zulus fought many a fierce battle in the days of Cetshwayo and Dinizulu. Not far away is a battle-field where Lucas Meyer fought a Zulu army in 1884. About 25 miles to the west is the scene of the well-known Battle of Blood River of 1838. Dingaan had his base near Babanango, about 40 miles south of Vryheid. Again in the south is a monument built in memory of the Prince Imperial of France who was killed during the Zulu War of 1879.

It does not take the observant visitor a long time to discover that this town

is far from its ideal of freedom. Its politics are those of the platteland. ("The Zulus are a traditionally respectful people," remarked one happy man.) Small wonder then that Vryheid should be one of the only two Nationalist seats—the other being Newcastle—in U.P.-dominated Natal. Here there is no organization engaged in the fight for true democracy and justice. Why? The Liberal Party had better ask itself.

INJUSTICE AND RACIALISM

The absence of organizations like this one has resulted in injustices being perpetrated without causing any murmur of protest. A few notable examples:

- During the recent outbreak of anti-Semitism in this country, somebody splashed in big white paint a swastika on a daily-used road in town. While in other places similar incidents evoked protests, nobody worried here.
- Even the Churches have succumbed to apartheid. In one and the same plot of land the Anglicans have two churches, one for the Whites, the other for the non-Whites. Even the Roman Catholic church of St. Thomas More has two distinctly separate wings for seating non-Whites and Whites. Professedly Christian Vryheid finds nothing unchristian in this practice.

- The town boasts of a Carnegie library with a free book-lending system. But not everybody has access to it. Did Andrew Carnegie, philanthropist that he was, bequeath his wealth to the services of apartheid? Typical of Vryheid, nobody has ever bothered about this matter.

- In education the Government has had a free hand. Two institutions prominent in African education are about to close down. They are the Evangelical Teachers' Training College and the Catholic college of St. Joseph's at Inkamana.

- There is another case of Verwoerdism gone mad. A young African graduate of Pius XII University College in Basutoland has been told by the Secretary for Bantu Education that the Government is not prepared to pay him because he obtained his professional qualifications (the U.E.D.) outside the Union. The amazing thing is that Pius XII College is under the University of South Africa. His university training is therefore a Union one.

- To crown it all, there is the removal of Besterspruit, a sprawling African township, situated east of Vryheid near the main road to Nongoma. For a little over 40 years this once marshy area has been the home of about 2,000 people—the landowners enjoying freehold rights. Now the axe is about to fall. A high-ranking

official in the Bantu Affairs Dept. has said in a letter:

"... it is the intention of the Department to remove the Bantu landowners and tenants in Vryheid East (Besterspruit) to a rural village, Mondlo, in the district Nqutu."

Mondlo is about 25 miles south-west of Vryheid. Only the B.A.D. knows the crime committed by the people of Besterspruit.

SECRECY

An aura of secrecy and mystery covers this removal. The Africans when interviewed are reluctant to talk; those who do give guarded answers. ("We have been threatened with banishment," one of them said.) The B.A.D. is taking no chances with "agitators", and seems to be against the idea of lawyers helping the people of Besterspruit. The same official in a letter to a lawyer said that the removal was a "matter of purely administrative concern... not subject to the rules governing judicial procedure...."

Why do the people of Besterspruit not stand up for their rights? The answer is that they have no leaders to awaken them. The few enlightened ones among them are teachers, clerks in Government offices, members of Advisory boards and school boards. The common people are thus uninformed, unorganized. The removal goes on unchecked.

Dr. Verwoerd no doubt holds Vryheid dear to his heart. He never had it so good as here.

Monckton Report May Break Federation

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: The graph of anxiety among Whites is ascending as 11th October, Monckton Report publication day, nears. Whites are anxiously awaiting an opportunity to check up on the Monckton recommendations as until that is done they are unable to think constructively about the Federation's future.

Meanwhile the predominantly pro-Welensky press here is busy preparing Welensky's ground through the obviously U.F.P.-inspired lead stories. Undoubtedly the Monckton recommendations represent the biggest ever Welensky setback

Banda and Kenneth Kaunda will be prepared to negotiate on the basis of the report. It would appear that Dr. Banda and Kaunda would achieve more by attending the talks rather than boycotting them. Their absence might give more opportunity to Welensky and the Southern Rhodesian Whites to make a come-back.

SHOW-DOWN

The real show-down is expected from Southern Rhodesian Whites, who are likely to urge the immediate break-up of the Federation to avoid African influence from the northern territories. This in itself is an unexpected and interesting development, as when Welensky earlier insisted that the Monckton Commission should under no circumstances recommend



KAUNDA

and will mean a tremendous come-down for him. Welensky will fight back. Referring to the Report he said, "There will be no sell-out to unreality" at the Federal Review. Though still tough, he no longer brags as he did two years ago, promising his White electorate dominion status.

URGING SIR ROY

The pro-Welensky press is urging Sir Roy to ignore the report, particularly the recommendation suggesting secession after a further five-year trial period as a loose confederation.

It is argued that the Commission had not the right to recommend secession.

Secession apart, the Commission, it is believed, recommends

- that most ministries and taxation revert to territorial control, leaving defence, external and certain economic affairs under federal control;
- that "one-man-one-vote" be progressively introduced in all territories;
- that Northern Rhodesia be given an African majority in the legislature, or at least an equal number of White and African seats;
- that the Federal parliament hold alternative sessions at Salisbury, Lusaka and Zomba;
- that territorial governments be able to veto any unwelcome federal enactments;
- that copper-rich Northern Rhodesia assist Nyasaland financially. What is yet unknown is whether Dr.



BANDA

secession, he had in mind only African nationalist demands from the northern territories. It had not occurred to him that the recommendations might be unfavourable enough for Southern Rhodesia to be induced to secede.

If Sir Roy's beloved "Federal ship of state" flounders, it will be because he did not adjust the sails to accommodate the wind of change. Welensky, in the Federation's seven-year trial period, has been unable to gain African confidence as the upholder of the Federation's much talked-about "partnership". He has been too much a slave to his electorate.

the intimidation being employed by the press of the country.

"For many years," Mr. Temple said, "I resisted the idea of 'one man, one vote'. I was afraid of it. But now I am afraid of the continuance in this country at this time of a minority rule based on brute force."

In 1957 Mr. Temple resigned from the chairmanship of the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia in order to lead the multi-racial Constitution Party founded by the late Dr. Alexander Scott.

Little Money for African Schools



Children but not enough classrooms! A scene at the Khama Memorial School, Serowe, Bechuanaland Protectorate.

In 1957 an average of £6.3 was spent on each Bechuana child's education, and £157 on each White child's education. As a result the general level of education for Bechuana is very low. Moeng College, built at such cost by the people under the leadership of the late Chief Tshekedi Khama, only obtains one or two matriculation passes each year, and there is only one African graduate in the government service.

Will Defy Group Areas

SATYAGRAHA, or Gandhian passive resistance, has appeared in a new quarter in South Africa, according to a report in *The Graphic*, a Natal weekly.

The Yogananda Meditation Group of Pietermaritzburg, a branch of the Self-Realization Fellowship of the United States of America, is to defy a ruling of the Natal Group Areas Board, and will "proceed with the addition" to one of its buildings "as contemplated, and in accordance with the plans approved and to conduct its services in the building".

This decision was conveyed to the Minister of the Interior in a letter stating that "it would be unworthy of the Yogananda movement were we to submit meekly to the arbitrary, unreasonable and unfair judgment of the Group Areas Board".

The leader of the movement, Mr. S. R. R. Naidoo, son of the well-known leader, Mr. S. R. Naidoo, stated that the Group would continue to conduct its services whether it obtained the permission of the Minister or not, and that it was resolved to face the consequences, including possible prosecution.

The Self-Realization Fellowship in America was founded in 1920 by Paramhansa Yogananda. He went to America to fulfil a specific mission, that of spreading to the West a knowledge of Yoga techniques. The fellowship is a world-wide spiritual organization and has a membership of over 3 million all over the world including a very large number of Europeans.

Yogananda dedicated his life to the cause of uniting the world's religions in greater understanding and harmony. He taught that no matter what form it takes, love of God is sacred and deserves reverence. Instead of opposing one another because of differences that are merely superficial, the followers of the world's religions should unite in combating the real enemy, ignorance of God, with its evil companions of greed and war.

Inspired by the teachings of this great saint, Mr. Naidoo has been instrumental in establishing the Pietermaritzburg branch.

Police threaten "Contact"-man

From JOHN C. TAKURAH

BULAWAYO: A member of the British South Africa Police this week used threatening words against a seller of *Contact* at the corner of Eighth Avenue and Main Street, Bulawayo.

The seller told me that the policeman ordered him not to sell *Contact* again. They (the police force) did not want to see a certain overseas newspaper, also displayed on the pavement near the Main Post Office, Bulawayo. "If this paper (*Contact*) and the other one are found on the street to-morrow," the policeman said, "you will be arrested."

The seller told me that no reason for the threat had been given. "He just said that I would be arrested if the papers (*Contact* especially) were found on the street again the following day," said the seller.

400 Words Please

A letter from Mr. T. E. Gaute of Johannesburg, in reply to Mr. Hendrickse's letter of 27th August, is too long to be published in full, and would lose its line of argument if cut. If Mr. Gaute can reduce his reply to about 400 words, we will be pleased to publish it.—Editor.

NON-RACIAL U.N.I.P.

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: The first White recruit has joined Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party. He is the Rev. Merfyn Temple (40), one of three brothers who are all Methodist missionaries in Northern Rhodesia.

He made an impassioned speech to a crowd of some 4,000 at Kamwala, Lusaka, on 17th September. He explained that U.N.I.P. had three principles: adult suffrage, freedom and non-violence. He spoke strongly against

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CAPE TOWN

African Students don't like Russia

DURING the past fortnight voices from a new quarter have accused the soviet authorities of racialism and dictatorship—the Executive Committee of the African Students' Union in the U.S.S.R.

At a press conference in West Germany Mr. Theophilus Okonkwo, of Nigeria, Secretary, released the text of his committee's "open letter to all African governments". He claimed that African students in the Soviet Union are the victims of "constant discrimination, threats, restrictions of our freedom, and even brutality".

The open letter begins:

IN THE NAME OF ALL LOYAL AFRICANS, the Executive Committee of the African Students' Union in Moscow wishes respectfully to call the attention of all African governments to the deceptions, the threats, the pressures, the brutality and the discrimination with which the soviet administrators and strategists have so often handled African and other foreign students in the U.S.S.R. We further wish to stress the great danger communism is to true Africanism. We hate colonialism and racial discrimination in any form, wherever it may appear. **New and dangerous forms of colonialism and discrimination are being fostered by the communist system and by soviet strategists and a grave threat to the future of Africa.** This new colonialism is being advanced subtly by deceitful communist propaganda and subversion and unsightly by communist-caused violence and efforts to cause chaos in Africa. For Soviet leaders to pose before the world as "champions" of "oppressed Africa" while they oppress millions in their own country and their satellites is hypocrisy at its worst.

The decision to present the case against communism to African and world opinion was taken in secret executive session in Moscow by representatives from Algeria, the Cameroons, the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, the Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, the U.A.R., and Uganda; mem-

bers of the Executive Committee were given the duty of presenting the case when they got out of the Soviet Union.

Our accusations are directed against the communist rulers, not against the friendly Russian people we met and some of whom we came to love, not against the mother of four who ran out in the streets to welcome African students on a controlled tour and in parting said: "Tell your people in Africa that there are more people here to be liberated than in Africa."

Various cases of oppression and deceitful behaviour were instanced, then the letter continued: On arrival, many of us were lavishly welcomed and feted, as a result of which some of us were impressed and made statements and broadcasts favourable to the Soviet Union that we came to rue. Initially a number of us, embittered by the ignoble aspects of colonial rule, had looked upon communism, before we knew it face to face, as an panacea for all our ills. But the scales gradually fell from our eyes. We saw how the attitudes of the soviet administration changed towards us if we said "no" to anything, or suggested that everything in the land of Marxism-Leninism was not perfect.

The height of discrimination was reached when the soviet authorities announced their "Friendship University" plans. To build a separate university for Africans, Asiatics, and Latin Americans is an insult to these people; it violates the traditional concept of a university as an open institution for learning, irrespective of race, religion or origin. We not only see this as an attempt to segregate these students and offer them lower standards of education, but we also see in this a further attempt to insulate soviet people from contact with foreigners. We see in this proposal a propaganda stunt which has ignored the opinion of African leaders. Africans want universities in their own lands—universities with African traditions and African outlook.

We consider it our duty to warn

DURBAN ANTI-PASS MEETING



Part of the crowd that filled the Gandhi Hall, Durban, on 25th September, at the launching of the new anti-pass drive which started off with a pledge between all mothers, of all races, to light against imposition of passes for women which comes into effect on 1st December this year. At the meeting held in the Gandhi Hall, speakers resolved to send a memorandum to the Mayor of Durban expressing their abhorrence of the pass system. Dr. Monty Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress said: "It is wrong to preach racialism. It is even more so to practise hatred, and the Government is daily spewing hate. They are the ones who should have been jailed for the emergency." Mr. Mduduzi George Max Mbele, former organizing secretary of the Natal branch of the banned A.N.C., said: "Political circumstances force me to speak today as a guest-speaker to my people. But the time has come for the dignity of man to be recognized—and this cannot be done by making people carry passes." There was a minute's silence to mark the death of the Sharpeville victims. A hymn was later sung. The five plain-clothed Security Branch men present joined with mocking fervour in the singing.

African leadership against communism and its dangers. Communism is subtly trying to penetrate Africa; the infiltration is going on vigorously, and it must be countered now. It must be admitted that for long Africa had few encounters with the communists—it is only natural therefore that before we deal with them we must study their history, know their methods, read their language, and be prepared to match them.

One thing is clear—we do not want communism in Africa; we cannot be loyal to any organization that would pervert Africanism. We require the sup-

port of peoples of goodwill everywhere in our struggle for freedom, for respect and for happiness. We want support for the justness of our cause, however, and not in exchange for subservience. We do not want Korea, Vietnam, Indo-China, and other division lines in Africa. We want to constitute a zone of our own influence and culture. We cannot compromise with colonialism or imperialism in any way or form, and we cannot accept force, deceit, subversion, and terrorism as means of spreading ideologies. We reaffirm our faith in African leadership and in the African way of life.

Dogma Mars Soviet Africa Studies

From MARY HOLDSWORTH

OXFORD: African affairs have swept their way into world headlines in the last three years; Soviet affairs are never far from the headlines. When, as now, the two converge, this intermingling is baffling in its complexity and unpredictable in its potentialities.

LENINGRAD

African studies in the Soviet Union are concentrated in Moscow and Leningrad. Each centre has fairly marked individual features. Leningrad, largely for historical reasons, specialises in language and early historical (i.e. pre-colonial) studies, and in art, traditional literature, and material culture. The leading personality is Professor D. A. Olderogge, an Arabist and Hausa scholar. Professor Olderogge guides a group of post-graduate students; competence in two languages spoken on the African continent is demanded from its members. Amharic, Hausa and Swahili, as well as Arabic, can be taken as undergraduate courses in the University of Leningrad, and a language of the southern Bantu group will be added academic traditions and the new.

MOSCOW

In Moscow, African studies are rooted less in the university and more in the Academy of Sciences. The latter is the corporate body whose members pursue, direct and develop post-graduate study. The Academy of Sciences was moved to Moscow from Leningrad in 1934 during the ideological purges of intel-

lectuals and during the build-up of Marxism-Leninism as the framework of all intellectual activity; this move marked a watershed between the old academic traditions and the new.

The majority of soviet Africanists based on Moscow now have their headquarters there. The director, Dr. I. I. Potekhin, is an historian and sociologist, who was formerly deputy head of the African section of the Institute of Ethnography. He first began writing on Africa in the mid-thirties.

African studies in Moscow concentrate on contemporary history, on economics, and on politics. At present studies of emergent nationalism dominate all three.

SOME QUESTIONS

Several questions can be usefully put: First, are Soviet African studies simply dictated by the demands of the cold war and are they a mere extension of it? Secondly, how relevant or hampering is the framework of Marxism-Leninism to African political and sociological studies? Thirdly, what of the press and public relations organizations?

The work that appears varies immensely both in a straightforward

qualitative sense, and in the degree to which it is committed to cold war objectives. Far, far too much of it is so committed, and when reading what seems at first a serious study, one is all too often jerked back into realising that it is political pamphlet.

In all this type of writing the uppermost objective is the downfall of N.A.T.O., or "western" or "imperialist" powers, rather than the pursuit of knowledge to understand the political, economic and intellectual development of the emergent African states.

This brings us to our second question: how relevant or hampering is Marxism-Leninism to African studies? Judging from the experience of the congress, the answer is "very hampering", particularly when carried to extremes. In considering chieftainship, Marxism-Leninism prescribes that the chief's rights and obligations are due entirely to his economic predominance. In looking at the transfer of power, the theory states that imperialism breaks up through its own inner contradictions, and the internecine conflict of the imperialist powers. Thus, there can be no evolution from an empire into a commonwealth or into a free association of sovereign states. Theory perpetually comes between the researcher's living material and his apprehension of it.

NAUSEATING PRESS

Unfortunately the only answer one can give to the question concerning the press and public relations organizations is that never once has the soviet press

had anything moderate, constructive or perspicacious to say about African matters. It is true that on the occasion of each independence day, *Pravda* carries a write-up of the country concerned, with a map and information on ecology and ethnography, but beyond that, cold war considerations take over.

And yet soviet students could contribute to African studies. Their training in the importance of language both for everyday use and as a key to oral and written literature would be useful

Mary Holdsworth is a leading expert on soviet African studies. She works at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford, England. She attended the 25th World Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August, and reports on what she found there.

in the new techniques of recording African history. Their application of international nutrition standards to labour problems on the African continent and the experience of the U.S.S.R. in mass literacy and technical education in the Union's underdeveloped territories would hasten the break-up of seemingly intractable problems. Their almost innate sense that man does not live by bread alone would find an answering echo. But these are hopes for the future, to set against the sordid reality of Mr. Khrushchev's U.N. speech.



Potekhin

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

One-man-one-vote

SIR.—In the article on the Congo leader "What is going to happen?" (*Contact*, 30th July), it is stated, "To pacify the tribally-based political parties that took all but 35 seats in the 137-strong Lower House, Lumumba had to appoint a cabinet of 35 members. This made swift and effective rule in a crisis quite impossible". This is the result of universal adult suffrage and has a lesson for us in South Africa.

What we need is a strong and capable Government committed to a policy of non-racialism and willing and able to carry out this policy with great drive and initiative to the benefit of all South Africans. It would be up to such a government to prove that non-racialism can work and to educate people of all races to think and act non-racially.

Until this had been done it would be fatal to introduce universal adult suffrage as such a step would almost certainly produce an inefficient government which could do great harm to our country and which would not be either non-racial or liberal.

REALIST,
Kenilworth, Cape.

Appeal

SIR.—As President of the Society for the Advancement of African People, I appeal to your readers and to other organizations.

We are badly in need of their help and support. The purpose of our organization is to improve and develop the culture and education of our African people.

As this newly established society is in Keetmanshoop, we raise our voice to all African states, to the United States and United Kingdom and other organizations to help us with financial donations so that we can continue our educational work. Our people are hungry for education but the funds are lacking.

We trust that the help of sympathetic people will put us in a stronger position to show our people and the world what our intentions are. We are not a political organization, but purely educational.

Please send your donations to the President, S.A.A.P., P.O. Box 437, Keetmanshoop, South West Africa.

Information about our society will be gladly supplied to anyone who would like it.

KENAOJAO MUSIRIKA,
P.O. Box 437,
Keetmanshoop.



Action Group

SIR.—Since writing an article on Nigeria's independence, in the last issue of *Contact*, the results of elections in Nigeria's Western Province have been declared. I now see that I have done a grave injustice to Chief Awolowo's and Chief S. L. Akintola's, Action Group.

Before the Western region elections, I forecast that the Action Group was losing ground, but the election results surprised me, and most other journalists, who expected successes from Dr. Azikiwe's N.C.N.C.

The Action group was returned as government of the region for the third consecutive time, and this time with an increased majority. It won 79 seats to the 33 seats of the N.C.N.C. Particularly significant were the gains of the party in the Mid-West areas which had long been N.C.N.C. strongholds. Chief

Akintola, Premier of the Western Region, claims that his party victory was based on the solid achievement of his Action group government, particularly in the fields of education and development.

From a Federal point of view, the election result means that all Nigeria's main parties are undisputed masters of their own regions. The Action group will still be the smallest party in the Federal legislature and will provide the opposition in Independent Nigeria.

ALAN RAKE,
Johannesburg.

"Yes" or "No" to Republic?

SIR.—Mr. Marquard omitted to answer the question which was the crux of my letter, namely what effect a "No" victory at the referendum will have on our country's future development.

Will it improve or worsen Afrikaner/British South African relations, or assist the poor?

Does it really matter what game the Nationalists play, or by what rules, or what they trumpet abroad?

Who are the "Noes"? The U.P. on their own admission are marking time on 1936, and the Progressives have so far done no better than tell the patient that the physician has started medical school.

These slow motion tactics in 1960 do not inspire confidence in the ability of the electorate as at present arranged (which a "No" victory will do nothing to alter) to work out their own or the country's salvation.

We are unanimous in rejecting violence, which leaves only pressure, external pressure, and what is more likely to provoke it than the proclamation of a South African Republic?

P. M. HARKER,
"Kings Lynn",
Boyes Drive, Muizenberg.

SIR.—However one might admire the touch of defiance with which you reply "Hoera" to the current shout "Die Republiek Kom", the wisdom of your tacit support is highly questionable.

As I see it, the gravest danger lies in allowing the Nationalists to entrench themselves in such a way that they cannot be removed peacefully and constitutionally. Success in the referendum will accelerate rather than retard their undemocratic flight from progress.

Is this a time to play clever politics and give votes to the wrong side for some tenuous and uncertain advantage? Remember that it was through the "clever" tactical support of a very hostile party that the Nazis were able to gain mastery over Germany.

WALTER SAUNDERS,
King's School,
Nottingham Road.

SIR.—In your article, "The Republic and Us" (10th September), you state that the article was intended to show where *Contact* stands on the republican issue. I find your conclusions a little surprising.

It seems that you have left out of your discussions one major factor of vital importance in assessing a stand on this issue. I refer to the fact that the Government and the world at large can, and will, interpret a vic-

Questions

SIR.—Being in no wise responsible for *New Age, Liberation, Fighting Talk* or the Congress of Democrats, I would not care to answer any of the questions Mr. Hendrickse (*Contact*, 27th August) poses them. Let the editors of the publications concerned or the officials of the Congress of Democrats themselves answer Mr. Hendrickse, should they consider it necessary.

However, I would like to ask Mr. Hendrickse a few questions.

1. How many Chinese or Russian colonies are there in Africa?
2. How many Chinese or Russian colonies have there ever been in Africa?
3. How many Chinese or Russian soldiers are stationed on African territory?
4. What Chinese or Russian investments are there in Africa?
5. Are there any strings or conditions attached to Chinese or Russian aid to Africa?

These questions are of great interest to the people of Africa and I await Mr. Hendrickse's answer eagerly.

BASHI ZWANE,
Swartklippies.

tory in the referendum as a vote of support for apartheid.

To vote "Yes" in this referendum must put the voter in the position of supporting the Government, an act which is unthinkable for any opponent of apartheid.

The un-enfranchised people of our country are entitled to believe that those Whites who vote against the republic are opposed to the policies of the Government. Any person who claims to support the struggle for equal rights for all, must take this into consideration.

Segregated or not, insulting to the un-enfranchised, the referendum can be turned into a resounding blow against apartheid if all opponents of apartheid, who are eligible, vote "No".

DENNIS T. GOLDBERG,
68 Garfield Road,
Claremont, Cape.

SIR.—I generally read *Contact* with admiration for its courage and interest in its "not in the headlines" news, but not this week! For I am shocked at its attitude towards the proposed referendum.

Of course the all-White referendum is unfair. So is every parliamentary election in this country; but we don't therefore boycott the elections or vote Nationalist, preferring the more practical policy of voting for whatever Party is most opposed to race discrimination.

Contact is in favour of a republic on the grounds that it would help to heal the wound inflicted on the Afrikaner mind by the Boer War. But why should it? The Nationalist Party has already a strangle-hold on the country, but what has it done to encourage concord between Afrikaner and English?

As for the non-Whites, it is hardly likely that any of their wounds will be healed by giving increased power to their oppressors!

Your "give Verwoerd more rope and he'll hang himself" argument is superficially plausible but actually most dangerous. Would an isolated republic really be forced in the end to give up apartheid? I doubt it.

MARJORIE FLEMING,
4 Barry Road,
Wembley, Pietermaritzburg.

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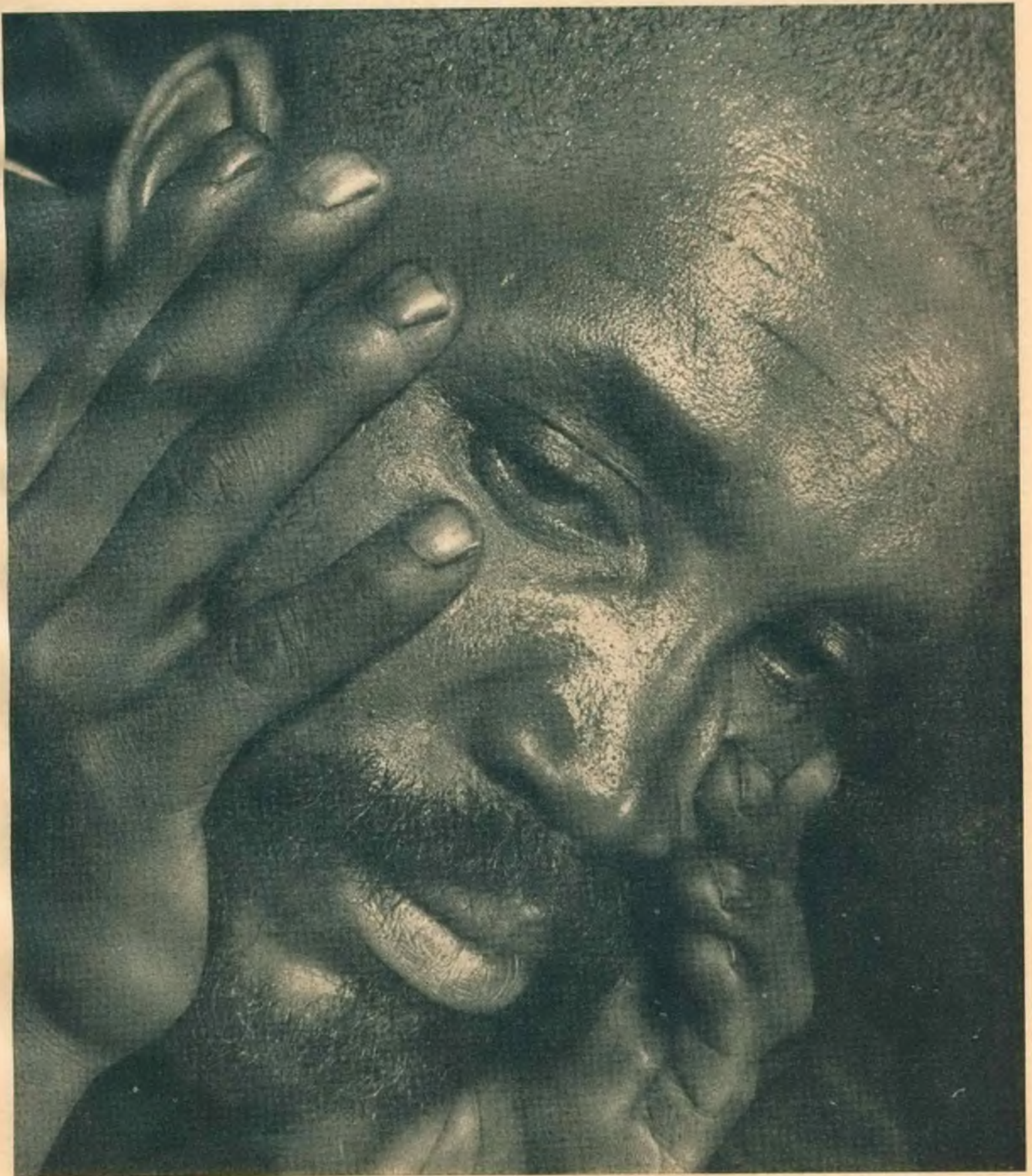
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Vol. 3 No. 21

**NEW MEASURES
AGAINST REAL
OPPOSITION
IN S. AFRICA?**

—SEE PAGE 2



Southern Africa 1960—Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga, Ngquza Hill, Bulawayo, Harare

Government to Strike Hard at real Opponents

THE government is very pleased with itself at having won the referendum, and is busy "extending the hand of friendship" to its parliamentary opponents. Dr. Verwoerd has promised that "nobody has any reason to fear political suppression", and Mr. de Wet Nel has said that women's passes will not be compulsory until next year.

Dr. Verwoerd speaks of "conciliation" and "unity" between the White groups, as if that were the only problem facing the country.

He obviously wants to keep con-

ment the government is to complete legislation which will kill press freedom in South Africa.

CENSORSHIP

The Publications and Entertainments Act, as it is euphemistically called, will make it compulsory for all books and periodicals to be submitted for censorship before they can be printed.

This, together with intimidation of journalists, as in the case of the editor of the *Evening Post*, could effectively destroy the freedom the press still has to publish news and comment highly critical of the government.

PRISON WITHOUT TRIAL

Contact has received information that the government is to introduce a Bill during the next session of parliament which will make it possible for the Minister of Justice to imprison the government's real political opponents without trial for as long as the Minister pleases.

As the law stands at the moment, the government can only detain people without trial during a state of emergency, that is, under the Public Safety Act.

The new law will make it unnecessary for the government to declare a state of emergency when it wants to keep in prison without trial those whom it regards as politically dangerous.

Although it will probably be given a nice name, the new law will be in effect a Preventive Detention Act.

Detention will be secret and indefinite.

- Persons will be removed from their homes to secret places
- No one will be allowed to know that the person has been removed
- it will be a serious crime, carrying severe penalties for any person or newspaper to reveal that a person has been put in detention
- no one will know where the person has been taken: he will be moved in secret from one part of the country to another so that no one will be able to establish his whereabouts

DR. CAREL DE WET, Nationalist Party M.P. for Vanderbijl Park, told students at a meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday that anybody who "threatened" equality between the White and the Black man in South Africa would not be wanted in a republic.

—Cape Times, 30th September, 1960.

- he will be kept in detention for as long as the government pleases
- he will have no contact with the outside world
- he will have no access to the courts.

With both the censorship law, and the preventive detention act, the government will have as much power as it had under the emergency regulations, and will be able to exercise it without the embarrassment of having to declare a state of emergency.

Women, Children Sleep on Durban's Pavements

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: For the past few weeks several African women and little children have been found huddled together sleeping on the street pavements in the heart of Durban.

In spite of police threats they have continued camping out at night: some women were even taken into police custody and later released. Lack of accommodation has been responsible for this state of affairs.

Most of the women have been squatting out on the pavements in Carlisle Street, Dartnell Crescent, Beatrice Street and Point. Conditions in these areas have deteriorated considerably: washing is done in the gutters and filth has been accumulating daily. No attention seems to have been paid by the City Council.

The only African Women's Hostel in Durban, situated in Carlisle Street, has closed its doors to these women follow-

ing the insistence of authorities that only those in employment can qualify for a bed. Another cause of the pavement squatting is the increase in the nightly rate from 2d. to 6d. for adults and 1d. for a child who was previously allowed in free.

Another cause has been the demolition of Cato Manor where most African women normally found accommodation. Now that the people from here have been moved to Kwa Mashu (20 miles away from Durban) visiting Africans have no choice but to seek shelter at the Hostel which has been overcrowded for some time.

Dr. A. B. Taylor, Superintendent of the McCord Zulu Hospital, stated early this week that the position was being investigated. He has also taken up the matter with the Municipal Department of Bantu Affairs. Dr. Taylor agreed that the position was becoming worse and felt that this was as a result of the demolition of shacks in Cato Manor.

Rev. Canon Zulu of St. Faith's Mission has investigated several cases and given financial assistance. In an interview he stated that most of the women were unable to find employment and were living from hand-to-mouth.

One of the women, Mrs. Gladys Nhlatswayo, arrived in Durban all the way from Port Shepstone with three children aged from 1 year to 4. With accommodation at the hostel out of the question, she squatted on the pavement with her three children near the hostel for over two weeks. Her husband had disappeared and she was forced to come into Durban to find employment. During the day she was at times able to find odd jobs like washing clothes in the nearby Indian flats while her children remained unattended on the pavement.

Although the City Council is aware of the plight of these African women, there is little that it could do, for the Government remains unbending in its attitude that the provision of hostel accommodation for African women in urban areas is contrary to its policy which is aimed at preventing the influx of African women into towns.

"Contact"—man in Cambridge



Jonathan Paton, son of Alan Paton, is now a student at Cambridge University, England. He is also a "Contact" agent, and is seen here selling the paper on the street. His home-made poster reads, "The horrors of apartheid revealed for only 6d."

KHOTSO LIVES "IN PEACE"

DURBAN: With tension mounting and turbulent tribesmen striving for freedom all around Pondoland one man seems to be "content and living in peace": he is millionaire medicineman Khotso Sethunsa, aged 77, of Lusikisiki.

He has every reason to claim that he is content with his lot. Reputedly worth close to £1-million from his lucrative herbalists' trade and training school for medicinemen, Khotso has managed to win himself friends within the Government and now throws "feasts" at the slightest provocation. He recently announced that he would slaughter six cattle to celebrate Kruger Day. It was expected that Bantustan "Emperor", J. Hans Abraham, and B.A.D. Chief, Mr. de Wet Nel, would attend together with other officials from the Government. It was also rumoured that even the elusive Botha Sigcawu would attend. None of them did.

The festivities were boycotted by the people: the Ministers and other V.I.P.s invited feared for their lives for this was on the eve of the publication of the findings of the Commission in Inquiry into Pondoland.

Apart from two Whites—both of them Security Branch men—a dozen or so informers and Government supporters, and his corps of hangers-on, Khotso Sethunsa was alone with his large carcasses, his eight wives, and the £400 lavatory built on his farm at his expense exclusively for Whites.

APOLOGY

Contact wishes to apologize to Mr. Z. S. Sonkosi for any inconvenience he has been caused by the report in the issue of 24th September, 1960.

Contact deeply regrets having published the report in question because it appears that the allegations contained in it are untrue.

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Soccer Goes Non-racial

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: South African sport took a big step forward last week when the 42,000-strong South African Soccer Federation decided at its biennial meeting in Durban completely to integrate soccer among its three affiliated units—the national Indian, Coloured and African associations. The meeting accepted in principle full integration and called for the abolition of all the racial units.

Following this decision, the biennial competitions for the £500 A. I. Kajee Cup will now be competed for on an inter-provincial non-racial basis whereas in the past the practice was to compete on a racial basis on the national level. The South African Indian, Coloured and African Associations will make preparations to disband and will be replaced on the membership of the South African Soccer Federation by provincial non-racial and completely integrated bodies. The resolutions taken at this meeting are expected to be put into operation

immediately after the special general meeting of the Federation in July 1961.

According to an official of the federation the next federation series for the A. I. Kajee Cup are due to be held in 1962 and will be contested on the non-segregated provincial basis with Indians, Africans and Coloureds playing as one.

The South African Soccer Federation also decided to follow the present trend in South Africa and has accepted in principle the introduction of professional soccer. The Executive was authorized to work out the details and also amend its constitution to embrace professional soccer alongside amateurism.

Officials, who came from all parts of South Africa for the two-day meeting, voted last year's officials back into office for a further term. Mr. S. L. Singh (President), Mr. George Singh (Secretary) and Mr. Charles M. Pillay (Treasurer) incidentally all belong to the Indian group. This was quite unintentional. Vice-Presidents of the Federation are Messrs. A. Christopher, R. Ngecho and E. C. Rooks.

OPPOSITION SPREADS TO GCALEKALAND

Gcalekaland, home of the true Xhosa tribe, is joining Eastern Pondoland and parts of Tembuland in the steady process of uniting the Transkei's millions against the Government. At the same time the Government is incongruously preparing a "typical Bantu" ceremony in this area as part of its Bantustan propaganda. *Contact* reports give a picture of

- disillusion with Bantu Authorities in those areas of Gcalekaland where the people were prepared to try the system at first;
- solid opposition to the Rehabilitation Scheme, everywhere except in the Weza area, where fencing and stock limitation has taken place successfully. (This is in Chief Z. B. Sigcawu's home ground—see below.)

It is further said that chiefs and headmen who support Bantu Authorities are arming themselves, in fear of the fate that has been dealt out to some like-minded Tembu and Pondo. It was from Gcalekaland that the appeal for chiefs to be armed came, when the new Territorial Authority met at Umtata for the first time in 1958. This appeal, which acutely embarrassed the B.A.D. Department's propagandists, came from Chiel Soshankane of the Willowvale District—one of Gcalekaland's hated men.

DAY OF SADNESS

Equally hated for his imposition of Bantu Authorities on the Gcalekas is



BOTHA SIGCAWU in his Pontiac.

the Paramount Chief, Zwelidumile Bungeni Sigcawu. He is to be officially inducted as Paramount Chief on Friday, 24th October, in the presence of Mr. De Wet Nel and other White officials, with Chiefs Botha Sigcawu of E. Pondoland (no relation), Sabata Dalindybo of Tembuland, Victor Poto of W. Pondoland, and Archie Belile Sandili of the AmaNgqika, Ciskei. B.A.D. reports, faithfully retailed in the *Afrikaner* Nationalist press, predict this as "one of the greatest days in their history for the Xhosas" because their paramount chief will be the first recognized by the White government since Sarhili ("Kreli") was deposed after the 1878 war. *Contact* predicts that the enthronement will be a day of sadness for the Gcaleka.

FEAR AND COERCION

If they attend in numbers it will be through fear and coercion. Their true feelings have been shown by:

- Soshankane's appeal for arms;
 - a meeting three weeks ago in which the Willowvale magistrate "explained" Bantu Authorities. The 500 representatives present countered by reaffirming their rejection of Bantu Authorities and the Rehabilitation Scheme;
 - the absence of visible signs of co-operation with the Government on land betterment, and openly avowed disgust with Bantu Authorities tyranny.
- Chief Zwelidumile Sigcawu is identified with the White Government that has

brought these things upon the Gcaleka—as is Chief Botha Sigcawu in Eastern and Victor Poto in Western Pondoland, and Chief Kaiser Matanzima in Emigrant Tembuland. (Chief Sabata Dalindybo of the Tembu is in an equivocal position.)

CLUMSY PROPAGANDA

The clumsy propaganda of the B.A.D. Department easily falls apart, in another respect. "Friday will be a great day for the Xhosas throughout the whole of South Africa," proclaims *Die Burger*, Cape Town. "Xhosa" sounds here as if it means all the Xhosa-speaking people. But Friday's events mean less than nothing to the vast majority of Xhosas, as the term is generally used. It is only the actual Xhosa tribe of the Willowvale, Centani and adjoining districts (speakers of the purest Xhosa) who are involved.

NARROWEST SQUEAK

If Chief Botha Sigcawu does attend from Qawukeni he will certainly have an armed guard. He is said to keep on the move. His narrowest squeak came in the Bizana district some months back when he fled from a hostile crowd in his 1960 Pontiac—it broke down and he legged it into the forest, where he was later rescued by a taxi-driver. Chief Botha's position grows worse and worse. He is a deeply unhappy man.

BETWEEN THE STORMS

The Anti-Bantu Authorities committees of E. Pondoland, the *Abafana baseZintabeni* ("Boys from the Mountain") and other determined groups are trying to consolidate and come together. The Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Bizana areas are to be co-ordinated and Tabankulu—so far unmentioned in Pondo-



SABATA

land news—is rapidly being drawn into the fight.

The non-committal response to the Commissioners' report on their enquiry into the disturbances accurately reflects the new mood. In the calm—a calm between storms—the Pondos will get together and work out a real programme of opposition.



"We are all Africans"

From a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: On Sunday afternoon, 16th October, a party to welcome Cape Town ex-detainees back from prison was held in the Salt River Institute Hall.

The party started at 2 p.m. About 350 people were present, including representatives of the State of Emergency Relief Fund, the Liberal Party, and the Black Sash.

Welcoming the guests to the party, the chairman, Mr. Nimrod Joye, said, "All the people in this hall, no matter how pale or dark they are, are Africans. There are no Europeans in this hall. White and Black, we are all Africans."

Choirs sang while tea, cool drinks and cakes were served.

All the ex-detainees present formed a choir nicknamed "The Light Brigade" and sang the songs they had sung in prison, and then speeches were made.

The first speaker was Mr. John Gomas, who said that freedom for Africans would mean freedom for all.

Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, speaking on behalf of all the ex-detainees, thanked the Emergency Relief Fund through Mr. Peter Hjul, the Fund's Chairman, who was present. He also thanked the Black Sash through Mrs. R. N. Robb and Mrs. M. Petersen, who were at the party. Mr. Ngwenya also thanked all, including people overseas, who had given money to help detainees and their families.

He said that the time had come for all to unite—the work of the Relief Fund had proved that it was still possible for Whites to co-operate with non-Whites.

Mr. Francis Mbelu, University of Cape Town science student and ex-detainee, said that if only all opponents

of White domination could unite, they could work wonders.

"All who think alike must unite," Mr. Mbelu said.

Nkrumah on Unity

"I COME to-day to speak to you on African affairs with particular reference to the Congo situation. This decade is a momentous decade in our lives.

The retreat of colonialism, however, is of no value unless the peoples of Africa are mobilized to advance and occupy the positions from which the colonialists have retreated. Nothing could be more dangerous than a power vacuum in Africa.

As I have stated elsewhere, there are three alternatives open to African States: Firstly, to unite and save our continent; secondly to disunite and disintegrate; or thirdly, to sell out. In other words: either to unite or to stand separately and disintegrate, or to sell ourselves to foreign powers."

—President Kwame Nkrumah addressing the Ghana Parliament on the Congo situation, 8th August, 1960.

Pass Office Charges

From a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: A large-scale investigation into allegations of fraud and corruption in the administration of the pass laws is now in progress in the Western Province and Cape Peninsula.

The allegations involve the registration of African workers and the use of "bought" passes.

Police have raided various registration centres. Large numbers of official documents and records have been examined by detectives.

Location officials have been questioned.

Many statements have been taken. Large numbers of recently-issued reference books are being scrutinized by the police and the holders of the books are being questioned.

The investigation has aroused widespread interest among Africans in the Peninsula and many rumours are going the rounds.

It is expected that the investigations will take some time to complete.

Police Raid Ex-detainees' Party

From "Contact" Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN: A Reception Concert and Dance was organized on 30th September by a young group of boys—the Jumping Jilt Fives—to welcome back the ex-detainees. Held in the Municipal Hall in Grahamstown (in the Location area), the concert was attended by about 70 people, including 20 Whites from the city. Police activity at the concert caused a good deal of interruption.

Mr. Mike Nuttall, Chairman of the Liberal Party here, was addressing the audience in a speech of welcome to the detainees (he stressed the need for all people of all races to work together) when the police arrived—two uniformed and another "sergeant" not in uniform. They began to take the names of those in the audience. Despite the disturbance, Nuttall continued to speak. It was then explained by one of the ex-detainees that the police had seized the tickets for the concert and were to lay a charge against the organizers for not having included an entertainment tax on the tickets.

Listed to speak on the programme as well as a member of the Liberal Party were representatives of the Progressives, the Black Sash and the Institute of Race Relations. The organizers explained that a speaker from the Progressives had promised to be present but had not arrived. In their place, a woman student from the audience spoke briefly, welcoming the detainees and expressing pleasure at having this opportunity for all Africans, whatever their colour, to gather together. One of the ex-detainees also spoke.

Music Scholars

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The first Indian South African to be awarded a music scholarship by the Italian Government leaves Durban next month to take up music and dramatic art at the famed St. Cecilia College in Rome. He is twenty-five-year-old Mr. Eric Jithoo.

Mr. Jithoo, a compositor in the printing trade, was awarded the two-year scholarship by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Culture of the Italian Government.

Mr. Jithoo studied music externally through Trinity College and the Royal School of Music in London. After completing his music theory and practical Italian opera, he applied for the scholarship. He is one of three South Africans selected.

contact

Where do we go from here?

THE mud-slurging is over; the Republic is won and Afrikaner nationalism is triumphant. What next?

The great problem concerning the Whites of this country now is whether or not South Africa will be allowed to stay in the Commonwealth. *Contact* hopes that South Africa will not be expelled, but will be suspended until we have a democratic government.

The more White South Africans are isolated from the outside world, the more they will realize their closeness to those whom they try to hammer into submission, and the sooner will a true non-racial patriotism develop.

But that is in the long run; the immediate prospect for democrats is dark; we can expect harsh measures to be taken against us; if the government has been fighting with the gloves off for the past twelve years, it will now be fighting with knuckle-dusters. This government knows that its days are numbered, but will do all in its power to maintain itself, and to maintain White privilege while it can.

With the republican issue out of the way, politics will, on the White side, become purely racial. The euphemisms about Bantustan, separate development, "their own areas" will be dropped as soon as it becomes clear to Whites that none of these concepts offers a solution to our problems. *Baasskap*, the word, will come into common use again among our rulers.

The Whites of South Africa will divide into two groups: one of people determined to maintain racial privilege for itself; the other of people moving inevitably in a democratic direction, abandoning, perhaps unwillingly, its racialistic outlook.

But the big task that lies ahead is the building of a great non-racial movement, embracing all whose loyalty is to a free South Africa; rejecting all whose loyalty is to their group, or to any imperialisms, eastern or western.

It must be a movement dedicated first

to the destruction of racialism in our country; second to the creation of a non-racial democracy based on universal adult suffrage; and third to Africa; an Africa determined to fight imperialism, whether it be Belgian, British, French, Russian, American or Chinese.

We do not want to see happen in Africa what has happened tragically to the unfortunate people of Hungary, Tibet, Formosa, or Korea.

We want Africa to grow into an association of free people, governed justly and democratically by and for themselves.

The task before the democrats of South Africa is enormous, but *Contact* is sure that the challenge that the task offers will produce champions, brave and determined enough to win, no matter what methods their opponents employ.

The Republic has come; the battle is now between racialists and non-racialists, between tyrants and democrats. There is no middle road.

Nasty jolt for Sir Roy

AFTER weeks of fairly accurate "leaks" the Report of the Monckton Commission has at last been published—60,000 words of it echoing what writers like Philip Mason and Colin Leys have been suggesting for the past few years.

Considering that the commission was as assiduously courted by White Rhodesians as it was boycotted by Black Rhodesians, it has penetrated deeply to the root of the real problems of the Federation.

To White Rhodesians its most startling recommendation is that the three member states should be allowed to opt out of the Federation, and that anyway, the ties between the territories should be looser, with all matters affecting the daily lives of their citizens subject to territorial control.

The Commission has recognized the bitter enmity of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian Africans towards a federation forced on them against their wishes. It has also seen through the sham of "partnership".

We are glad to see that even Sir Roy Welensky has conceded that more should have been done in the beginning to remove the race barriers.

It should be realized, of course, that the Monckton Report offers no more than observations with a set of recommendations to be considered at the Federal Constitutional talks next month. But the Report should influence profoundly the outcome of the talks.

To those desiring a non-racial society in all three territories the Report points only to a start towards full democracy.

But if the Report is not a revolutionary document, it is at least radical enough to have given Sir Roy Welensky a nasty jolt: more than anything it represents the enlightened thinking in what were once conservative circles.

Sir Roy seems to be even more alarmed at the prospect of Southern Rhodesia's secession (much desired by Mr. Harper's Dominion Party) than by the prospect of African rule in the northern territories.

It is very difficult to know what Sir Roy really wants; he does not like the idea of African rule in the north, but seems to be getting used to the inevitable; he doesn't want White rule in the south, otherwise he would take the south out of the Federation and establish there a second Natal. He believes in Federation with the same blind optimism with which Verwoerd believes in Bantustan.

He will have only himself to blame if ultimately Federation fails, even in the loose form that the Monckton Report advocates, because he has not taken positive steps to remove racialism from the Federation's public life.

If the Report is accepted by his government, Federation might survive, but only if equal opportunities in education, public services, and perhaps most important, political life, are accepted as a principle of government.

Non-racial Future

PERHAPS the most important recent political development in Southern Africa is the emergence of non-racial movements determined to see the end of colour bars and the establishment of democracy.

The first large movement of this kind was the Tanganyika African National Union, followed by the Malawi Congress Party, the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, and the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia. The non-racial Liberal Party of South Africa has been in existence for seven years.

All these organizations are determined to see the end of White domination.

This spread of the non-racial, as opposed to the multi-racial, idea is encouraging, because it means that far-sighted political leaders are moving away from group concepts towards the idea of the common patriotism, whether of Rhodesia, Malawi, South Africa or Tanganyika.

T.A.N.U. is in effect the government of Tanganyika, the Malawi Congress Party will soon be virtually in control of Nyasaland; we hope that it will not be long before the other non-racial movements become the governments of their respective countries.

THE EDITOR

The Editor of *Contact* was still in prison at the time of going to press.

It is not known how long he will be kept there. He refuses to accede to the Crown's demand that he disclose his source of information in an article on the South African Communist Party.

The unwritten rule of journalism is that sources of information never be disclosed.

Crisis in Southern Rhodesia

SOUTHERN RHODESIA is going through what appears to be the gravest crisis of its existence.

There is widespread unrest; widespread discontent. And, because the majority of Southern Rhodesians have no political status, this expresses itself in rioting and violence.

The government of Southern Rhodesia should realise that it cannot rule justly if it has to rule by force of arms, which it apparently intends to do.

It must take positive steps towards making the state democratic. The vote should be given to every adult Rhodesian; a general election should be held, and a non-racial government formed.

Sir Edgar Whitehead's government must take positive steps to put an end to unemployment. Unless it does so, chaos will rule.

Contact suggests that at this stage, Sir Edgar should meet the leaders of the National Democratic Party, and ask them for advice.

Sam Sly

"DR. GRAAFF said he was not advocating partition but it was one of the possible fates of South Africa" (press report). He then went on to advocate warmly an independent White state of eight million in the West (of whom three million would be African) and a Black one of seven million in the East (90% African). Perhaps this was a third stepping stone for him (see *Contact* 2nd July and 13th August). Or is he an academic person only?

Whichever way, his partition idea will attract. Graaff suggests it may come into its own "during and possibly as a result of social upheavals of the Sharpeville variety". It could be White domination's last throw—the dramatic concession with a U.N. army at our gates and uprisings inside. Graaff talks of accommodating two nationalisms in a single state: "Having reached that conclusion, many people, myself included, are simple-minded enough to ask, 'Then why not split the state?'. The simplicity, the cunning of it! What boobies those professors at the S.A.B.R.A. manoeuvres a week earlier appear next to Graaff!

S. P. Cilliers: "The extension of political rights to non-Whites should be coupled with a rapid social, economic and cultural advancement to prevent the

development of political instability."

J. de V. Graaff: "By world standards there is little real poverty in South Africa, but a classical revolutionary situation is developing . . . the present round of wage increases to Africans is simply going to add fuel to the flames of revolution. Of course you must raise wages, but do not expect that to help politically."

Before we can take the measure of this new adversary of non-racial democracy—and if he means to win he will be a hard man to beat—many people, myself included, wait to hear what he proposes to do about those three million Africans in the White state.

IF the republican referendum campaign had never existed—if the Whites had voted on 5th October without a speech, poster, canvass, leading article, broadcast or postal circular from either side, I'll wager the result would have been the same—if voting had been compulsory, as it is in Australia. I believe in this compulsory vote in a universal franchise. Government will be compelled to educate its citizens to build an informed electorate if all must vote.

ARE public health and morality better guarded by the sale of drink at all times and in any quantity by all caterers and grocers who care to do so—or by severe restrictions on the supply. Certainly the present course the latter, has not saved our 40,000

White alcoholics for society. And every African family has its alcoholic or near-alcoholic, too. There is a campaign for the uncontrolled supply of wine, put forward—you've guessed it—by the wine-growers. A journalist writes his approval of the idea, because, he says, he and his wife like a drink and a cup of tea respectively, together after a cinema, and the new plan would allow this. Really! Will not the unlimited supply of cheap liquor do terrible things to the mass of our people in their present conditions of frustration, want, and ignorance? The government of even a free South Africa must restrict liquor by taxing fire-water into the stratosphere and by controlling the alcohol content and price of more harmless stuff. Wines are different. In 1787, Mentzel said that Cape wine "cannot be imitated, as it shows an immediate effect on the faces of the drinkers and warms the blood in a noticeable but pleasant way".

A WINE MERCHANT I know says the only way to drink Cape wine and keep awake is to add lots of cold soda, but it is naturally not in his interest to spread this round. The trail of human wreckage left by the infuriators sold at 1s. 7d. a bottle on pay day must be ended, even at the price of full liberty in this department of life.

LAST month Dr. Zac de Beer of the Progressives won 159 votes against Patrick Duncan's 49 in a University of

Cape Town debate that "for her own good South Africa must adopt a qualified franchise rather than a universal franchise in the next five years". In a similar debate last year, the full franchise won only 12 votes. *Phoenix*, the new "journal of reconstruction" about to be launched in Natal, has commissioned an article on "The Reasons for Universal Franchise"; even a year ago the subject would have been "The Reasons for Extending the Franchise". I know it hardly looks like progress against the backsliding from the non-racial Cape franchise of 1853 to the all-White electorate of to-day—but it is. The defenders of the old liberalism at Union—Hofmeyr, Schreiner and De Villiers—fought for a qualified non-racial franchise, and this battle, lost 50 years ago, the Progressives are now taking up. Although unwanted by the mass of both voters and voteless, the qualified non-racial vote will gain a few supporters among voters who believe that it will combine justice with their own protection. But the universal franchise is a new direction for South Africa—demanded by the voteless for unassailable reasons, yet still terrifying to the voters. Every voter who accepts universal franchise, accepts the new, democratic, non-racial South Africa too and is a good man gained.

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW



Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

THE CHOICE

managed to let slip into his "victory" broadcast a quiet threat to the press and he has told us that, in seeking "unity", he does not intend to sacrifice any of his principles. His unity is still an all-White unity and his terms are still apartheid's terms. If English-speaking South Africans can't yet bring themselves to join the Nationalist Party, Dr. Verwoerd suggests they form their own "conservative" party to support his policies. If they are not prepared to support his policies, then they should join the Liberal Party. That is what Dr. Verwoerd has said and, for once, I find myself agreeing with him. That is precisely the alternative which confronts White non-nationalist South Africa.

I do not know how those who voted against the republic, and English-speaking South Africans in particular, will respond to this courting by the Nationalists, but there are one or two facts which they can no longer avoid facing. The first is that there is, at present no way of voting the Nationalist Government out of power. Some of us have been saying this for years but nobody has paid any attention. Instead the United Party has built up the illusion that some miraculous intervention will one day bring it back to power. The illusion has been based on the argument that more voters have voted against the Nationalists in the past than have voted for them and that, therefore, the Nationalists must lose in the end, even if, for the moment, their minority vote brings them twice as many Parliamentary seats as their opponents. Now even the basis for this myth is shattered. The Nationalists have more votes than their opponents.

If the referendum result produces no other benefit let us at least hope that it has completely shattered this particular myth and let non-Nationalist White South Africans see at last that

the alternatives which Dr. Verwoerd offers are the only real alternatives—they join the Nationalist Party or they join the Liberal Party. They either accept apartheid or they accept the full implications of a non-racial future for South Africa and get together with other people of all races to see that that future is brought about. Surely nobody can seriously argue any longer that any purely White organization will ever get rid of the Nationalists? The Emergency made many South Africans of all races begin to think and the referendum must take this process further. This is a time when those of us who believe in a society based on liberal, democratic principles should be going all out to persuade people from every section of our community that ours is the only sensible way.

Main topic for discussion since the

referendum has been South Africa's position vis-à-vis the Commonwealth. Dr. Verwoerd's present blandishments are undoubtedly aimed partly at convincing others of its members that he is not such a bad fellow after all. It will not be as easy as that! South Africa has been an embarrassment to the Commonwealth for years. The electorate knew that full well on October 5th, and it decided to take a chance. The next move lies with the Commonwealth. Its members know that it is a vital world force for peace and that it can play a unique part in helping to solve the world's colour problems. They will have to decide whether they can continue to remain in close association with a Government whose policies are founded in racial discrimination and which does not have one real friend in the whole wide world.

SOUTH AFRICA and *Contact* have at least two things to think seriously about this fortnight—Patrick Duncan's committal to gaol, and the referendum result. The two things may differ in scale but the result of the referendum is not more important to individual South Africans than Patrick Duncan's imprisonment.

South Africa has been flouting fundamental civilised standards for years but she takes a new step along her authoritarian way when she gaols a journalist for refusing to divulge the sources of information on which he has based reports he has published. No journalist worth his salt will reveal where his information comes from and Patrick Duncan has taken his stand uncompromisingly in defence of the only journalistic standards worth having. At the same time he has done something to preserve White South Africa's fast-dwindling moral reserves. What he has done had to be done, but that does not make the doing any easier. I take off my hat to Patrick Duncan and hope that this senseless and vindictive persecution of him will soon be ended.

Is this sort of thing going to increase now that the referendum has been won and the republic is on its way? I suspect that it is. Dr. Verwoerd's advances to English-speaking South Africans and his new tones of friendly moderation go neither far nor deep. He

THE GAMBLERS

I'VE been trying to find out why there's such interest amongst Africans in gambling. To my astonishment, the reasons are purely economic. A matriculated father of four children pointed out that he is a labourer in the Pretoria market and is paid £2 8s. 3d. per week.

"These so-called wages paid me barely serve to keep me alive. That is why I participate in pools, for although it is wishful thinking that one day I'll win, it is my only hope for a better living."

So the only way Africans feel they can improve their economic status is by investing in British Football Pools and Rhodesian Sweepstakes. Many bet on horses. Some actually try jackpots in magazines.

The other day a White man from Europe (in reply to a question) told me that he came to South Africa to make easy money as there were bright prospects here for a man of his race. He merely sells his pigmentation. With only three years in the Union, his bank account is fat with £2,000.

With Africans they have to spend part or all their lives as labourers, but still only a few can save £40 a year.

As one Iscor labourer put it to me, "The dirty and the most dangerous jobs are reserved for us, regardless of our education. Out of these low wages, it is the White man who benefits. They live in luxury, drive big wonderful cars, are the best clothed, they eat the best kind of food and live in wonderful castles."

PETER MOTSOANE

BIASED HISTORY

IT is a well known fact that the so-called "history" books here in South Africa and elsewhere in colonial Africa, are biased. The latest example is *A History of South West Africa*, translated from Dr. H. Vedder's *Einführung in die Geschichte Südwestafrikas*, by Dr. P. S. Malan.

Dr. Vedder is an historian by any standards as shown by his work and research in the history of South West Africa and its people. But Dr. Vedder is one of the foremost diehard colonialists of the old German stock South West Africa has ever produced. He is one of those imperialists who see nothing wrong in the crude and ruthless German colonial rule in South West.

When the Nationalist government came to power in South West Africa, Dr. Vedder was appointed senator.



Maharero (d. 1890), great Herero leader

being "fully conversant with the needs of the native population of the territory".

Throughout his book, Dr. Vedder does not make any mention of the misdeeds done and the wrong steps taken by the Germans in conquering South West Africa: the way they exterminated tribes in order to get a foothold; atrocities which are still alive in the memories of most living South West Africans.

Every brutality in this book is justified with words like "revolt suppressed", "dishonoured treaties", "punishment".

At Waterberg there were more than 50,000 Hereros before 11th August, 1904. After that date till to-day, the Hereros cannot count even a third of that number. In Dr. Vedder's words, this is what happened: "General von Trotha (German commander at the time) was not willing to negotiate (with the Hereros) The Hereros were to feel the invincible power of German arms. The enemy in the Waterberg was to be destroyed".

On the other hand the book is just propaganda for apartheid or so-called "parallel development". For example: "These reserves save the Administration large sums of money which otherwise it would have been necessary to spend on the support of indigent natives The reserves therefore serve the natives as a kind of savings bank, as a life insurance and as an old age pension". The question comes quickly why the tribesmen from the reserves should have to work for 7s. 6d. per week outside the reserves if they are such as described by the writer.

We hope the day is not far when we will have a real history of South West Africa.

A. ANDREAS

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FEDERATION IN TURMOIL

BANDA ADDRESSES
MALAWI MEETING

FUTURE "UNCERTAIN"

From TITUS MUKUPO

LUSAKA: The political situation in Central Africa has become extremely fluid and unpredictable as a result of the publication of the Monckton Report.

There is no doubt the Report is having a terrific impact upon the people here—both Black and White. Already by the mere fact that the report suggested that territories should in future be allowed to secede from the Federation under certain circumstances, Sir Roy Welensky and his followers are in great fury. Sir Roy has accused Britain of not honouring her pledges made before and after the Commission was appointed. He has also said that he intends to refuse to discuss secession at the Federal Review Conference.

NEW ORGANIZATION

On this issue, Sir Roy is being supported by a fiery new organization supposed to be on non-party lines which is raising a "Federal Fighting Fund". It is too early yet to know to what extent the organization will reinforce the shaken United Federal Party ranks.

The spearhead of the organization is a Lusaka lawyer, hitherto unknown in politics and whose main clients until recently have, paradoxically, been African nationalists. The organization has so far only succeeded in winning over the support of uncommitted individuals.

It is significant, however, that some of the most widely-read and usually pro-Welensky newspapers have not supported his stand to refuse to discuss secession at the Review Conference.

ANXIOUS TO RULE

On the other hand, both the Malawi Congress Party and the United National Independence Party have made it clear that they regard the Commission's recommendations as inadequate. They would have liked to see Federation break up now. The Commission recommends that Federation should continue, but that there should be parity of representation between Black and White in the re-organized Federal Assembly.

The Central Africa Party in Northern

Rhodesia takes the line that either there should be a very loose tie-up or no Federation at all.

There are many varieties of minority opinions. But the hope for the success of the Conference will be pegged on the amount of give and take from the ruling United Federal Party on the one side and the anxious-to-rule African Nationalist Parties, Malawi and U.N.I.P.

KAUNDA-IIONE TALKS

The position in Northern Rhodesia is further complicated by the fact that talks on the Northern Rhodesia constitution have been promised by the British Government. Informal talks between the Northern Rhodesia Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, and political leaders have in fact already started.

The United Federal Party has demanded that formal talks should be held at the same time as the Federal Review. U.N.I.P. has said Northern Rhodesia talks must come first and well before so that delegates to the Federal Review Conference cannot take the opportunity of interfering in the Northern Rhodesia talks.

As things appear at the moment, it may take a greater part of 1961 to sort out the Federal constitution, unless there is a great change of heart. The amount of disagreement exhibited in the Monckton Report is indicative of that. An agreed future Federal Constitution stands a long way away.

HIGH COMMISSION?

It will not do for Sir Roy merely to say he will not discuss secession at the Review Conference. If he is a great man he will. If he does not, he stands to lose both his name and his cherished Federal Government.

Clouded and confused as the situation is likely to be for several months till the Review is over, it is more or less clear that the only form of territorial closer association that would stand a chance of being acceptable to Mr. Kaunda and Dr. Banda is a High Commission similar to that of East Africa. That would, of course, mean abolishing the Federal Parliament.



150,000 AT MALAWI PARTY CONFERENCE

From "Contact" Correspondent

KOTA KOTA: Guests from Kenya, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia attended the first delegates' conference of the Malawi Congress Party at Kota Kola from 28th September until 2nd October. The conference was held in conjunction with a drama and music festival. Altogether a hundred and fifty thousand people attended the conference and festival.

NEW NAMES FOR RHODESIAS

In the course of speeches it was revealed that the names of both Northern and Southern Rhodesia will be changed when those countries become independent. The former will be called Zambia, the latter Monomotapa. Nyasaland will of course be called Malawi.

In his opening address, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda welcomed the members of his Party, Mr. Chipembere, Mr. Chisiza and others who had been released from detention the previous day.

Dr. Banda gave a survey of the history of Nyasaland since the beginning of the emergency.

Mr. Masauko Chipembere said that

he and other members of the Party would devote themselves to the economic, social and political advance of the country.

He warned Sir Roy Welensky that Malawi was a strong and disciplined party. Malawians would struggle for freedom outside the "bogus, stinking and stupid Federation".

UNION OF STATES

Speeches by the visiting Nationalists advocated a Union of East and Central African States, soon after these states attain their independence. Such a Union would consist of Malawi (Nyasaland), Tanganyika, Kenya, Urundi, Uganda, Congo, Zambia (N. Rhodesia) and Monomotapa (S. Rhodesia).

"By 1970 there will be no foreign flag polluting the beautiful atmosphere of Mother Africa. From Senegal to Zanzibar and from Cape to Cairo, Africa will be free," one of the speakers said.

RELEASE SOBUKWE, KENYATTA, MUSHONGA

Mr. Dunduza Chisiza, addressing the huge crowd, called for the release of Africa's "Freedom Fighters": Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Paul Mushonga of Monomotapa and Mangaliso Sobukwe of the Union of South Africa.

"These men must be freed," Mr. Chisiza said, "or the whole continent of Africa will march to join them in prison."

REVIVE MALAWI DANCES

Opening the Dance and Drama Festival, the largest ever held in the country, on the 30th September, Dr. Banda said that although missionaries had tried to stamp out traditional dancing, "we mean to revive our Malawi national dances". There was no shame in them; they expressed the joys and sorrows of the people of Malawi.

There were dancers from every part of Malawi.

The purpose of the Festival was to make the people of Malawi forget tribalism and provincialism and rejoice as one Malawi nation when they returned home.

The dancing continued for two full days.

PARTY ELECTIONS

At the end of the delegates' conference, Dr. Banda was unanimously elected leader and President of the Party for life; Mr. Dunduza Chisiza was elected Secretary-General, and Mr. Aleke K. Banda his Deputy. Mr. Masauko Chipembere became the Treasurer-General.

Mr. Aleke Banda will be editor of *Malawi News* and will soon leave for Ghana and overseas to study journalism.

Monckton's "Blueprint" for Survival

THE loosening of Federal ties with the right of member territories to secede; extension of the franchise; increased African membership in the Federal Parliament; the removal of unfair discriminatory laws; and the inclusion in the Federal constitution of a Bill of Rights to protect the fundamental liberties of all citizens—these are among the recommendations in the recent report of an Advisory Commission appointed by the British Government to review the constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

This Commission of 26 members under the chairmanship of Lord Monckton travelled 16,000 miles through

the Federation over a period of 12 weeks: it considered more than 1,000 documents submitted to it, and heard evidence from about 750 people. In Nyasaland and, to a lesser extent in the Rhodesias, it was boycotted by Africans. It did, however, manage to hear most points of view in the three territories.

What has emerged from all this travelling and deliberation is a 60,000 word blueprint for the survival of Federation which seems to have stimulated White Rhodesians into a frenzy of rejection, and has aroused little enthusiasm from the more influential African and non-racial organizations.

The Commission has in fact gone further in its recommendations than most people expected; and the majority of its rather conservative members have landed a bombshell among the Whites of Southern Rhodesia.

Like most objective observers, members of the Commission saw easily through the half-hearted gestures towards 'partnership'. "Throughout our tours of the three territories," says their report, "we heard much evidence of racial discrimination. Such discrimination operates mainly to the disadvantage of Non-Europeans, particularly Africans, and is one of their basic grievances." This discrimination "remains one of the more important forces working against Federation". The report later points out "that no new form of association is likely to succeed unless Southern

Rhodesia is prepared to make drastic changes in its racial policies".

With its 103 conclusions and recommendations, the Monckton Commission Report is a sober assessment of seven years of Federation. Like most attempts to balance widely divergent viewpoints, it tends to caution with an apparent emphasis on evolutionary change. Although this will not please those desiring rapid development towards full democracy in all three territories of the Federation, their consolation may be in the possibility that the British Government will not accept anything less than the recommendations of its Commission.

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Ovamboland

A SECOND ZEERUST ?

"WILL Ovamboland become a second Zeerust?" This question is asked by a correspondent who points to the deportation of politically active people, and the undemocratic appointment of chiefs as part of a familiar pattern. His question is hard to answer for we hear little of Ovamboland apart from the "approved" stories of official tours. Closed to the outside world, Ovamboland is one of the great unknown areas of Southern Africa. But reports of discontent in the territory filter through.

DEPORTATIONS

When Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the Ovamboland People's Organization (now the South West Africa People's Organization) attacked the Government's policy in Ovamboland and was particularly critical of the contract labour system, the authorities called on Chief Kambonde to silence him. Kambonde held two meetings in Windhoek but convinced no one.

Sam Nujoma was served with deportation orders to Ovamboland where it was expected he would be placed under house arrest in Kambonde's district. This happened to Toivo Ja-Toivo who, when he worked in Cape Town, sent a tape recording describing the hardships of his people to Kerina Getzen in New York. Soon after, Ja-Toivo was endorsed out of the Cape Town area; he went to Windhoek and was then sent to Ovamboland.

But Nujoma escaped from South West Africa. Another recent Ovamboland refugee is Jacob Kuhangua, whose escape has been described in *Contact*.

POLICE REINFORCEMENTS

Our correspondent also reports that earlier this year police reinforcements were sent to Ovamboland to deal with alleged trouble. "No one," he says, "has had any reliable information about this trouble. But indications are that it was caused by Ovambo people dissatisfied with the undemocratic appointment of chiefs they did not want."

What is well known among Africans in South West Africa is that Ovambos who become too active in anti-Government politics are deported to Ovamboland or to Angola. Particularly affected by this suppression of African political activity are the South West Africa People's Organization and the South West Africa National Union, both non-racial organizations formed last year.

U.N.O. RESOLUTION

The United Nations is well aware of attempts to suppress these organizations, and, at a meeting in August this year, the Committee on South West Africa unanimously approved a draft resolution expressing deep concern over reports that "leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization and other Africans in the Territory are being subjected to arbitrary imprisonment and deportation".

This draft resolution, which is recommended for adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations, urges the South African Government "to instruct competent authorities in the Mandated Territory of South West Africa to cease the arbitrary imprisoning and deporting of Africans, including the leaders and members of the South West Africa People's Organization, and to ensure the free exercise of political rights and freedom of expression by all sectors of the population".

PETITION SUCCEEDS

In our last issue we reported that the Liberal Party in Pretoria was drawing up a petition to the City Council to protest against the removal of a taxi rank in the city. More than 2,000 people signed the petition, which was then presented to the Council.

The Council has decided not to implement its plan to remove the taxi rank.

Augustineum—
More Facts

THE pupils of the Augustineum, the Training College near Windhoek, staged a protest on Tuesday, 20th September (see *Contact*, 8th October). The immediate issue was the supply of "bad minced meat". The students had been told such things as, "You Natives do not get the good food we give you here in your huts at home".

LOW STANDARDS

The more fundamental issue was a feeling of discontent, specially with the educational standard of the teaching staff. The Principal, Mr. M. N. Smit, reached Standard X at school and has the Primary Teacher's Diploma. There is only one graduate. The rest of the staff reached Standards VIII or X at school and have no more than Primary Teaching Diplomas.

Two of the teachers are related to the Principal, who is a brother-in-law of the late Principal. It is not government policy to recruit African university graduates from the Union as teachers in South West Africa.

WAITING FOR U.N.
DECISION

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: With South West Africa due to be discussed soon by the General Assembly of the United Nations, many African leaders or their representatives are coming into Windhoek from various reserves so that they can hear the results of the debate as soon as possible.

Among the first arrivals was the Chief of the Hereros, Chief Hosea Kutako, and his counsellors. The Chief is mourning the loss of his friend and fellow fighter for freedom, Chief Festus Kandja, who died last month while they were preparing to travel to Windhoek.

One of the representatives interviewed by *Contact* said: "Our people are very anxious to hear about the case of their country. We come here to get first-hand information on the proceedings and then report to the people on our return." He added that it would be better also "to hear our fate in company with other leaders".

"CONGO" IN
PRETORIA

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: A much discussed topic in African politics concerns the youthful Pan-Africa Freedom Movement under the presidency of Dr. Peter Tsele.

Dr. Tsele is an ex-leader of the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. He left these two organizations to form the P.A.F.M. This "national" movement is known only in Lady Selborne, Pretoria.

As in Congo politics, the doctor has announced that he has expelled Mr. S. S. Maimela, an ex-detainee and propaganda secretary in the shadow cabinet of P.A.F.M. Mr. Maimela, in turn, claims that Dr. Tsele has been expelled from the movement.

Both are still holding their positions.

N.D.P. MEETS IN BULAWAYO



Part of the crowd at a meeting of the Youth Council of the National Democratic Party in the Mabutweni Hall, Bulawayo. The hall was filled to capacity, and many people had to stand outside.

From JOHN C. TAKURAH

BULAWAYO: The non-racial National Democratic Party has been extremely active in Bulawayo. Several new branches have been formed, as well as a Youth Council and a Women's League.

Speakers at meetings have attacked the Southern Rhodesian Government on several issues, apart from the general attack on the system of White domination.

Speaking in Bulawayo, Mr. Bernard Mutuma said, "The housing situation is really disgusting. We are being asked to live like sardines in a tin." He also attacked the government for its mishandling of the problem of unemployment. There are eighty thousand unemployed in Bulawayo alone.

Speaking at the Youth Council meeting held in the Mabutweni Hall, Mr. Pilani Ndebele said, "The Youth Council is aiming at one goal—total Freedom."

He said that the Southern Rhodesian constitution should be suspended: "Chuck it out of the window and build another constitution which is new and acceptable to the majority of the people."

He ended his speech by saying, "We want the White people to stay with us, but we are not prepared to have them managing our affairs at our own national expense. We want utmost liberty for every man now."

THE GWELO RIOTS

From "Contact" Correspondent

GWELO.—Sunday, 8th October, saw the worst riots ever in the history of Gwelo. They started at about 7 p.m. People who attended the National Democratic Party meeting demanded that the three White Security Branch men should leave the meeting. They refused. Thereupon the audience started surging around and about 300 people walked out of the hall. A crowd of about 200 were outside because the hall had been full.

The members of the Security Branch then left the hall and were followed by a crowd shouting at them. When they drove off their car was stoned. The crowd marched towards the beer-hall and then into the townships. They stoned everything they thought belonged to Whites. The riot squads arrived long after a great deal of damage had been done. The Township Manager's house had been set on fire. In the industrial areas a shoe factory was fired. The riot squads used smoke bombs and fired shots at the rioters. No deaths have been reported, although a number of people were injured.

More riot squads moved into the townships the following day, Monday the 10th, and all was quiet. Many people are being arrested in connection with the riots, but the number has not yet been disclosed. Among those arrested are members of the National Democratic Party Youth Council. A number of the rioters have now been remanded until 25th October.



Mr. Pilani Ndebele, Secretary, N.D.P. Youth Council. Mr. Lazarus 'Nkala, treasurer of the N.D.P. in Matabeleland.

CORRECTION

IN the last issue of *Contact* (8th October) it was reported that the United National Independence Party had enrolled its first White member. *Contact* is very pleased to be able to correct this statement: U.N.I.P. has seventy-six White members, some of whom have been in the party for a long time.

The Boer Republics

In a recent editorial we said that the British attacked the Transvaal and Free State in 1899. A reader, whom we thank, has pointed out that in fact the Boer republics attacked Britain.

Our reader is right, but Britain's attitude over the months leading up to the war was so aggressive that, in our view, a greater blame for the outbreak of war lies on Britain than on the republics.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Forget the Past

SIR,—There are various Liberal Party leaders who are being raided by the police, and now probably some members feel insecure; but I would encourage them to be steadfast in this era. Of course South Africans are unhappy because they do not feel confidence in their government, but it goes without saying that we would all like to remove the hindrance as far as possible.

It may be that the government is trying to develop the country under the mantle of oppression and abroad doubts are being constantly expressed about this. It proves that the atmosphere is not right for the full development of our potentialities. There is lack of goodwill and mutual trust and confidence, things that are essential if a peaceful country is to flourish properly.

There is no reason why the Government should distrust enlightened African opinion or rather should not consult the responsible leaders of the Coloureds, Indians and Africans. As such I personally feel that there is a great danger ahead if the Nationalists cannot come to normal wits. I predict that White supremacy will come to an end. The non-White population is bitterly opposed to the present Government.

I really feel that the Liberal Party is a potential political home for people of every colour or race, because these very Afrikaner nationalists will still enjoy their traditions and customs with no interference just as the Jews do under the current rule. Let us face the future and forget the past.

Opening the door of the Liberal Party to the staunch African National Congress leaders or members, I would say that they should bear in mind that the Liberal Party's policy goes hand in hand with theirs. The names do not matter. They should not hesitate to co-operate in carrying the struggle to its goal.

I persuade them confidently to join us and see whether the Indian and Coloured Congresses will not join us.

CHUMA ROBIN KOTI,
Springs.

We are Proud

SIR,—How I disagree with the criticism (10th September) of *Contact* being "one-sided". Since I started to read it, what has impressed me most has been the fairness and true lack of racialism in it. Your criticisms of the Communists, the Congo trouble-makers of both colours, and any other tyrants, have been as harsh as any of the Verwoerd regime, and your principle of Christian Democracy has never been blurred to your readers. I am sure that it is only too easy to exaggerate the horrors of the present regime since you feel them so sharply. But no, you refuse steadfastly to call the Nats. Nazis or to label South Africa a total police state, although the similarities are so strong. Congratulations! We Liberals in this country are very proud of you.

I. A. WHYTE,
London, England.

Only one Choice

SIR,—What does non-violent action really mean?

It means something more than just going on strike, something more than just sitting down and talk.

From time immemorial there have been taboos, laws. In our present world we cannot do without laws, without some organization. No one can deny the simple fact that the traffic laws are useful and their purpose to prevent road chaos, accidents, wounding and death.

There are laws that are indifferent towards the well-being of the individual. Lastly, there are laws that are bad and provoking for those subject to these discriminating racial laws.

All of us, except some criminal-minded individuals, have respect for the

law. But when one cannot consciously submit to a law that denies dignity, denies human striving for full development, then there remains only one choice: Prison.

Making that choice the would-be prisoner says in fact and deed: "We will not submit to this law and oppose that law openly, cheerfully. We take this liberty because we know that we are still free. We submit to being sent to prison and do this with joy as we respect the law even if we have had no say in casting that law. Therefore our only right place is in prison."

In such non-violent action the only victims are the honest law-breakers. In such action only lies true freedom and liberty.

AHIMSA,
Durban.

Handcuffs in Public

SIR,—Whether or not the reader agrees with the atrocious policies of apartheid, there can be no doubt on the following point: is it right to march small children handcuffed through the streets?

Last week we saw two small Coloured children (one about ten and the other about eleven) walking handcuffed up the street in the company of two policemen.

If these children are guilty of an offence then they deserve to be punished, but is it not an unforgettable experience to be marched handcuffed in public?

Our point is this. Would a White child be walked through the streets in this manner? Has the reader ever seen one?

Let White and non-White alike have the "luxury" of police vans, and we hope never again to see two small children in handcuffs.

Uhuru to you all! Sibanye!

TWO YOUNG NON-RACIALISTS,
Cape Town.

Satyagraha

SIR,—Your editorial of 4th June, 1960, was very opportune and welcome as clarifying the "beliefs and policies" of *Contact*.

Particularly interesting was your observation that you "chose Mahatma Gandhi" as your country's "safest guide". There is no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi's weapon of Satyagraha is "more likely to succeed" even in the present "brutal system", than any-

thing else. It is a weapon par excellence for redressing social and political grievances.

But may I venture to invite attention to the fact that Satyagraha is not only that but is also a "way of life". The weapon of Satyagraha would be effective exactly in proportion to the extent to which those resorting to Satyagraha have imbibed its spirit in their own lives. Gandhi's teaching encompassed the whole of life. As a matter of fact Satyagraha in the sense of a weapon was only a means for him to bring about complete transformation of society which as at present organized is bound to lead to exploitation, injustice and violence. Apartheid is itself one of the logical fruits of the present order. If all these injustices are to be rooted out from society, life has to be organized on the basis of non-violence leading to basic and fundamental changes in the present social, political and economic set-up.

I trust *Contact* will become the vehicle of this fundamental non-violent revolution which Gandhi envisaged, worked for, lived for and died for.

SIDDHARAJ DHADDA,
Rajghat, Varanasi,
India.

Not the Same

SIR,—In my opinion, Mr. Nelson Phiri (*Contact*, 10th September), is merely playing to the gallery.

Nyasaland is not comparable to either South Africa or Southern Rhodesia in that it is an African country run by Africans, and to a large extent for Africans.

The very small number of Whites in Nyasaland are decidedly "liberal" if judged by our South African standards. They, with the Asians, have no choice of being otherwise.

It is in this sense that Africans in Nyasaland have an honourable rôle to play in assisting their fellow-countrymen of other races to adjust themselves speedily to living with and being governed by the majority, which, in this case, is African.

The task of African nationalism is to integrate the country: to build bridges between the classes and communities—to stimulate political, economic and social development, and to weld the inhabitants into one single unit.

R. A. COVENTRY,
Post Bag 398, Ladysmith, Natal.

THE LIBERAL MIND

Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr

The tide of reaction is still flowing forward. I know that those of us who are opposing that tide cannot hope to check it. The puny breastworks that we put up must be swept away, but I do believe that the mere putting up of these breastworks is going to accelerate the day when the tide will turn, as turn, I believe, it some day will.

Let me repeat, I oppose this Bill... because of those forces of reaction behind this Bill which, if left unresisted, are inevitably bound to do us greater harm than anything can do us today. I know perfectly well that I am speaking against the feeling of the overwhelming majority of this House. I know I am speaking against the feeling of the great mass of the [White] people of this country. I know how my remarks will be described as "academic" and quixotic and unrealistic. I am accustomed to that. I can see all the adjectives that will be used. But these are matters on which the future must be left to judge. I expressed the belief that the tide of reaction will turn, and I base that belief on what I know of what is going on in the minds of some at least of the younger people in South Africa, especially in the universities. I believe that there is also a rising tide of liberalism in South Africa. It is mostly the younger people who are in the forefront of that tide. It is they who are the custodians of our future. And whatever we may or may not do today, it is by them that the ultimate issues in connection with this matter will have to be decided.

—*Debate on the second reading of the Representation of Natives Bill in the Joint Session of Parliament, 6th April, 1936.*

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Vol. 3 No. 22

WHAT THE EDITOR LEARNED IN PRISON

—SEE PAGE 2



Joshua Nkomo, President—elect of the non-racial National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia

Close friend of Governor-General

NAT. POULTRY FARMER HAS OWN FARM-GAOL

By the Editor

MR. C. R. SWART, the Governor-General, waxes eloquent whenever he speaks about the farm gaol system, which *Contact* has attacked for years as a national scandal.

HAS OWN PRISON

One of the reasons for Mr. Swart's enthusiasm may well be that the scheme is profitable to farmers. He should know about this, because one of his close friends at Cape Town, Mr. Cecil Morgan (rumour has it that his wife is a connection of Mrs. Swart's) has a prison of his very own.

POULTRY FARM

Near Bellville, some 15 miles from Cape Town on the Cape Flats side, is a small place called Stikland. At Stikland is a large and prosperous-looking poultry farm called "Soete Inval" together with an expensive-looking house. This property belongs to Mr. Morgan, who is in the advertising business, and who has an office in the *Argus* building in Cape Town. Mr. Morgan is a well-known Nationalist.

FRIENDLY WITH SWART

Apart from his friendship with Mr. Swart, Mr. Morgan is on intimate terms of friendship with other cabinet ministers, and frequently entertains them when they visit Cape Town out of session.

Near to the farm stands a small farm gaol, also called "Soete Inval", which accommodates some 50 non-White prisoners, working under the ninepence-a-day scheme.

ONE SHAREHOLDER

The gaol is unique, for, as revealed to *Contact* by the officer-in-charge of the prison, Mr. Morgan is the sole shareholder.

Contact has exposed, over the years, the scandalous system under which farmers are allowed to build their own private enterprise gaols, and the Department of Prisons then makes

A "Contact" photographer went to Stikland, near Cape Town, over the week-end to try to get photographs of the Morgan farm-gaol. He was unable to do so. The gaol is well hidden from the road, and the whole farm is ringed with wire netting topped with inward-leaning barbed wire.

He saw convicts working on the farm, but it was difficult to photograph them because the road was patrolled by a policeman on a bicycle.

Convicts were at work on new chicken houses, mending the fences and working in the large and well-kept garden near the farmhouse.

available to farmers non-White prisoners to work on their farms at 9d. a day. Most of these gaols are put up by companies and co-operatives. This is the only gaol which has come to our notice which has only one shareholder.

The officer-in-charge told *Contact* that the prison is new and has a modern kitchen.

OWNER INTERVIEWED

Interviewed by *Contact* Mr. Morgan said that the prison was started in the days of Mr. Hoal, in about 1946, as a rehabilitation centre. This does not tally with the information given by the officer-in-charge, but the apparent contradiction is probably explained by important rebuilding or expansion which has recently been undertaken.

THE FARM



The Morgan farmhouse lies well back from the road. It has beautifully tended gardens and a wide expanse of lawn.



Two convicts mending the fence along the road. The police patrol made it impossible to take more than these two pictures.

HE SAW SECRET COURTS

By the Editor

I CAN report for the first time an eye-witness account of the secret "courts" held during the emergency. While I was in Roeland Street Prison I found out a good deal about the secret trials held in Roeland Street Prison during the emergency. Just over 6,000 people passed through the prison, or appear in its records, under the emergency regulations. Of these the greater part were what the government called "idlers", but who, in many cases, were men with jobs.

Contact was the first paper in South Africa to expose this abuse ("Men vanish—leave no trace", 18th June). In the article reference was made to a special court held in the Caledon Square police headquarters. It now appears that most of these secret trials were held in Roeland Street Prison.

EYE-WITNESS

A prison official who witnessed some of these trials, told *Contact* that at one period, during the emergency, no less than four secret "courts" were being held simultaneously in the big prison, that one was held in the Superintendent's office, one in the big billiard room, one in the accounts office, and one in the Chief Warden's office.

THE COURTS

These "courts" were presided over by magistrates. All the "accused" were Africans. Many of them did not under-

stand English or Afrikaans, and, according to our informant, an Afrikaner policeman was detailed to interpret into Xhosa.

ACCUSED IGNORANT OF CHARGE

Contact is informed that in many cases the "accused" had no idea what they were being tried for, and did not understand the sentences. Many were sent off to East London by train, and returned to "their homes" in the Transkei and elsewhere. *Contact* has already reported how many families were broken up by these "trials", and how the next-of-kin of some of the men who disappeared had no idea whether they were alive or dead.

The vast throngs of "accused" persons were herded with blows and shouts, worse than cattle, according to my informant.

Prison Life

By the Editor

EVERYONE has asked me since I was released (on 24th October) what it was like in prison.

The short answer is that if you are not White it is hell. But if you are White (as I am supposed to be) it is merely a Heartbreak House.

NOT FOR SEVEN YEARS

It is seven years since I was last in prison for more than a few days. There are clear signs that something has been done at the top to humanize prison life for White prisoners. For instance no longer do they have their heads shaven, although some non-White long-term prisoners have half their heads shaven still. Long-term prisoners, if White, are also graded in what is humorously called "the madhouse" according to the most modern American system by psychologists. This is the theory, but the shortage of really skilled and intelligent personnel below the highest levels makes the grading scheme something of a farce.

FOOD BETTER

Food is better than it was in 1953. White prisoners now get meat every day, and a rich soup in the evenings, collee twice a day, porridge for breakfast with milk and sugar, and good fresh brown bread with every meal. The quantities are enormous, and I was not once able to finish a meal. The food is also monotonous, and during the whole time I was there there was not one variation: every breakfast was identical with every other breakfast, and so on.

At the same time men eat their hearts out when they lose their liberty, and one is left remembering George Bernard Shaw's remarkable saying:

"Once admit that if I do something wicked to you we are quits when you do something equally wicked to me, and you are bound to admit also that the two blacks make a white. Our criminal system is an organized attempt to produce white by two blacks. Common sense should doggedly refuse to believe that evil can be abolished by duplicating it. But common sense is not so logical; and thus we get the present grotesque spectacle of a judge committing thousands of horrible crimes in order that thousands of criminals may feel that they have balanced their moral accounts."

WRITING ON WALL

Evidence of how men feel when the iron hand of the prison service closes on them can be read on the walls of the police cells, in the magistrate's court, Cape Town. Here are a few of the printable remarks I saw:

"Nobody loves me."

"God is love."

"Crime does not pay."

"S(outh) A(frican) P(igs)" (several times).

"W. Harper A.B., E. Campbell A.B.: Both Scotch for mutiny 8 strokes 9 months Hard Labour: Roslin Castle (hell ship)."

"Good better best—never let it rest—Until best be better and better best."

"Rules of crime: Do it yourself; plan it yourself; take the rap yourself; Get out and do it again!"

And, frequently, "God have mercy."

Freedom Radio

Freedom Radio is on the air on Sundays at about 8 p.m., on the 66 metre band, 4.5 megacycles.

NO 'NEW DEAL' IN CAPE TOWN

CAPE TOWN: A few months ago the "New Deal" meant a promised relaxation of the laws that make life a grim struggle for Africans living in towns and cities. It now means the big "bribe-seats" in Parliament, etc., by which the Whites may try to "buy" the Coloured people as a buffer against the Africans. Here in the Cape, "New Deal No. 1" seems to have been well and truly shelved. This is in spite of:

- *Police Chief General du Plooy's promise that the days of "Waar is jou pas, Kaffer?" were over—no more routine pass raids, no more summary arrests for those without passes, no more "Kaffer!"*

- *B.A.D. Minister de Wet Nel's statement on 29th September that the laws regarding Africans in the "White areas" had been revised, thus removing "unnecessary irritating measures" and "eliminating friction"*

- *Repeated assurances by officials and leaders of commerce and industry that the pass laws would be simplified and eased.*

In Cape Town the reverse is true.

LANGA AND NYANGA WEST: Police measures against location officials mixed up in the pass rackets have scared the others into enforcing the Natives (Urban Areas) Act with unparalleled harshness.

Hundreds of homes have been broken: breadwinners, mothers and wives ordered out, even one old crippled lady who had come to her family to die, was kicked out after one day here.

At the same time, the local Chief Bantu Commissioner, Mr. Nel, has ordered officials to close all loopholes. An official, one Mr. Greyvenstein, has even come here to assist with the "clean-up".

The Cape Town office of the Institute of Race Relations, which in "normal" times has time for almost nothing but helping people with pass troubles, has been deluged as never before, and has due to the new tough line, been powerless to help, as never before.

NYANGA: Here where several senior officials once took some paternalistic pride in their work, office morale is at its lowest, and relations with the residents very tense. The effect of the March-April P.A.C. "strike" has been to make these officials either apathetic or vindictive.

Residents say that the office is only interested in making money out of them in endless fines and penalties. The same ruthless application of the pass laws is being carried out as at Langa and Nyanga West.

An added hardship is that no non-residents have been given visitors' permits at the gate since 24th September. On weekdays they are directed to the location office, and at weekends, no one is let in at all. The location manager, Mr. Pansegrouy, has stated that weekend permits must be requested during the week. Contact has been in touch with two men who acted on this, and had been refused permits for a Sunday visit on church business. Permit office clerks have been told that no one whatsoever is to be given a permit from Saturday midday until Monday morning, even on matters of life and death, even for visitors from neighbouring Nyanga West, only a stone's throw away. Two clerks who misunderstood the new order, and admitted a group of Liberal Party visitors on 25th September, were dismissed outright.

- **Meanwhile pass raids continue, and women are being locked up for being without the right papers, even in their own houses. Police have boarded buses and gone through demanding reference books.**

- **Leniency, relaxation and a move to end "unnecessary irritation" does not exist in Cape Town, where the "New Deal" idea has been nothing but empty words and propaganda.**

NON-RACIAL JOURNALISTS' SOCIETY PLANNED

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: A move is afoot in South Africa to create a non-racial union for journalists and photographers.

Letters have been sent to leading journalists throughout the country appealing to them to "take the colour bar out of South African journalism" and asking for their views.

The South African Society of Journalists accepts a colour bar because the Government will not register it if it takes African members. The Minister of Labour is prepared to allow the society to have separate branches for Coloured and Indian journalists, however. These journalists must be represented by Whites on the executive committee.

The move for a non-racial union is likely to meet with powerful opposition because:—

- The Government would oppose it and refuse to register it.
- The S.A.S.J. if it agreed to become non-racial might lose funds and concessions it has won in the past.
- Employers would be against it.
- Many White journalists are racists.

Behind the appeal for a non-racial society are journalists of all races who feel "its chances of recognition abroad seem excellent in the light of world attitudes to colour prejudice. We have to think of the future and a union which began non-rationally under difficult circumstances would command much respect".

Attempts to introduce non-racialism into journalism have failed before. The S.A.S.J. is conservative and terrified of losing status.

But many journalists feel abuses in the newspaper trade can only be dealt with non-rationally. Non-White journalists are seldom employed by the White papers although some, like the *Evening Post* in Port Elizabeth, have well-paid stringers. Wages for non-White journalists are low, hours are long.

EX-P.A.C. MAN VICTIMIZED

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The home of Mr. Michael Faya, a leading Natal member of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress was raided by Security Branch detectives this week.

Mr. Faya was among the Pan-Africanists jailed for participating in the anti-pass campaign during March this year. Since then he has been watched constantly by the police.

The British Overseas Airways Corporation in Durban where Mr. Faya formerly worked has refused to re-employ him, although one of its leading representatives has said he found him an excellent employee.

The representative has not issued Mr. Faya with a reference. Instead he has given him a letter inviting those it may concern to telephone him should Mr. Faya apply for a job.

So far Mr. Faya has not found further employment.

Death of De Wet Nel's Favourite—Chief Kambonde

CHIEF JOHANNES EINO KAMBONDE, the Botha Sigcawu of Ovamboland, South West Africa, has died after a long illness.

FAVOURITE OF NAT. PRESS

His death was not reported in the White press of either South West or the Union. This same press, especially the Nationalist papers, used to report fully the late chief's defence of the Bantustan system. During his lifetime the Nationalist press hailed him as "that very influential chief of two hundred thousand Ovambos"; in death he has been forgotten.

The strongest opposition he met from his tribesmen was when he was called to Windhoek by the Bantu Commissioner, Mr. Bruwer Blignaut.

This was at the time when people were being forced to move from Windhoek to the new apartheid location, Katutura. The government officials realized that things were not going well and that they could not persuade the residents of the old location to move and accept apartheid.

Chief Kambonde was called in and



Chief Kambonde, in hospital, visited by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel.

TO PRETORIA

When officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development discovered what an ally they had in Chief Kambonde, he was taken to Pretoria to meet the Minister, and taken on a tour of the Northern Transvaal Bantustans. He was introduced to the "right people", and everything possible was done to prevent his meeting the "bad elements".

SUPPRESSED DEMANDS

He was popular with the Nationalists; and he did all they asked him to. Whenever his tribesmen in other parts of South West demanded higher wages (tired of the 7s. 6d. a week they are now paid), or better conditions of work, Chief Kambonde was called in by the local Bantu Commissioner to suppress the demands of his people.

During his regime in Ovamboland, the "slavery in another name" contract system was tightened up. His predecessor, Chief Martin, had preferred the "freier pass" (exemption pass) system. When Kambonde was made chief he abolished that system; he even took away the "freier pass" from those possessing it.

MOTIVES

One of Kambonde's motives was to gain friendship and money from farmers and industrialists in exchange for cheap labour from his "Bantustan". Even badly paid labourers had to pay a levy of 2s. 6d. each on returning to the reserve, plus a compulsory tax of 10s.

he addressed a meeting at which he had no success. He was told bluntly that he should recognize Mr. Sam Nujoma (now in New York), Mr. Toivo Ja Toivo (in exile in Ovamboland) and other leaders of the South West African People's Organization as the real leaders.

He was urged to consult them before making any decision affecting the nation as a whole. He was told to have discussions with Chief Hosea Kutako and to co-operate with the Hereros and other non-Whites in the Territory in resisting the government, and to work towards having South West Africa placed under United Nations trusteeship prior to becoming fully independent.

He did not do so.

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FROM THE EDITOR

DEAR READER,—Forgive a rather personal note from your editor this fortnight. I feel justified in being personal because for a period I have been away from my office.

Last issue found me locked up in a cell in Roeland Street Prison, Cape Town, and *Contact* was produced entirely by the editorial board and staff. It was the first issue in over two years in the production of which I had absolutely no hand. (Some readers commented that it was a better issue than usual!)

Some of you may know that I was asked by the police to tell them the names of the executive committee of the South African Communist Party (mentioned in an editorial dated 27th August) and also to tell them the name of the person who gave me my information.

I refused, as I am not a police informer, and also because it is an accepted part of the ethic of journalism that an editor does not publish the names of people who give him his information. If editors did not protect their informants like this, there would be less freedom of the press. Most governments respect this rule of journalism. Some countries, such as Switzerland, have actually written into the law a provision that editors cannot be punished for refusing to tell. Other lands, such as Britain, have not made such a law, but nevertheless are careful, in the interests of press freedom, not to interfere with this professional right.

Sam Sly

"THE pace of events will overtake you. Whatever you Whites want to do, it is too late. The change will come about through chaos and suppression. There are various ways this chaos can come about. The Africans can make use of their most powerful weapons—large-scale strikes, passive resistance, actions like the bus boycott, or protests like those by African women in Durban and elsewhere. There may be an open uprising by non-Whites, which may be forcefully suppressed by the well-armed South African army and police. There may be a period of guerrilla activity in which non-Whites will disrupt the whole country. They will possibly be armed. . . . But to sum up, I foresee revolution, which you will suppress with armed force, and there will be more Sharpevilles. The next step will be that the United Nations will intervene and occupy South Africa, either through South West or from the North. Many Whites will flee as they fled from the Belgian Congo. Many will flee from panic, from fear of vengeance, and from fear of the consequences of their misdeeds. Others will stay in South Africa. Those who want to co-operate may serve on equal terms with the non-Whites. . . ."

THIS appeared on the front page of *Die Burger*, Afrikaner Nationalist newspaper of Cape Town—an interview with Homer A. Jack, contained in a series of four articles in which one of their own told Afrikaners how bad things are in the outside world. They need to know. An English executive who was at the Union Festival in Bloemfontein told me he was deeply surprised by the

The police told me they had to get the information, so they took me before a magistrate, and there asked me again to tell them. I refused, although the magistrate had warned me that if I refused I might be put in prison for periods of eight days until I agreed to answer. According to the law there is no limit to the number of such periods.

After three weeks, almost to the hour, they let me out, although I consistently refused to give them the information they wanted. They told me that they had managed to get the information from another source.

My case was one of about six instances in which the heat has recently been turned on the press and on pressmen by the Union government, and it is probable that the Cabinet itself ordered this minor blitz. Perhaps the blitz was intended to soften up the press in preparation for next year's Censorship Bill. If that Bill should become law, then South Africa can indeed say good-bye to press freedom.

My case aroused a fair amount of publicity, here and overseas, and I have been inundated with press clippings. Some of them, notably those in the *London Times*, voiced sharp criticism of the South African authorities for what they did. It is likely that this volume of criticism encouraged the authorities to let me out as soon as they did.

During this current week *Contact* is going to be in further trouble, for Mr. J. C. A. Daniels, your Manager, and I are being prosecuted for having distributed "subversive" statements during the emergency.

You will remember, if you were a reader in the famous months of March and April, that we published an eye-witness account of the happenings at Sharpeville and at Langa; that we ran an editorial called "Fortune Favours the Brave" in praise of the achievements of the P.A.C. pass campaign; that we printed Mr. Philip Kgosana's speech

almost total unawareness of what the world thought of them in the minds of Afrikaners high and low. Even in the Jack interview, *Die Burger* gasped, after "consequences of their misdeeds": "Yes, that is the word he used." At a Liberal Party house meeting last week an earnest young Nat. said that he and his Party believe there is full equality between Black and White in South Africa. You see how much they need to know. When enough have found out how and why they are hated, will they change their minds and, pray God, their leaders? This is too serious, tragic a matter for guesswork, but we must go on trying to communicate with them across the vast nothingness that separates *nasionaal-gesind* Afrikaners from all other South Africans.

THE English here are less resolute. They will ride the punch. Why do you think my English friend was at the Union Festival, anyway? For business reasons.

NON-RACIAL fervour among my political colleagues forbids the use of racial terms where they are avoidable. But some generalizations, even racial ones, make part-sense. Like these: the African sings and dances better, is happier, keeps the family closer, brings up children and cares for the old better, is more hospitable, speaks better—than the European. But the African's belittlers, Black and White, discount these superiorities with the sneer: "There's no African Shakespeare, Beethoven, Chartres, etc." and "They didn't invent the wheel". When the European can learn from and admire Africa's "social but non-mechanical cultural achievements" (Colin MacInnes's phrase), that argument will die. The cultural treasures of Africa are fabu-

Liberals at National Headquarters



Alan Paton (right), National President, was just off to America. H. Selby Msimang wished him a good journey.



While Peter Brown, National Chairman, and Jordan Ngubane, Vice-President, talked over heavy matters,

and that we ran a special editorial calling for United Nations intervention in South Africa.

These were the articles which the police have decided to prosecute us on. You will probably be able to gather from the daily press how the case goes.

A flood of letters from friends of *Contact* showed us that you supported your paper when I was gaoled: this second trial is going to be a greater threat to *Contact*—please keep us in your thoughts again, for press freedom is the most precious liberty left to us.

Yours truly,

Patrick Duncan

Editor.



And five young members from Natal University took a rest after serving the guests.

lous, if you know where to look for them. Don't look for things you can compare with "Europe's practical school-boy skill in gadgetry". MacInnes again, from a prodigious article in *Encounter* (October) which Black whitophiles, White negrophobes and, above all, non-racialists, must read.

A letter from the country:

"THE celebration in honour of Mr. De Wet Nel I think will not be quite a success as I see the attitude of the people. People are reluctant in doing everything pertaining to government affairs. They do things simply because theirs is to obey and do. The removal of people from their old homes to new places and the allotment of plots are the cause of all this trouble which has stirred the people to violence. Those employed by the government chiefs, that is, under the Bantu Authority, must bear the brunt. The tractors are busy here and people look at them askance as if they are saying a day will come."

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To The Manager

P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.



Mr. and Mrs. Pat Poovalingam of the Durban branch said good-bye to Mrs. Alan Paton at the end of the party.

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

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW

ALTERNATIVE TO APARTHEID



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party.

I would like to enlarge upon some of the points I made a fortnight ago. The referendum result is still with us, and the republic will be with us before long. These are facts with which South Africa must learn to live, and from which opponents of apartheid must draw what benefits they can. I see no reason why these benefits should not be considerable—not in terms of what the republic offers, but in terms of a new awareness—among a new body of people, of the precise implication of Verwoerdism for South Africa, and the precise implications of a real opposition to it.

I am not one of those who subscribe to the view that the coming of the republic will produce a miraculous conversion amongst Nationalist Afrikaners. I believe that this conversion will come, but that it will be brought about by the hard facts of life, and not by the establishment of a republic. And, just as the hard facts of life will induce new thinking, I hope, amongst a growing number of Afrikaners, the hard facts of life should now be inducing new changes in thought amongst large numbers of English-speaking South Africans

who, in the past, have only been distinguished from the Nationalists by their language. These people are now faced with the unpleasant fact that, in the new republic, their status is likely to take a downward plunge which will bring them closer to non-White South Africans than they have ever been before. What is more important is that they are, in increasing numbers, beginning to experience some of the frustrations and resentments under which non-Whites have laboured for years. This, one hopes, will have one result. It will make English-speaking South Africans begin to appreciate that their allies in the fight against the Nationalists lie across the colour line. They must either accept it, or they must accept apartheid; and then, for all practical purposes, they might just as well join the Nationalists.

During the weeks since the referendum the Natal papers have been full of correspondence about the republic. This is quite understandable, and it was only to be expected. What is NEW is the clear recognition amongst a large number of these people who have been writing letters that it is not enough to object to the republic because it means the end of the monarchy. One must go farther. One must see the referendum result as a vote of confidence in the policies of the Nationalist Party, and one must oppose, in the republic, policies which are now likely to be more stringently enforced than ever before.

If one values the Commonwealth connection for sentimental reasons only, or for economic reasons alone, then

there is no moral basis for our continued membership. There may be sentimental or economic reasons, but the only valid moral basis for continued Commonwealth membership is acceptance of the unwritten principles on which that association rests. And the fundamental principle of the Commonwealth is its respect for individual man, and its acceptance that individual man has certain rights which are quite unrelated to his racial origins, or the colour of his skin. There are deficiencies in the way in which all Commonwealth countries conduct their affairs. In some the shortcomings are more blatant than in others, but in none is racial discrimination supported by law, or by official policy. Many of the people who voted against the republic support policies of racial discrimination based on law. They have no case to make against exclusion from the Commonwealth as long as they continue to support such policies. The important recent development, if the Natal correspondence means anything, is that many White South Africans are at last realizing how tenuous was the moral basis on which their opposition to Dr. Verwoerd rested in the past, and are now facing the fact that we live in a multi-racial community, and that there can be no solution to our problems which does not find acceptance and support amongst all groups. From this flows the next logical conclusion—that one cannot expect support or acceptance for policies from people who have had no hand in the framing of those policies. The next further logical conclusion is

that, if one is to offer an alternative to apartheid, one must get together with South Africans of other races to decide what that alternative is to be.

Many White South Africans opposed to the republic are now moving painfully through these various logical steps. It is up to us to help them on the way, and to the point where they accept the fact that only inter-racial opposition can command the numerical support, and provide the sound basis in principle necessary to defeat apartheid, and that only a non-racial policy is viable in Africa in 1960.

WHITE RHINO

LULLED by the musical voices of the Tribal Imbongi, the Great White Rhinoceros lay sleeping in the shade of a burnt-out hut, smiling as he dreamt strange dreams of peace and plenty in the Bantustan Empire.

All around him the earth was blackened and scorched, the children were starving and the assegais flew through the air like hail—but the imbongis chanted the Thank-the-Minister song, and the Great White Rhinoceros dreamt and smiled.

Then, refreshed by the dry wind from the dusty hills, he rose and stretched and yawned and issued a Press Statement. "All is well in Bantustan," said the Great White Rhinoceros, nimbly dodging a flying assegai: "Everybody loves it here and everybody welcomes Bantu Authorities. Any reports to the contrary are the work of agitators. What you see flying through the air is not assegais—it is rain, beautiful rain for your crops . . ." and he settled down comfortably, murmuring "Peace, Rain . . ." DENNIS KILEY.

THE PAMPHLETEERS

THE Liberal Party is coming under fire in the Cape from groups and people to its Left. Attacks are directed also at the now banned Pan-Africanist Congress.

The Pan African Congress Venture in Retrospect (6d.), a booklet issued by the Sihlali group in the Non-European Unity Movement, sets out to analyse the P.A.C. campaign in the light of history.

It regards it as an abortive attempt to redress the wrongs under which many Africans labour, as a betrayal of the "liberatory struggle" (the champions of which are, according to themselves, the Sihlali group of the N.E.U.M.): the P.A.C. leaders it describes as "political infants" who "advocated a betrayal of the people".

The pamphlet then goes on to cast the "liberals" in a most sinister rôle. They are shown as working for the interests of the Broederbond, of "playing a subtle rôle in the deception of the people".

The pamphlet goes on to attack other groups in the N.E.U.M. which disagree with Mr. Sihlali.

On the whole, it reveals an astounding ignorance of the P.A.C., of the people who led it, and of its relation with the Liberal Party in Cape Town.

Mr. Sihlali's group sees the March/April events as a "liberal" plot to further the interests of "imperialism".

Lessons of the March Days (Bulletin No. 1 of "The Workers' Democratic League") is an attack on all who do not agree with "The Workers' Democratic League".

The writer interprets South Africa's internal situation, which he does not understand, in the light of preconceived ideas derived largely from 19th century theorists such as Marx, whom he also does not understand.

This writer, too, casts the liberals in a sinister rôle: "The Liberal Party offered Gandhism to the P.A.C. in the firm belief that only thus could the

Labour movement be contained and prevented from endangering capitalist enterprises and vested interests. . . . It is now scarily clear that the Liberal Party gave objective aid to the authorities in their bid to end the strike. Philip Kgosana, under daily instructions from the Cape Town Liberal Party offices, consigned the demands of the people to cold storage."

In these statements, as in many others, the writer betrays complete ignorance of what really happened. No objective observer has ever queried the leadership of the P.A.C. in their campaign.

In *Attack* (September, 1960), an anonymous "journal of discussion", is an article on "Liberalism in South Africa".

The writer regards liberalism as the political expression of the aspirations of the "bourgeoisie". He regards the Progressive Party as representative of this "class".

His argument about "liberalism" does not take account of the Liberal Party, no doubt because that party does not fit into any of the categories determined by his ideology, once again derived from 19th century theorists.

He attempts to cast South African society into a class mould, and sees the political struggles in South Africa as class struggles: "The African workers and peasants must gain and keep their class independence: they must co-operate on the national front with the non-White petit-bourgeoisie."

One suspects that there are more positive political forces at work in Africa and South Africa than the writer allows for. His pre-occupation with outdated ideas blinds him to the facts of the South African situation.

Those who work actively in the freedom struggle in South Africa can only wonder what these pamphleteers have done or will ever do to rid South Africa of the scourge of racialism.

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

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Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d. plus 3d. postage

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NYASALAND ELECTION NEXT YEAR

PARTIES GET READY

From "Contact" Correspondent

BLANTYRE: Elections are due in Nyasaland next year — probably before June — on the new "Macleod" constitution. Already some eight political parties are preparing for the contest.

Far the biggest is Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party, formed after the Nyasaland African Congress was smashed during the emergency. This party claims a membership of 500,000, and, *Contact* learns, it is known that the security police agree with this estimate. The total population of the small country being three million, it seems that one in six of the entire population have joined the party, probably the highest proportion in any African country.

Alongside the main party is the very large Women's League, the territorial leader of which is Mrs. Rose Chibambo, an ex-detainee.

YOUNG LEADERS

Men to watch in future Nyasaland developments are Banda's able young lieutenants, and in particular Messrs. M. W. Kanyama, Chieme, H. B. Chipembere, D. Chisiza, Y. K. Chisiza, M. Chibambo.

The party owns five Landrovers, and one convertible car bought specially for the president, Dr. Banda. The propaganda effort is ably directed by young Aleke Banda, and is carried to the public by the mouthpiece *Malawi News*, and the independent *Tsopano*, both of which sell like hot cakes.

The party also has the backing of the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, Nyasaland's strongest trade union, and of the Asian Convention Party, under the leadership of Mr. A. S. Sarcanie.

M.C.P.'s NON-RACIAL TEAM

Twenty seats will be contested on the "lower" roll (the voters on which will have fairly low qualifications), and eight seats will be contested on the "higher" roll. It is understood that several Asians and Whites will stand for the "higher" seats as nominees of the Malawi Congress Party. The M.P.s on both rolls have equal power; thus the "lower" roll is more important than the "higher", since it will elect 20 as against only 8 M.P.s.

Next to this powerful movement, the other seven parties make a poor, and sometimes, comical, showing.

WELENSKY'S PARTY

There is the United Federal Party (Sir Roy Welensky's party). In Nyasaland it is led by Mr. A. W. Dixon and Mr. M. Blackwood. A few Africans back it, but it has no hope of winning any of the "lower" roll seats. It might win a seat on the "higher" roll.

THE OTHER BANDA

Then there is the Congress Liberation Party, a sort of Adullam's Cave. Led by Mr. T. D. T. Banda, president of the old African Congress before Dr. Hastings K. Banda's return in 1958, it has gathered several leaders in search of a following, such as Mr. W. Manoah Chirwa, former Federal M.P. and member of the Monckton Commission, and three present members of the Legislative Council. The party calls itself a party of moderates, and criticizes the Malawi Congress Party strongly for alleged intimidation.

FIVE SMALL GROUPS

The remaining five parties are small local groups, hardly worth a mention. Mr. Solomon's Republican Party is almost unknown. Mr. Gondwe's Convention Peoples' Party has failed to rally a single supporter. The Central African Party (once led by Mr. Todd) is dwindling under the local leadership of Mr. C. R. Kumbikano. Then there is the Dominion Party, Federally led by Mr. Winston Field, and led in Southern Rhodesia by the fiery Mr. Harper, in Nyasaland it has a handful

of supporters. As it supports apartheid it will have, of course, no hope at the polls.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

The only one of the five that amounts to anything is the Christian Democratic Party. Led by an ex-detainee Mr. John C. Katsonga, it is led exclusively by Roman Catholics. The issue of *Malawi News*, dated 22nd October, contains a heavy attack by the M.C.P. on Catholic Archbishop John Theunissen for "trying to perpetuate imperialism in Malawi" by having instigated Nyasa leaders to found the Christian Democratic Party. Despite the strength of the Roman Catholic church, this party is not expected to succeed in winning any seats at the polls.

WILL DR. BANDA WIN ALL SEATS?

The coming elections are the big question mark in Nyasaland's future. Will Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress Party succeed in winning all 20 of the "lower" roll seats? If so, he will be the undisputed leader of the country during the last stage before self-government. If not, then Sir Roy Welensky's hand will be strengthened in his aim to keep the Nyasas inside the Federation, and self-government will take longer.

It all depends on the elections. The signs are that Dr. Banda will make it.

SOLDIERS WITH NOTHING TO DO



They found nothing to do — so members of the Rhodesian African Rifles went drinking.

Troops called up to patrol Bulawayo's townships during and after the bus strike last month found everything so quiet there was nothing for them to do. All they could be seen engaged in was playing cards or chess, drinking, and racing up and down the streets in their vehicles.

New Chairman



Mr. Leslie Cooper, who was recently elected Chairman of the Transvaal division of the Liberal Party.

'PARTNERSHIP' PRISON



ONE of the detention camps that have been built throughout Northern Rhodesia during the past six months. They are known to exist at Livingstone, Choma, Mazabuka, Broken Hill, Fort Rosebery, Kawambwa, Chinsali, Fort Jameson and the Copperbelt. At least four others have been spoken of. The one that is shown is at Fort Jameson, where it adjoins the school and hostel for the White children of the area. Doubtless when occupied it will serve as an object lesson in partnership in practice. It is not yet known whether one particular camp has been chosen for White detainees, but as there are now said to be at least seventy White members of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party, perhaps such a camp will be necessary when the dawn swoop comes.

NAUGHT FOR WELENSKY'S COMFORT

MR. MAINZA CHONA, Vice-President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, makes these points in an article on the Monckton Report. The article was written exclusively for Forum Service.

- It is obvious that the Commission sees no future in the Federation.
- Federation must rest on a great willingness to accept it or it must

be preserved by force. To hold the Federation together by force was out of the question. Prompt and far-reaching reforms were essential to remove the existing sources of opposition and mistrust.

- No constitutional changes for Southern Rhodesia are recommended. No wonder all the parties in the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland both at home and abroad have announced that their uncompromising opposition to Federation remains as ever before. Monckton or no Monckton.
- The Commission was wrong in saying that Africans in Southern Rhodesia favoured Federation. The N.D.P. boycotted the Commission. But even assuming that Africans in Southern Rhodesia want Federation, why then is an immediate right of secession recommended for Southern Rhodesia instead of giving it to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where Federation is bitterly hated? This seems to me to show that the Commission is biased and that the secession offer is really a kind of bait!

- It is, however, fair to say that though the document does not satisfy us, we have no reason to be disgruntled. It is what we expected. Welensky has been told that the British Parliament has full powers over the future of Federation: that the Colonial Laws Validity Act must continue to apply and that the Governor-General should not be appointed on the advice of Welensky until independence. From cover to cover, there is not a single page to comfort Welensky despite the two volumes of official evidence. Africans have more than ever before intensified their anti-Federation campaign. Even if the name is changed, Federation will be anathema. What they do not want is foreign rule: mock elections and mock democratic governments. No African will agree to having Welensky rule by getting elected by a minority and then pose as a popularly elected figure.

PARTNERSHIP IMPLEMENTED

From JOHN C. TAKURAH

BULAWAYO: African members of the staff of the Rhodesian Omnibus Company staged a stay-at-home strike last month to protest against the low level of wages. The strike continued for five and a half days, after which eighty-five bus drivers, eighty-two conductors and about thirty other workers decided to call it off—on conditions.

The general manager of the bus company told the strikers that there would be no talks in connection with wages until and unless the men reported for duty as usual.

In an interview with one of the strikers shortly after work had been resumed, I was told that a spokesman of the Department of Labour had promised that wages were being discussed and would be raised within a short time.

As a result of the strike, all transport by the Rhodesian Omnibus Company to the African townships near Bulawayo was completely disrupted.

HISTORY WAS MADE

But history was made in the city of Bulawayo.

All buses travelling in the city, and those travelling to the "White" areas, were completely non-racial. White men were doing two jobs at alternate periods. They were seen driving, and at every bus stop they would get out of the cab to issue tickets.

No racial incidents were reported on the buses.

FAMINE RELIEF IN BAMANGWATO RESERVE



THE two great scourges of Bechuanaland have always been drought and cattle diseases but in the past they have not usually occurred together. This year there has been a widespread outbreak throughout almost the entire Bamangwato Reserve following one of the worst droughts in recent years.

Starting in the north near the Nata River in May the disease has now spread throughout almost the entire Bamangwato Reserve and threatens to spread south into the other reserves. As a result all cattle exports from the area have been stopped.

The Bamangwato, only a handful of whom reaped any sort of crop last summer, cannot now sell their cattle to buy imported food.

A famine relief scheme has been started jointly by the government and the Bamangwato Tribal Administration. The scheme involves school-feeding in 14 schools of the Bokalaka area, which is one of the worst hit. Eleven other schools in the Bobonong and Rakops areas are also being helped. Each child is fed $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of mealie meal per day during October and November.

A second scheme, which is financed by the Tribal Administration, involves public works. Three hundred labourers are being employed at 3s. a day (1s. more than the minimum wage for tribal employees) on making new roads, cleaning dams and anti-soil erosion work, as seen in the picture (left).

The Oxford Committee for Famine Relief have given a grant of £700 to famine relief in Serowe—the capital of the Bamangwato tribe. The majority of this money has been given to the community centre to administer a school feeding scheme. The remainder has been given to a private enterprise health centre for subsidized feeding of fortified medic meal to pregnant women and young children.

First Bechuanaland Party Formed

From "Contact" Correspondent

FOR the first time in its history the vast (275,000 sq. mile) empty (300,000 population) Bechuanaland Protectorate has acquired a political party—the Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party. Earlier efforts to form a party failed through opposition by the government-backed chiefs, the low educational level, and the emptiness of the land.

The new party was founded in Serowe by Mr. L. D. Raditladi and others during 1959. Its membership now exceeds 50, and there are plans to start branches in various parts of the Protectorate. The party has four members in the African Advisory Council which will soon elect representatives to the first session of the new Legislative Council. The party is still at a very early stage of development, and has not yet formulated a complete policy statement.

The party resents a recent suggestion that the Protectorate is unripe for democratic elections. The party is not, however, opposed to the principle of chieftainship and, indeed, the founder of the party, Mr. Raditladi, was recently appointed as Subordinate African Authority in Mahalapye. Mr. Raditladi believes the big chiefs should be above politics and should remain as symbols of local unity.

The party officials are opposed to the racially-based representation in the new Legislative Council and believe that this will intensify rather than reduce racial tension. Although they agree that the present indirect election of Bamangwato delegates to the African Advisory Council is not fully democratic they are satisfied with it as a temporary measure. The party does not recognize the repre-

sentatives from the other reserves as "national representatives" because they are directly appointed by the chiefs.

The party considers that the system of licensing traders is discouraging the development of enterprise amongst Africans in the territory. Only those with considerable capital can become traders because of the regulations about buildings, and in some of the larger centres it is becoming very difficult for Africans to obtain trading licenses at all. It points out that in other African territories there are no such restrictions on trading.

The greatest need for the future of the Protectorate is more and better education. In this connection the party feels that the government has not given education the priority treatment it deserves. Educational development has been limited by being under local administration and much more control should be exercised by the central government. Educational facilities should also be extended as quickly as possible to the various subordinate tribes of the Protectorate.

LIBERALS FIGHT RENT RISE

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The Liberal Party in Durban is vigorously fighting a move by the Durban City Council to raise site rentals in the Umlazi Glebelands Location.

The Council's Bantu Administration Committee headed by unpopular Councillor A. S. Robinson recently proposed rents in the area should be raised from 7s. 6d. to £1 and from 12s. 6d. to £1 10s.—increases of more than 100 per cent.

With the Umlazi Glebelands Residents' Association the party drew up a memorandum and submitted it to the Council with a request for interviews with the Bantu Administration Committee.

As a result the Council postponed approval of the increases, only to ratify them about a month later.

Councillor Robinson used the specious argument that the increases would force industry and commerce to raise wages, ignoring the fact that any wage boost would be nullified by the new rentals.

But the Party continued the attack on the Council and was finally granted an interview with the B.A.C. At this meeting the Liberal deputation charged the Council with

- failing to consult residents,
- ignoring the social principle that people who could not pay should be subsidised by those rich people who could,
- ignoring the lessons of Cato Manor where the sub-economic conditions have ever been the underlying causes of disturbances.

The delegation (consisting of two

Liberals and one Umlazi resident) also accused the Council of discourtesy—because it had passed the rentals and then granted the interview.

But it was obvious that Councillor Robinson and his committee preferred increasing Umlazi rentals rather than asking their White electors to pay higher taxes.

The controversy was given wide press coverage in the *Natal Mercury*. Support for the Liberal stand came from the Institute of Race Relations, the Natal Indian Congress and other bodies.

Now the party intends to appeal to the Administrator of Natal to block the proposal. A letter has also been written to the Chamber of Industries and the Chamber of Commerce drawing their attention to the need for higher wages.

Residents have paid tribute to the interest shown by the party in the matter.

Social Welfare?

FACT Paper 83, issued by the South African Information Office is devoted to "Social Welfare in the Union". From this booklet it appears that Nationalist "social welfare" means that of a total £41,158,300 spent during 1959-60, £3,971,300 was spent for Africans.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Apartheid in Church

SIR.—My attention has been drawn to an article on "Apartheid in Church" in your issue of the 24th September which contains a serious inaccuracy.

It is stated in this article that in the whole diocese of George there is only one parish which is not segregated: Heidelberg. But as a matter of fact there are several parishes in the diocese where Coloured and White worship in the parish church at the same time and at the same service. To particularize, Plettenberg Bay, Belvidere (near Knysna), Oudtshoorn, Ladismith, Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort West and Victoria West are all places in the diocese where this is found; at Victoria West you may see Africans also in the congregation.

With His Grace the Archbishop I have to acknowledge that much segregation remains in the church. In a number of the old parishes along the coast in this diocese White and Coloured are segregated and have been in some cases for more than a century. But it simply is not true to state that every parish in the diocese of George is segregated except Heidelberg.

JOHN, BISHOP OF GEORGE.

No Unity

SIR.—In a multi-racial country such as South Africa, a republic which is based on the ideals of only one of the groups must evoke the distrust and fear of members of the other groups.

There has been no "unity" since the Union of South Africa came into being: how can the republic bring unity? Do the Nationalists expect Africans to be content in a republic in which they have no say?

I believe that the way to freedom in South Africa is through a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation inside the country, together with total isolation from the outside world. It is now inescapable that we are going to be kicked out of the Commonwealth of Nations.

There is no doubt that the republican issue is a potent dividing factor in our national life. Ideological legislation over the past twelve years has been the cause of bitter conflicts between the different groups in South Africa, and there is not the slightest hope that it will be otherwise in the republic: it would have been otherwise if all people of South Africa had been given a say.

Africans now are completely voiceless politically: they have no representatives in Parliament and no Congresses. How does the government expect us to live together peacefully when one group is kept in subordination without right or privilege.

It is now time to fight for a non-racial South Africa.

ADVOCATE DUST,
Witbank, Tvl.

The Highest Courage

SIR.—It is not at all extraordinary to find all the needed characteristics for non-violent action enumerated in a letter of the late German Field-Marshal Count Helmuth von Moltke when he wrote about the virtues of war.

Non-violent action is war too but waged on a higher level. After an action, whether won or lost, there is no remnant to inspire revenge and hate, not among the would-be violent nor among the non-violent participants.

Field-Marshal von Moltke wrote: "Eternal peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream, and war is part of God's world order. In war are developed the noblest virtues of mankind: courage and sacrifice, fidelity and the willingness to sacrifice life itself. Without war the world would be swallowed up in materialism."

Now read that letter once again, substituting the word "war" for "conflict". Conflict is a part of God's world order.

This is an undeniable truth observable daily in our surroundings.

In non-violent action all virtues enumerated by Marshal von Moltke must be stronger and enhanced to a higher degree. Before any non-violent action is decided upon there must be training as intensive as in any traditional army. Courage must become invincible. Voluntary sacrifice of personal freedom made willingly for the duration of the action. Not only fidelity but complete trust has to be given and accepted by the leaders and by those led. Those not prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice their life are of little use.

Materialism is not part and parcel of non-violent action. Each participant should be prepared to lose all his worldly possessions for the well-being of all. Non-violent action not only demands the highest courage, sacrifice and fidelity to accept maltreatment and persecution without retaliation, but heroism to bless those who mete out the punishment, telling them that they are at fault.

AHIMS,
Durban.

Won't Lose Hope

SIR.—What makes my heart go pit-a-pat is the thought of South Africa becoming a republic. Have we any hope of surviving the "explosions" of the South African government when we are denied any help from the United Nations Organization? Will we not be subjected to servile treatment? Will it be of any benefit to the Black man?

This republic is giving me a nightmare. But while I breathe I shall never lose hope that one day the whirligig of time will meet our needs.

It is not a question of whether freedom will come—but of how and when.



MAXWELL CAGA,
Springs.

Denounces U.N.O.

SIR.—I denounce and accuse U.N.O. of complicity in the elimination of the elected government of the Congo. Sons of Africa! Let me give you the following facts to substantiate my allegation.

The U.N. placed an embargo on arms supplies to the elected government while the tribalistic rebels in Katanga were given access to supplies.

The Central government was persistently denied the legitimate freedom to communicate with its subjects through the Leopoldville radio station, while the bogus government carried out a vicious propaganda campaign against the Central government.

The rebels are supported simply because they are tribalists, and thus stand in the way of African unity.

I appeal to all dedicated sons of Africa to keep the dignity of Africa afloat, never at the expense of race but at the expense of their efforts. Let the enemies of Africa say, "She is dead but would not lie down".

STARKE,
Port Elizabeth.

Reached its End

SIR.—Through you may I ask what is the attitude of the Liberal Party towards the Capitalist System. Personally, as an ordinary worker with no material assets other than a great love for my fellow human beings, I consider that the Capitalist System has reached the end of its usefulness.

JOHN MORLEY,
Newlands, Cape.

To all readers of "Contact"

- Please treat this as your page
- Send us your views, criticisms, ideas, opinions, with a photograph of yourself if you like
- Always send your correct name and address with your letter—and keep the letter short
- Let's hear from you soon!

Cleaner Politics

SIR.—The selling of *Contact* was a rapid one. I think it will be better to send me six dozen next time.

As I was distributing the paper, someone asked my aim in selling *Contact*. I told him that my aim was to encourage better human friendship, unselfish co-operation, cleaner business, cleaner politics, elimination of political, industrial and racial antagonism.

To bring my aim true I believe in selling *Contact*.

The man was pleased with that because he thought I was only after money.

AGENT,
Cradock.

Racialist Rugby

SIR.—Since our first letter on racialism in sport two months ago, there has been the selection of the White Springboks.

If a non-racial team had been sent to Britain (assuming they were granted passports), which does the reader think would have greater success? The team with the black and white jerseys, of course, not those in green and gold!

A West Indian fellow called McCoy has made himself available to referee the match in Cardiff, Wales. Who does he think he is? Does he not realize that by doing this he is helping the cause of Mosley in England, not to mention Dr. Verwoerd.

South Africans! Switch off your radios when racialist rugby is broadcast.

TWO YOUNG NON-RACIALISTS,
Cape Town.

Which Language?

SIR.—I have looked through *The Policies of the Liberal Party* and can find no reference to a possible change in the official languages of South Africa. The policy-making body of the Liberal Party should tackle this question and give a lead.

How about English, one local world-language, as number one, and number two used on a regional basis—Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Gujarati, etc., depending on the language of the region?

Or have other readers a different idea?

L.F.H.,
Cape Town.

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Vol. 3 No. 23

TSHOMBE DEPORTS P.A.C. LEADERS TO UNION

—SEE PAGE 3



Tom Mboya, Chairman of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa.

—SEE PAGE 7

FORTNIGHT IN PONDOLAND

NDHLOVU MEETING

From Obed Vezi 'Musi

DURBAN: Chief events in Pondoland during the last fortnight:

- The committee of "The Hill" called a huge meeting at Ndhlovu, Pondoland, on 5th November. Some 20,000 men attended.
- The public meeting called by Mr. V. Leibbrandt, Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Transkei, for 7th November at the airfield, Bizana, was totally boycotted. Not one person was present.
- Mr. Anderson Kumani Ganyile (27), rusticated student of Fort Hare and Pondo leader, and ex-A.N.C. leader, was arrested on 5th November and sent into exile at Mafeking. (See below for interview.)

Both sides in Pondoland held high-level secret conferences after the hundred percent boycott of the meeting called by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commission.

Some 25 government sympathisers were called to a secret confabulation with Mr. V. Leibbrandt in the office of the Bizana magistrate. Spokesmen were elected, and sent down to Port St. John's to a representative meeting where the resistance, burning of pasture and huts were among matters discussed.

Meanwhile another emergency meeting was held by the committee of "The Hill"—the Pondos' secret parliament—to discuss the banishment of Mr. Ganyile. At this meeting it was decided that the boycott, which had been confined to Bizana, should be intensified, and extended to the bigger towns such as Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth where Pondos work.

The boycott of Bizana is unbroken. See below for a description of the little ghost town.



Part of the gathering of 20,000 at Ndhlovu, Pondoland, on 5th November.

THE GANYILE BROTHERS



Four of the Ganyile brothers who have spearheaded the boycott in Pondoland and have been responsible for negotiations between the people and the authorities. From left to right: the man in the hat is Wesley; next to him is Zibonele, former P.A.C. leader in the area and now on £100 bail in an illegal meeting case; next is Engleton, with loose scarf; and Daniel. (Anderson is in Mafeking in exile.)

LAST INTERVIEW WITH ANDERSON GANYILE

From Obed Vezi 'Musi

DURBAN: I was the last newsman to interview Pondo leader Anderson Kumani Ganyile on 5th November, before he was served a banishment order in terms of the Native Administration Act of 1927.

He told me before he was arrested: "The time has come for our people to stand on their feet and to demonstrate their solidarity. After all, what the Pondos are doing might one day be done by the Zulus, the Tembus, and others, and nothing can now stem the tide of the people's opposition."

"I have long known that the govern-

ment would one day take reprisals against any of us who tried to guide the people. How they will do this is in the lap of the gods—this I do not know. What I know is that what we are doing now is in the interests of the people."

Later that morning he was taken into the tiny magistrate's court and a few minutes later was served with a banishment order, and driven off to Kokstad police station. It was announced that he would be sent to a destination designated by the minister.

BIZANA GHOST TOWN

From Obed Vezi 'Musi

DURBAN: I caught a glimpse of the South Africa of the future—if the Nationalists have their way. I saw a town dominated by fear and uncertainty. The little town of Bizana, as I saw it during a five-day stay, might well have been the capital town of some "Whitestan" of the future.

Along the muddy streets and footpaths tiny groups of Pondo men, huddled head to head, talked in muffled tones planning . . . planning . . . planning . . . whilst across the street a grim-looking police informer, trying very hard to appear nonchalant, watched intently.

Further down the town's only street, a group of chattering White housewives stood equally anxious and eager for the latest news from "The Hill".

Occasionally a lone Pondo horseman, foreboding in his black overcoat, would ride through the town, casting glances left and right: later another would emerge from the opposite end of the town.

Even the over 200 policemen drafted into the town (plus their five sedans, eleven riot cars, and the three trucks that carry them around) seemed to be as nervous and tense.

Occasionally a Pondo would exchange pleasantries with one of his friends. Apart from this a brooding silence gripped the little town. The local White people, having never encountered such behaviour before—"I have always known the Pondo to be friendly"—are at a complete loss as to what to do.

An estimated daily loss of £7,000 in trade is reported by traders, the four local White doctors, and lawyers. The only shop and trading store being supported by the people—apart from those in the outlying districts—is owned by a Coloured widow in the town of Bizana.

The main reason behind the boycott of Bizana is that the people there identify the Whites with the government. This applies, they admit, to other towns in the Pondoland area also, such as Flagstaff, Lusikisiki, etc.

The Bizana hospital is being boycotted, but not outside hospitals like Holy Cross and Greenville.

Meanwhile Bizana stands quietly, with a solitary Pondo horseman now and then riding through the town slowly—keeping an eye on the shops' boycott—and the cry of the people echoes "Freedom!"

One thing is clear: the economic dependence of White upon Black has made its impact. The initiative is with the Pondos at present.

TROUBLE IN ZULULAND

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: During the current week Mr. Maganyana Ngema of Empangeni, Zululand, was due to stand his trial for inciting people to burn down huts, sugar canefields and pastures. Six canefields and pastures, it is alleged, have been burnt, and threats made to government sympathisers in a new outbreak of rural opposition to government schemes.

The trouble appears to be due to plans to set up a sisal development scheme in this part of Zululand. Hundreds of families have been endorsed out of the area where they have been farming, to make way for sisal growing and for a sisal factory which is now being built. The people have been told that they may apply for permission to live in the location at Ematsheni from which the factory will draw its labour.

Whatever the virtues of the sisal scheme may be, the people feel that it is being thrust on them, and they are doing all in their power to oppose it. Mrs. F. Zwane, of kwa Cebekhulu, was stopped from ploughing her lands last week by armed police.

As in Pondoland, the chiefs of the area, Ntemba Mthethwa, Kapate Cebekhulu, Bernard Sikhakane and the headmen under them have accepted Bantu Authorities against the wish of their people.

ARMS SUPPLY ASSURED FROM NEARBY SOURCES: MINISTER

The Federal Minister of Defence, Mr. J. M. Caldicott, told Parliament on November 2nd that the Federal Government was aware that the supply of arms to the Federation could be cut off through action taken at the United Nations General Assembly.

The Minister, who was replying to a question from Mr. R. Williamson (Federal Dominion Party), said it was not yet a practical scheme to build an arms factory in the Federation. But he added, the Government had made provision for the supply of arms from "nearby sources". (F.B.C. News, 3.11.60.)

"Tame" Conference was not so tame

£5-A-WEEK MINIMUM DEMANDED

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: A demand for a national minimum wage of £5 a week was made here last week by a closed conference that was intended to be a conference of stooges, but which, as it turned out, outspokenly voiced the people's need of more money.

Twenty-nine African delegates from all the main centres of the Union met in secrecy, under the aegis of the Department of Labour, on 8th November, and discussed various aspects of industrial life.

It was the first conference of its kind. It was also the first attempt of recent years by any department, other than the B.A.D. Department, to have any contact with representative Africans.

Delegates were carefully counted each time the conference resumed its work. One evening all attended an M.R.A. film.

The delegates were nominated by the Bantu Affairs Commissioners in their various centres. The agenda was drawn up by the authorities and shows a heavy accent on the prevention of strikes and disputes. Item 4(e) V, for instance, was "The activities and attitude of agitators and other leftist organizations (sic)".

No doubt the authorities expected an easy passage. They did not get one. Right at the beginning the keynote was the speech of Mr. B. J. Mnyanda (Port Elizabeth) who attacked White employers who were not treating their workers as "human beings".

Mr. Mnyanda, who was thanking the Deputy Secretary of Labour, Mr. D. J. Geysler, for officially opening the first national conference, said: "You only have to look at the extreme poverty of the people to realize how difficult it is for many of them to make ends meet and keep the wolf from the door."

"It must be admitted that the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, with all the good intentions in the world, was brought about to take away from African workers the right to collective bargaining."

The delegates met the oft-repeated insistence on the need to stop strikes with the unanimous answer: "The people do not wish to strike. The only thing that makes them strike is starvation wages."

Finally Mr. S. D. Mentz (Chairman of the Central Native Labour Board) asked delegates what they considered a national minimum wage ought to be. The unanimous reply came: "Five pounds a week". Mr. Mentz said that he would inform the authorities of this demand.

The proceedings were closed to the press, and, at the end, a 38-word communiqué which said nothing was released.

Assaults in Roeland Street Prison

By the Editor

THE Cape Town prison authorities have admitted that assaults—generally vicious and often ending in serious injuries—on prisoners in Roeland Street Prison by other prisoners—take place daily. (*Cape Times*, 3rd November.)

In one case, on 25th October, Mr. Ernest Edward Groenewald, of Heathfield, Cape Town, was mistakenly sent to Roeland Street Prison by an orderly at the Cape Town magistrate's court, and was severely assaulted in the cells. He was later admitted to hospital for treatment to his jaw and mouth.

Lieut. L. F. Bottcher, officer commanding the prison, told the *Cape Times*: "We are doing our utmost to prevent these dirty attacks but we simply cannot control them."

From my own experience, Lieut. Bottcher could do much more than he does to stop assaults in his prison. Once, during my three weeks in his prison, I saw a warder named Mostert hit a prisoner. The man cringed, obviously used to being pushed around. It was not a serious assault. But I was a magistrate for twelve years and I know an assault when I see one. It was a rough push and a slight blow, and it was done in a bullying manner.

I reported the assault to the Chief Warder, Warder Payne. He asked me to submit a report in writing which I did. He called in the prisoner, and the warder, and after listening to the three of us he said to me: "I will see that he (meaning the warder) gets a choke-off."

The next day I was summoned into the office of the officer commanding,

Lieut. Bottcher. He was with Chief Warder Payne. On his desk lay the report I had made, with other pieces of paper attached to it.

He said to me in a domineering tone: "Duncan, I haven't read this (pointing to my report). But I know what is in it." He then said that he realized that I had gone round his prison trying to "see things". I denied this, but said that I had in fact seen what I had reported. He told me that it was none of my business, and warned me to "keep my eyes shut" in future. I said that I could never agree to keep quiet if I saw a fellow citizen being assaulted.

That same evening I lost some of my privileges. My chair and table were taken from me, and a second felt sleeping mat which I had been allowed, was taken back. I again had nothing to sleep on but one felt mat, and three blankets, on the wooden floor.

The privileges may have been taken from me because of my report on the warder. Or they may have been taken from me because I had sent letters to the press out of the prison THROUGH THE OFFICIAL PRISON CENSORSHIP. That is to say, I had made no attempt to do anything without the permission of the authorities.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that Lieut. Bottcher, when handed a report that a warder had assaulted a prisoner, after the Chief Warder had admitted that the warder should be choked off, did nothing except to penalize the person who had made the report.

Perhaps if the prison authorities would check the indiscriminate assaults that are committed by the staff, they would find it easier to control assaults by prisoners on other prisoners.

TSHOMBE DEPORTS P.A.C. MEN

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: President Tshombe's breakaway Katanga government in the Congo has deported two young P.A.C. leaders from Elisabethville to Cape Town, where they now face their trial on serious charges.

The two men, Messrs. Maxwell Mlokothi and Ashton Njombolwana, who had earlier been on trial in Cape Town on a charge of incitement, together with Philip Kgosana and others, decided to make a break for freedom at the beginning of October.

They were out on bail, and made up their minds to get out of the Union. They jumped their bail, which was estreated.

From Cape Town they went to Mafeking and from there on to Ndola, Northern Rhodesia. They stayed there a few days while planning the next stage, and then took a taxi to Elisabethville.

HELPFUL U.N.O.

There they told the United Nations troops their story, and the troops promised to do all they could to help.

The refugees planned to go on to Tanganyika by air, and the U.N.O. forces helped in making the arrangements.

The two refugees were staying in an hotel in Elisabethville for the few days prior to their departure, but a few nights before they were due to leave, President Tshombe's police made a raid and the two men were arrested.

"LUMUMBA SPIES"

They were accused of being "Lumumba spies", were handcuffed and sent to Sakania, a border post between Katanga and Rhodesia.

They were brought before an African magistrate, but as he did not understand English, and as the refugees did not understand French or the local African language, a Belgian magistrate was brought in. He offered them a choice: to stay and be shot as spies, or to be returned to South Africa. They chose to be returned. They were then handcuffed and dumped in a goods train and sent to Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, where they were met by an immigration officer and put in prison.

NON-RACIAL PRISON

Ndola's prison is non-racial, the food is good and the two refugees told the authorities that they would rather stay there than be sent back to the Union.

They asked to be tried in Ndola, and if they were found guilty (of breaking the immigration regulations), to be allowed to serve their sentences there; but they were returned to Cape Town. They are now back in Roeland Street Prison, facing charges not only of incitement, but also of contravening the Departure from the Union Act.

If Tshombe's men had not acted as they did, the two South Africans would now be enjoying freedom in Dar Es Salaam.

New Regional Chairman

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Mr. Jordan Ngubane celebrated his election last week as chairman of the Natal Coastal Region of the Liberal Party with a constructive speech on the future of the Party. He said it must

- press vigorously for the immediate establishment of a non-racial government;
- work for the removal of the industrial colour bar;



NGUBANE

- urge the release of banned and exiled leaders and the people arrested in the anti-pass campaign of March;
- work for friendly alliances with other African states;
- call for active United Nations assistance in dealing with South Africa's problems;
- work of the retention and strengthening of the Commonwealth link;
- initiate steps to raise standards of living in South Africa.

Journalists' Plan to Break Colour Bar

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The campaign to try to take the colour bar out of journalism—launched about three weeks ago—is beginning to get under way.

There have been three main reactions to a circular sent to journalists asking their views on a non-racial union. Some journalists—including a few White reporters on large dailies—have said they are prepared to commit themselves to a non-racial union.

Others have said they would like time to consider their position.

A third group believes that pressure should be exerted from within the all-White South African Society of Journalists in an attempt to break its colour bar that way.

The organizers have replied to them saying there is no wish to their part to break up the S.A.S.J.—provided it drops its colour bar. The more journalists who commit themselves to a non-racial union the more likely is the S.A.S.J. to alter its attitude.

Some journalists are arguing that the S.A.S.J. should not be weakened by controversy now. The organizers' reply is that the Society has been powerless to prevent more than twenty laws curtailing press freedom appearing on the statute books. And the suggestion that an all-White body could watch non-White journalists' interests is unrealistic or, at best, paternalistic.

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Now, in 1960, there are nearly half a million South Africans who owe their existence to those early settlers. The first hundred years have been tough going, but freedom is near, if all do their duty.

Let 1960 be a rededication. The more effort thrown now into the struggle the sooner will it be over, and the shorter will be the birth-pangs of the new South Africa, the South Africa that will proudly have room for all South Africans.

U.K. Builds U.D.F.

BRITAIN is training paratroopers of the U.D.F. But the South African authorities have never concealed their true military intentions: to use the army not against any external foe, but against the voteless majority of the people of South Africa.

How can Britain reconcile the new Macmillan-Macleod policy for a free African Africa with such traffickings over the army mess-tables?

All honour to the British Labour Party for having drawn the world's attention to the paratroop scandal. It is now up to the ruling Conservative Party to cancel, immediately, these arrangements.

If the arrangements are allowed to stand, then some of the responsibility for possible future disasters in South Africa will lie at Britain's door.

Get Rid of Tshombe

ON another page we tell the story of how two young Pan Africanists were seized by Mr. Tshombe's police in Elisabethville and returned by a Belgian magistrate to Cape Town where they are now standing their trial.

The time has come for the United Nations to uproot the Tshombe régime by force. Any African government that can collaborate with apartheid is not worthy of the name of government.

Contact appeals to all African governments, and to the United Nations chiefs in Leopoldville, to waste no time, but to send this stooge government an ultimatum.

Time is short. Failure to act now may well lead to a second move-in by the Russians, and to an African Korea.

Freedom Soon

FOR some months speakers at Liberal Party meetings in the Cape and elsewhere have carried the message that the end of apartheid is at hand, and that freedom will be here within five years. In an editorial of 16th July *Contact* carried the same message.

The message is having its effect. Reports have reached us that people who are insulted by race supremacists have begun to reply: "That's all right. You can be rude to me to-day. But we will have our freedom within five years."

This is an excellent way to defend oneself. For not only is it true. It is dignified and it encourages others.

Let us make sure that when New Year comes we change the words, and that from that day our reply shall be: "Remember, freedom is coming within FOUR years."

We Say

That raising the price of bread by one penny at the same time as lowering the price of butter could have been done only by a government which is quite out of touch with the people's needs.

* * *

The government is going to double the output of Sasol, at a cost of £30 million. In our view the reason for this decision is the threat of oil sanctions by the United Nations. It is also going to re-engine the Boeing jets, at a cost of £720,000. The reason for this decision is certainly the near-certainty that Nairobi airport is going to be closed to South African aircraft next year. Without the new engines the Boeings cannot take off fully loaded at Johannesburg and reach Rome without a stop.

Thus does the shadow close in on the Verwoerd régime.

* * *

Non-racialism is spreading. TANU, Dr. Julius Nyerere's triumphant non-racial party, has cleansed multi-racial partnership out of Tanganyika. In Malawi Dr. Banda's movement is about to do the same. In the Rhodesias Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party and Mr. Joshua Nkomo's National Democratic Party are both heading straight for power—and are both fully non-racial.

Only here in South Africa is the road apparently hard, here where non-racialism ought to be easiest.

Surely the time has come for democrats to build a huge non-racial movement.

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

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

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

The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d. plus 3d. postage

from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg

Sam Sly

THE Progressive Party leaders are politicians of skill and experience—in White South Africa. Recently Dr. Z. J. de Beer praised Eric Louw and the official South African delegation to the United Nations in a newspaper article, and referred to "we" and "our" with no suggestion that these pronouns referred to any but the Whites. I saw this not as a thoughtless blunder but as calculated to keep the Progressives in the (White) public mind as a respectable (White) political party in the old tradition. When Grahamsdown Progressives agreed last week to a 25% quota of non-Whites as the condition for their forthcoming meeting in the City Hall, that, too, was calculated. (The Liberal Party had just been flatly refused the City Hall for a meeting, incidentally.) To hold the meeting elsewhere would be to lose (White) face. There would certainly be no likelihood of turning non-Whites away, even with a 10% quota. If the Grahamsdown Progressives are fearing that non-Whites will try to pack the meeting as a protest, let me reassure them. The African people of Grahamsdown, or anywhere else, are just not interested in the Progressive Party, partly because of this very policy of theirs of keeping up (White) appearances. While they continue in this way they can attract only sell-outs or rascals from the African people. And they will forever repel the kind of membership they must have if they are to survive defeat at the next General Election.

* * *

A LARGE party of Cambridge undergraduates have gone back to England after touring the Union. Several told me that there were two topics they heard more of than any other. One was the Congo atrocities (of 1960, not the Belgian "red rubber" days of

1885-1905) and the other the alleged eating of the flesh of Sister Aidan, the nun murdered in East London in 1952. For eight years, Sister Aidan's tragic death has been used to justify race oppression in South Africa. I heard Eric Louw over the air in 1958, and in July this year Mr. Swart in person in the Durban City Hall, defaming millions of their fellow-countrymen by using this story as proof of the primitive savagery of the whole community to which her allegedly cannibal African murderers belonged. It is time for a reminder of the other side of the story, first pointed out by Harry Bloom in *Contact* on 19th April, 1958. His words were "But do not (those) who give currency to this grisly slander know that the allegations of cannibalism were never proved, that in the trial of the eight youths who were convicted of murdering the unfortunate woman, there was no evidence of it, though there were numbers of eye-witnesses to the murder."

* * *

THE Government refused an enquiry into the disturbances of 1952 (in which more people died than in March-April this year). They said it would be used as a platform from which to abuse the police. Even at this late date, I should have thought the Institute of Race Relations or another body would serve South Africa well by inquiring as closely as possible into the Sister Aidan case. The Governor-General's use of it only four months ago shows what a handy weapon it is for racists, when stated as proven fact.

* * *

WHATEVER such an inquiry found, the other facts remain: that although human flesh could be consumed by the Xhosas (for sacred purposes), that of a female never was; and that the significance of the Sister Aidan case is that it is the only allegation of cannibalism on record in modern South Africa. If it is true though not proved, I wager there have been ghastly freak

occurrences like this in European countries in our period.

* * *

I WAS happy to put Dr. Peter Sulzer, of Switzerland, on the trail of an unpublished MS by Thomas Mofolo. This learned translator of Mofolo's *Chaka* into German (published in 1953 with his short biography of Mofolo), had often argued with another authority on African writing, Janheinz Jahn, about the effect of the missions on writing. Jahn felt that Mofolo's creative urge was paralyzed by his association with missionaries at the time he wrote *Chaka*, Jahn's proof being that he wrote nothing after this. The appearance of a new novel, written after *Chaka*, affects this argument. It is called *Masaroa* and is about the bushmen who until quite recently were semi-slaves to the Batswana. Sulzer himself wrote a book called *Schwarze Intelligenz* in 1955 and compiled an African anthology *Christ Erscheint am Kongo* in 1958. His new book will be a collection of translations of Afrikaans poetry and prose, to be called *Glut in Afrika* and published by Artemis Verlag, Zurich, next year.

Peter Sulzer is staying with Uys Krige at "Sea Girt", Second Beach, Clifton, Cape, and his address at home is Palmstr. 26, Winterthur, Switzerland. He is looking for MSS, especially novels, in English, Afrikaans or Sesotho.

* * *

DOES every South African airport have a spy-in-residence? I was impressed at the efficiency which caused members of a party seeing off the South African wife of an East African politician to be visited by the Security Police afterwards. The party sat in the airport "non-European" tea room, which they had to themselves except for a lone man with no apparent business there who sat at the next table and cavedropped. They guessed he was a spy and sure enough his information was acted on. In the interrogation that followed a day later the police did not conceal that they had learned of the lady's visit from the airport send off.

"Contact"—man



CIKIDO

Young *Contact* agent Gerald Cikido sells 400 copies of the paper in and around Cape Town every fortnight.

During the emergency he was kept in Roeland Street Prison for two months (arrested as an "idler"), and on his release became a *Contact* agent. This occupation was not without its dangers: he was taken to the police station twice for questioning and was stabbed in the chest and arm by skollies who did not like his selling the paper. He spent a night in hospital.

He is now studying history, geography and English with a correspondence college. These subjects will go towards his matriculation. When he has written and passed that, he is determined to become a lawyer and play a full part in the life of the country.

Asked why he sold *Contact* he said, "It is a freedom paper, and by selling it I am helping to bring about freedom".

The money which Gerald Cikido earns from the selling is spent on books.

PETER BROWN takes

. THE LONG VIEW



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party.

THE CYNICS

OUR government spends much of its time and much of our money trying to persuade us, and the rest of the world, that its policies are the only ones that are any good for us and particularly that they are the only ones that are any good for those of us who are Africans. Some of us sceptics see small substance in these claims and suspect that the primary aim of the Government is to look after itself and those who vote for it.

Cynicism

The evidence accumulates. There have been two striking examples of Nationalist cynicism in the past few weeks which support our view and not its claims. The first, the penny increase in the price of bread on November 1st; the second, the reported remarks of the Minister of Lands on a visit to Zululand.

If there is one theme which has run through the pronouncements of almost every leading South African employer, commercial or industrial, on almost every available occasion during the past year, it has been the urgent recognition of the need for a substantial increase in the wages of South African workers. Since the war, surveys carried out by a variety of reliable organisations have shown the growing gap between wage

rates, particularly African wage rates, and minimum essential subsistence expenditure. For a time the results of these surveys were hardly read and virtually ignored, but the last year has brought a startling change in the attitude of employers, who seem suddenly to have recognised the vastness of the problem which confronts us all. Has it brought a change in the attitude of the Government? Not that one can notice. In fact the impression one gets is that the Government has decided to look the other way, to avoid facing what would be regarded as a Government responsibility anywhere else, and to leave the employers to wrestle with the problem by themselves.

Hungry Wheat Farmers?

Now, while employers are planning to try to narrow the gap, comes the increase in the price of bread. Bread, in 1960, is the staple food of just that group of people whom the surveys have shown to be most desperately struggling to make ends meet. One has only to walk round any town at lunch-hour to know that bread, and almost bread alone, is what the urban African worker uses to keep himself going. Yet, in the face of the situation the surveys reveal and the efforts of commerce and industry to do something about it, the Nationalists have put the interests of the wheat farmers first. There seems to be some mix-up in priorities here. I don't know if the wheat farmers are hungry but I do know that many of the people who buy their bread are. Now they will be hungrier still. If the wheat farmers are desperate the sensible action of a responsible Government would have

been to subsidise the bread price, not to throw a new burden on to those people whom all the evidence shows are least able to carry it.

Bantustan Doubts

Apartheid holds up before us and the outside world the vision of a South Africa divided up into compartments in each of which the interests of a particular group are supposed to prevail. There will be "Bantu heartlands" in which the interests of particular African communities will prevail. One of these Bantu heartlands is the Zulu heartland and it is here, we are told, that the interests of Zulu-speaking people are to prevail. Some time ago I voiced some scepticism in *Contact* as to whether the interests of Zulu-speaking South Africans would in fact prevail in their heartland. My doubts were raised by the opening up of the Makathini flats in Northern Zululand to White farmers. It seemed to me that, if apartheid meant anything at all, the time was past when White farmers should be taking up Crown land in an area which fell ideally into the Zulu heartland. I still feel the same way, but it seems that that time has not passed.

At Mtubatuba in October, Mr. Sauer announced that there would eventually be some 2,000 White farms in the newly developed Pongola Poorl area of Zululand. Why? Everyone knows that, even under the most generous estimate of the amount of land which Africans will have if apartheid comes to pass, they will still have very much less than their share and the disproportion between White and Black land will be hardly less marked than it is today. Why then

persist in allocating unallocated land in the "heartlands" to White people, when it could so effectively be used to relieve pressure on African land and give the opportunity to earn a decent living in reasonable circumstances to a large number of African people? And are there any Nationalists amongst the applicants for farms at Pongola? If there are, why do they want to go to Bantustan? Should they not be persuading their fellows who are already there that, in support of the cause, they should be packing their bags and getting ready to move out and hand over to the Zulu people?

Nat. Interests Must Prevail

I do not believe in dividing up South Africa, nor do I believe that the interests of one group should prevail in one part while those of another prevail somewhere else. I believe that we are all South Africans and that we should share the same rights throughout our country. What I object to is that the interests of the White nationalists should prevail over the interests of everyone else everywhere. But as long as effective political power is limited to one section of the community its interests will prevail. It would be remarkable if anything different were to happen. The wheat farmers will prevail over the urban bread-eaters and the Nationalist farmer who wants land in Bantustan will get it. Is it not time for the Government to abandon the window-dressing and acknowledge to us and the world that it is in office with the over-riding objective of ensuring that the interests of Afrikaner Nationalism prevail against all others?

PRETORIA GROUP AREAS BETRAYAL

This story about Group Areas in Pretoria shows the perfidy of the Union government. When Dr. Dönges introduced the Group Areas Act in parliament he said that the Act would be applied with justice as between "races".

Since then it has become clear that the Act is being enforced in a manner that will harm non-Whites more than Whites.

Now the Pretoria City Council representative has said at a hearing that, since there is no provision in the Act that it should be applied with justice, there is no need to honour the old promise made in parliament by Dr. Dönges.

Read this account of how the Pretoria authorities are unjustly seeking to uproot thousands of citizens from their homes.

from *Adelaine Hain*

SOME two years ago the Pretoria City Council petitioned the Group Areas Board to proclaim the townships of Lady Selborne, Eastwood and Highlands "White" areas in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Lady Selborne and Eastwood are the only remaining "normal" residential areas for Africans in Pretoria—areas where they may own land freehold and where there is no control over or restriction of their movements. Both areas are closer to town than either of the municipal locations of Vlakkfontein and Atteridgeville. Many old people who have invested their life's savings in a house and whose sole income consists of money obtained by renting rooms, will be ruined if these areas are proclaimed. Highlands is the only area available for "Coloured" expansion. The "Coloured" township in the central part of Pretoria, the Cape Reserve, which adjoins the Asiatic Bazaar, is pitifully overcrowded and cannot accommodate any more people.

These areas have all been in existence for over 50 years.

In spite of all these considerations, and in spite of the hardship and suffer-

ing which it was manifest that the removal of these areas would cause, the Group Areas Board ruled in favour of the City Council and proclaimed the areas "White".

SOTHO GROUP AREA

In the intervening period the Council and the Bantu Affairs Department have made it known that the alternative freehold area, which will be available to the people of Lady Selborne and Eastwood, is to be at Uitvalgrond, a farm in a Bantu Trust Area, 22 miles out of Pretoria, in the Brits direction. This proposed township is being developed mainly for members of the Sotho group, and the B.A.D. states that while it is not possible to provide facilities such as separate schools for other ethnic groups, they would raise no objection to the purchase of allotments there by such groups. If these other groups are not satisfied with this state of affairs then they are directed to return to their own particular "homelands", in the distant reserves, though the majority of them were born in Pretoria and know no other home. For the Coloured people of Highlands, an alternative area has been made available at Derdepoort, to the

East of Pretoria. (See *Contact*, 10th September, 1960.)

COUNCIL PETITION

The Council has now petitioned the Group Areas Board to set a date upon which the areas are to be proclaimed "White". If this were done the residents would be given a year in which to sell their properties and move, thereafter they might be forcibly evicted and compensation, as assessed by the Council, would be paid to them for the property expropriated.

A committee of the Board met at the beginning of this month to hear representations from interested parties on the advisability or otherwise of proclaiming the areas "White" in the near future, or of putting off the proclamation indefinitely. Memoranda protesting against the proclamation were submitted by the Village Committees of Lady Selborne and Eastwood, the property owners of Highlands, the Liberal and Progressive Parties, the Joint Council for Europeans and Non-Europeans, the Black Sash, etc. The interest shown obviously surprised the committee, who found it necessary to move the venue of the hearing to larger premises where all could be accommodated.

Amongst those who sat out the hearing for the full three and a half days were representatives of the Village Committees, the property owners, the Pretoria City Council (to which the property owners of all three areas pay rates but upon which, of course, they have no representation), the Liberal Party and the African section of the Special Branch.

The committee showed at an early stage some of the lack of impartiality which later characterised the hearing. At one point the chairman so far forgot himself as to refer to a submission by the City Council as "our submission".

It was obvious after evidence against the proclamation had been presented that the alternative accommodation of-

ferred was far from "suitable", as it is required to be in terms of the Act, and that the forcible removal from these areas of people who in some cases had occupied the ground for upwards of 50 years, could only occasion hardship and suffering with the attendant ill-feeling and frustration, and would be in direct contradiction to the promises of Dr. Dönges, who had assured Parliament that the Group Areas Act would be applied with justice.

NO NEED FOR JUSTICE

In reply the City Council representative did not deny these allegations. He asserted that the Committee was not competent to decide whether or not the area should be removed because this had already been decided at the earlier hearing some two years ago. He submitted that matters of hardship and suffering were not therefore relevant, that it was unnecessary for suitable alternative accommodation to be available and made the astonishing statement that as there is no provision in the Act to ensure that it should be applied with justice, the committee need not take this into account. He also denied that Uitvalgrond had been put forward by the Council as an alternative freehold area for the people of Lady Selborne, but this was refuted by the representative of the Liberal Party, who told of an interview she had with an official of the City Council in which this was definitely stated. The particular official, a Mr. Kingsley, happened to be present at the hearing but he was strangely silent! In order to save time, and consequently expense, the committee agreed that the arguments of the City Council could be replied to in writing.

The committee has not yet made known its decision, but it is understood that if it rules in favour of the Council the matter may be taken further by those affected.

BOYCOTT OF "INDIAN UNIVERSITY" PROPOSED

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Rather than toe the line of the Government in supporting the "Tribal" Colleges being set up, widespread support for a boycott of the proposed "University College for Indians" was voiced here. Deep disappointment and surprise was expressed in several quarters following the announcement by Mr. Serfontein, Minister of Education, this week that the college would be established as from 1st November.

Opposition to the college is already mounting. The announcement has added impetus to a move that has been under consideration ever since it was learnt that the government intended setting up special colleges for the different races. Prominent educationists provisionally agreed to go into the question of preparing students of Indian origin through private study for acceptance at overseas universities.

SACRIFICES

A prominent Durban educationist who mooted the idea is Dr. M. B. Naidoo, Vice-Principal of Sastri College, who returned recently from America after fulfilling several university engagements there. Dr. Naidoo felt that there was need now for concerted action and he was confident that the intentions of the government could be thwarted if a complete boycott was organized. There was need now, he observed, for sacrifices to be made. Dr. Naidoo went on to add that the boycott would certainly not stifle higher education and he suggested that excluded students be prepared for acceptance at overseas universities through private study.

OVERSEA UNIVERSITIES

According to Dr. Naidoo, universities outside South Africa would certainly rally round, once the intentions of the government were made clear to them. He was confident that if some effort were made to discuss the matter with the responsible heads overseas suitable arrangements could be made.

DONATION

Meanwhile a £20,000 deed-of-donation to the University of Natal has been abrogated by the M. L. Sultan Charitable and Educational Trust. Mr. E. A. Seedat, secretary of the trust, said in Durban this week that the deed of donation would have to be abrogated "for there is no provision for the money to be transferred to any other college or institution".

BISHOP-ELECT HIT BY PASS LAWS

From "Contact" Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: A bishop-elect has been hit by the harsh pass-laws here. Canon Alphaeus H. Zulu, of Durban, who will be consecrated bishop on 27th November, arrived from Umtata on 12th November, for the Anglican provincial synod.

He planned to stay with the Archbishop of Cape Town at Bishopscourt. But, just before his arrival, Mr. H. M. Pansegrouw, Manager of Native Administration, Cape Divisional Council, informed Bishopscourt that he would not give Canon Zulu a permit to stay in a "White area". He said that the Canon might go to Nyanga "to stay with his own people".

As a result Canon and Mrs. Zulu left Bishopscourt, and moved to stay with friends in Retreat, within the area controlled by the Cape Town City Council.

Unlike Mr. Pansegrouw, Mr. A. S. Rogers, the City Council's Manager of Native Administration, told church officials that he would give permits to any delegates to stay anywhere within the city area for the duration of the synod.

DURBAN NOVELIST



Dr. Ansuyah Singh, of Durban, whose novel "Behold the Earth Mourns" is to be published this month by the C.N.A. The setting of the story is in India and South Africa.

NO MORE MINE LABOUR FROM TANGANYIKA

DAR ES SALAAM: Dr. Julius K. Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, has aimed a powerful blow at South African racist policies by announcing through the Minister of Health and Labour, Mr. Derek Noel Bryceson, a total withdrawal of all facilities for recruiting African labourers from Tanganyika to work in the South African gold and diamond mines.

This was one of the first acts of Dr. Nyerere after he assumed office as head of a nationalist government.

In 1959 the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (known as Wenela) opened an office in Tuku-yu, S. Tanganyika, with the approval of the Government of Tanganyika, which permitted the recruiters to sign on 15,000 men a year on two-year contracts.

The Wanyakyusa tribesmen found the wages and conditions of service attractive and between £400,000 and £450,000 entered Tanganyika from the services of these labourers. Tanganyika leaders detested the whole scheme and likened it to organized "slavery".

Many people here feel that with the closure of labour recruitment Tanganyika's war against apartheid has entered its second phase. It was in early 1960 that a total boycott of goods produced in South Africa was called for and effectively enforced.



Bryceson, staunch supporter of Nyerere

MADAGASCAR SURVEY

THE elections in Madagascar held on 4th September have left the Prime Minister-President, Mr. Philbert Tsiranana, in a tremendously strong position with over one million votes out of a total of some 1,500,000 cast for his Social-Democratic Party (P.S.D). But, a constant threat on his left flank, the A.K.F.M. party (*Antokon'ny Kongresin'ny Fahaleovantenan'i Madagasikara*) remains strong in the capital, Antananarivo, and collected some 250,000 votes.

Although Mr. Tsiranana is noted for his moderation, he enjoys widespread nationalist support. Three great leaders who had been exiled as a result of the 1948 rebellion, Messrs. Ravoahangy, Rabemananjara, and Raseta, returned from France recently. Of these, Mr. Tsiranana succeeded in persuading the first two to join his administration. Mr. Jacques Rabemananjara is the new Minister of National Economy, and Dr. Ravoahangy is Minister of Health. Mr. Raseta, who has old communist links, has alone chosen to join the A.K.F.M. in opposition.

Mr. Tsiranana thus not only has the prestige of actually having won independence, but he has succeeded in obtaining the blessing of two of the legendary leaders who suffered so much in the earlier struggles.

The A.K.F.M. is further to the left than the P.S.D., but is not actually communist-dominated. It is in reality far more powerful than a mere count of votes would indicate, because:

- its strength lies among the relatively modernized Merina people of the Antananarivo area, the people who ruled the island before the French conquered it in 1895;
- it calls for "full independence" for the island. It claims that the Malagasy are not yet fully independent by reason of the French military bases and of the adherence of the island to the Franc Zone and the European Common



Market. On the analogy of other ex-colonies it seems that such a line is likely to succeed.

On a South African analogy Mr. Tsiranana stands approximately where General Botha stood with regard to Britain in 1911. His defence and external affairs are run by France.

After sixty years of French rule the Malagasy are reviving their own culture and language. Our correspondent in Antananarivo writes that the Malagasy language is being brought back in the schools, though the educational syllabuses remain based on French programmes.

The old palace of the pre-conquest Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony, after standing empty throughout the years of the conquest, is again being used, and is lived in by the present Prime Minister-President. The island now has its own flag, red, green and white, in place of the French tricolor. The old pre-conquest flag, all red, has not been revived, perhaps because in to-day's cold war it would have led to misunderstandings.

Relations with France, and with the French settlers and businessmen (approximately 50,000 out of a total population of 5 million) remain excellent.

Our correspondent writes that deep resentment is felt by the great mass of the Malagasy people against apartheid. Nothing official has yet been done by the new government to give expression to this feeling, but the trade unions have called for a consumers' boycott of South African goods.

CHILDREN MOURN SCHOOL

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Johannesburgers of Indian origin are desperate about schooling for their children. More than 2,000 children already have to travel up to 44 miles a day to attend schools outside the city—and another 500 now face the same grim prospect.

A recent decision of the Witwatersrand Central School Board means that from next year, the 500 pupils at the "Johannesburg Indian High School" will have to transfer to a school at Lenasia, 22 miles outside Johannesburg. The reason for the forced transfer is said to be over-crowding at the school, which also houses a teachers' training college.

But parents fear that the Government is using their children's education as a form of blackmail to compel them to move to Lenasia.

They say that the "Johannesburg Indian High School" was established 16 years ago, about ten years before the start of the training college. So why, they ask, should it be the school-children that must move?

Parents accept that there is over-crowding at the school, but the answer, they say, does not lie in sending the pupils to Lenasia. They suggest, in the first place, that the training college be sited elsewhere, to provide more classroom space for the children, or alternatively, that additional accommodation be provided for the schoolchildren in Johannesburg.

They point to the fact that a former

school in Booyens, from which the pupils were transferred to Lenasia several years ago, is now being used by the authorities as a warehouse. They also point out that during the past few years, the community has offered free land and £25,000 cash for the building of a new school if the Education Department would agree to take over the running of the school. These offers have been refused.

During the last few weeks, resentment at the forced move has been mounting, and the Indian community is building up a campaign against the decision.

The Johannesburg Indian Educational Welfare Society has held a meeting at which it was agreed to step up the community's offer to build a school to an amount of £50,000. Free land will also be offered.

If the Transvaal Education Department says that it cannot consider the offer because of the operation of the Group Areas Act, an approach will be made to the Minister of the Interior with a plea for relief.

Pupils of the school have set up a "Students' Protest Committee" to organize against the move. On Monday, 7th November, a black flag was hoisted on the school roof, protest leaflets were distributed to pupils calling on them to support the committee, placards were placed on the school fence, and pupils wore black arm bands to their classes.

South West Africa:

UNION IN THE DOCK

THE question of South West Africa's future will soon be in the hands of the International Court, where South Africa is being charged in a contentious proceeding, with failing to fulfil the conditions of the Mandate.

The charge is laid by the governments of Ethiopia and Liberia, two countries which were members of the League of Nations which first conferred the mandate on South Africa.

MANDATE VIOLATED?

The two countries charge that South Africa, by practising apartheid in South West, and in many aspects of its administration, violates the mandate, and they request the International Court to require the immediate cessation of such violations.

If the International Court finds against South Africa, and South Africa refuses to comply with the judgment and fulfil the conditions of mandate, the matter may be forwarded to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The General Assembly will be able to



KUHANGUA

decide, in the light of the judgement from the International Court, whether to impose sanctions to ensure South Africa's proper fulfilment of her obligations, and/or to revoke the Mandate.

If the latter were done, South West Africa would come under the direct control of the United Nations until such time as the people of the territory were ready for independence.

LETTER FROM S.W.A.P.O. LEADER

In a letter to *Contact* from New York, Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, National Secretary of the South West Africa People's Organization, writes as follows:

"I wish to inform the readers of *Contact* that the South West Africa People's Organization strongly endorses the legal action undertaken by the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia on behalf of the other African States. This to us is a positive step and one of the most effective means to an end. Certainly, this action should concern all those who believe in justice and democracy in the Union of South Africa. I am sure that no one citizen in this world wishes to see his Government put on trial before the World Court and the public of the world. South Africa is now being tried before the world. The South West Africa People's Organization is fully convinced that the judgement of the World Court will be in the favour of the people of South West Africa.

"This, we hope, will help us to reach a peaceful solution to the question of our country and that through the United Nations the South West Africa People's Organization will succeed in its determination to establish a non-racial democracy in South West Africa."

NATS. WANT INCORPORATION

Meanwhile, as if to taunt the United Nations into action, Mr. J. J. van der Wath, M.P., leader of the Nationalist Party in South West Africa, said in

Windhoek at the Nationalist Party Congress last week, that a new agreement should be negotiated which would enable South West to be incorporated in the Union as a fifth province. And Mr. J. von Moltke, M.P., said that from now on he was going to work for "one thing only and that is incorporation (of South West) in the Union".

"Bantu Authorities" for "Non-Bantu"

WINDHOEK: An attempt to bring the non-Bantu Nama people under the Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education systems ran into severe difficulties some days ago at Berseba, 250 miles south of Windhoek.

The Assistant Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Mr. van der Watt, told the people at a meeting about the "good things the government plans to do for the Bantu", and urged the people to accept Bantu Authorities and Education.

When he had finished his speech, the young men present spoke strongly in rejection of his proposals. "To accept the word 'Bantu'," said one speaker, "is tantamount to accepting oppression and slavery. The South African administration has brought us astounding laws."

As a token of their complete rejection of anything to do with Bantu Authorities, the people at the meeting refused to touch any of the food which had been provided, although cattle had been specially slaughtered for the occasion. They said that the food had been bought with money from so-called Bantu Trust Funds.

The meeting, which was well attended, unanimously demanded that South West be placed under United Nations trusteeship. Among those present was Chief Samuel Witbooi. Delegates from all Nama reserves and towns attended.

Rhodesian Liberal Party

From "Contact" Correspondent

KITWE: On 30th October an emergency congress of the Central Africa Party in Northern Rhodesia decided to change its name to "The Northern Rhodesia Liberal Party". This decision was taken as a result of the resignation of Mr. Garfield Todd as the Federal leader of the C.A.P.

The C.A.P. Executive in Northern Rhodesia felt that they should disassociate themselves from the Southern Rhodesia division.

The congress unanimously elected Sir John Moffat, M.L.C., as president. Rev. Colin Morris was elected the senior vice-president, and Mr. A. H. Gondwe, M.L.C., was elected vice-president. The chairman of the party is Mr. Harry Franklin, M.L.C., and the vice-chairman is Mr. Francis Chembe, Federal M.P.

KILLINGS—CHIEFS COMPLAIN

ACCORDING to letters received from Chief Hosea Kutakox and Chief Samuel Witbooi, two of the Territory's most important chiefs, the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, has been informed of a series of killings of African people by White settlers. These killings, it is alleged, have not been properly investigated by the authorities. *Contact* has all the details, and is to institute a searching inquiry.

"AFRICA MUST BE STRONG"—U.S. President-elect Kennedy



Mr. Kennedy and Dr. Gikonyo Kiano of Kenya, at a dinner given in New York by the American Society of African Culture

THE 1960 United States presidential election may well emerge as the most crucial of the century. The most significant aspect of the Democratic candidate's win over his more conservative opponent is his new, enlivening approach in foreign policy. Senator Kennedy already emerges as an expert on African affairs. Studying the problems and possibilities of this continent has been one of his special assignments on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He has also served as Chairman on the Subcommittee on African Affairs. He intends to pay another visit to the continent in the near future.

Speaking in the United States Senate on 2nd July, 1957, Mr. Kennedy urged that the Algerian war be ended and an Algerian state created, thus to recognize the independent personality of Algeria.

He urged that the United States support an international effort to seek peace in Algeria.

Here below are the President-Elect's proposals for Africa:

- that economic aid be concentrated on the village and farm, on increasing agricultural productivity and diversifying one-crop economies;
- that a growing stream of technical experts be sent to help implement these policies;
- that American food surpluses be sent to Africa to prevent hunger;
- that an African educational development fund be established with particular emphasis on the exchange of students, teachers and trained personnel—making available specialists in a whole variety of fields, while at the same time opening American university and college doors to several times as many African students as now go over.

Senator Kennedy sums up his attitude thus: "Our goal, for the good of Africa, for the good of the West, is a strong Africa. A strong Africa can only result from a strong people. And no people can become strong in a climate of servitude and social indignity".

P.A.F.M.E.C.A. CALL FOR RELEASE OF S.A. LEADERS

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: South African international affairs to a point where they can have a real say in whether there is to be peace or not. "We must not become tools of the imperialist powers nor pawns in the East-West struggle."

As was expected the conference unanimously supported the idea of forming an East African Federation which would embrace Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar as one unit. It called on its "Freedom Co-ordinating Committee" to submit a paper on federation to a "summit" meeting of leaders of member organizations to discuss and plan such a federation.

"DESTRUCTION" OF C.A.F.

Another resolution dealt with the Central African Federation. It said that P.A.F.M.E.C.A. members should devote all their material and moral resources to "the immediate destruction" of the Federation. It rejected the Monckton Commission "or other reports or commissions aimed at modifying the Federation".

RELEASE OF P.A.C. LEADERS

As regards South Africa, P.A.F.M.E.C.A. called on the country's government to abandon the treason trial and to release Pan-African leaders from prison, negotiating with them on the legitimate demands of the people.

Other resolutions condemned the idea of setting up military bases in Africa, recognized the Government of Mr. Lumumba and demanded withdrawal of all restrictions on Jomo Kenyatta who has been living in "exile" on a restriction order in Kenya.

EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION

Mr. Mboya's theme on the occasion of the formal opening of the conference centred around the formation of an East African Federation.

Mr. Mboya said the time had come when Africans must themselves influence

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Reply to "Malawi News"

SIR.—Permit me to comment on the violent attack on the Catholic Church which fills all eleven pages of Dr. Banda's party paper, *Malawi News* (issue of 22nd October).

Most of what the paper says is a recapitulation of arguments contained in books by noted enemies of the Catholic Church, namely Paul Blanshard, H. D. A. Major and the historian Lecky.

These books give about as fair a picture of the Church as you might get from the Ku-Klux-Klan if you asked the Klan to tell you about the Malawi Congress Party.

The charge of "Vatican Imperialism" was answered very effectively by Stalin. Asked whether he was not afraid of the power of the mighty Catholic Church he said: "How many divisions has the Pope got?"

The Catholic Church in Africa should be judged by her own words and actions, not by the books of her enemies.

In the field of religion she seeks only to bring men to the love of God and of their neighbours. In the field of human affairs she is the ardent champion of human rights, social justice and respect for human dignity. She is in the vanguard of the fight against racialism.

In 1959 Archbishop Theunissen, so unjustly assailed by *Malawi News*, was one of the signatories to a statement by the Catholic Bishops of Nyasaland in which they said that the fair promises to the Africans in the name of partnership were not being fulfilled—a statement which aroused the wrath of Sir Roy Welensky.

Malawi News would get a fairer picture of the Catholic Church and emergent Africa from Cardinal Rugambwa, or Mr. Julius Nyerere.

ANDREW MURRAY,
Box 2372, Cape Town.

Down with Pseudo-Christians

SIR.—The advent of Christmas is close. On that day we honour the hero of justice and equality. We recall His words that all those who follow Him will suffer persecution. Is it surprising that the forces of evil are depriving us of our friends, relatives and loved ones who follow Christ's footsteps and preach Justice, Equality and Love? Consider the following: the detained, those who died in detention, the convicted, the police victims at Sharpeville, Langa and Nguza Hill, the deported and the exiled and those who are escaping the wrath of their persecutors.

On the 25th December, all freedom-loving people should pause and meditate in silent prayer to venerate these martyrs.

On the 25th Jesus will be born again, and Jesus means equality, not baasskap; love, not apartheid and hatred based on colour.

Forward, Christian soldiers, tramp down the pseudo-Christians who stand for apartheid and its "horrors which can make the eyes of angels blind with tears".

MIKE MLOBELI,
Maseru.

Government by All

SIR.—"Sam Sly" mentions (*Contact*, 22nd October) that by 159 to 49 votes the Progressive Dr. Zac de Beer defeated the Liberal Patrick Duncan on the question of the qualified as against the unqualified vote in a debate at the University of Cape Town.

Must South Africa always walk backwards? Ten years ago the qualified vote might have been acceptable to disenfranchised South Africans, but in 1960, with Nigeria and many other states independent, it is no longer so.

Most White South Africans admit that their interest in a qualified vote is en-

gendered by the fear that a democratic stable way of life would be swamped by giving the vote to masses of largely illiterate people.

It is felt that by giving these people a qualified vote, they would have a measure of representation but that the Whites would still have the majority vote and thereby preserve the "western way of life".

These views are held by that small but growing section of White South Africa which is prepared to concede that the disenfranchised should and must have a say in the affairs of their country.

Where does this attitude break down?

1. Africans are not prepared to consider a qualified franchise. The reason for this is that in Rhodesia when enough Africans had reached the qualifying standard to endanger the White majority in parliament, the qualifications were raised. It is feared that the same would happen here.

2. Where can the dividing line be drawn with justice to all? Who does not know people who are unlettered and poor and are yet excellent citizens?

Surely the only way is to enfranchise all our people and let natural laws balance the electorate as in all truly democratic countries.

Smuts gave us a loaded vote which the Nationalists exploited.

Verwoerd and Co. promise to have only right thinking White South Africans on the republican rolls.

Let South Africa demand government by all, irrespective of all bars, be they colour, education, thought or wealth.

OXXA NDABA,
Donnybrook, Natal.

Fighting for Freedom

SIR.—I wish to inform you that I am an agent for *Contact* and had decided to stop selling it. I suspected that as I am a hawker, my commercial traveller's licence might have been taken away from me by the police if they arrest me.

As *Contact* is my favourite paper, I detected that it is useless for me to resign.

I recommend *Contact* as my weapon in fighting for freedom although I have not got many customers here in Taungs.



A. K. GAORAELEWE,
Taungs, Cape.

What is a Native?

SIR.—The Whites came to South Africa, the land of promise. They appeared as lambs, yet within they were pirating wolves. They were shown the fertile spots of South Africa and the sweet streams that run permanently in our beloved mother country. As soon as they had seen all these beauties they made a nice castle as for themselves, yet that was the prison meant for Africans.

They mastered us Africans. They enslaved us till to-day. They use us like a hunter using a hound. The hound catches the buck but out of the carcass the hound only gets a dry bone fit only for fertilizer but not for food.

Africans waste time making millionaires of them, while remaining pennypaires. Now when we tell them to unite with us they send us to prison.

Whose country is Africa? Is it for the Afrikaners or real Africans?

I should like to know the meaning of the two words "kaffir" and "native".

As far as I know the word "native" means a person born in that place. But when you call a White a native of his own country, that is a crime; you are sent to prison.

Since Whites do not want to unite with us it is better that they return to Europe.

ANTI-APARTHEID,
Piggs Peak, Swaziland.

To all readers of "Contact"

- Please treat this as your page
- Send us your views, criticisms, ideas, opinions, with a photograph of yourself if you like
- Always send your correct name and address with your letter—and keep the letter short
- Let's hear from you soon!

Side Issues

SIR.—Your correspondent John Morley claims that the "capitalist system" has no further use. We agree (partly). Can the government criticize Russia when there are terrible concentration camps in South Africa. This was illustrated by your article on the farm-gaol at Stikland.

These buildings, so loved by Mr. Swart, proudly fly the Union flag for some obscure reason. Or it is just that their twisted viewpoint sees pride in manufacturing hardened criminals from mere pass offenders?

While all this continues, our rulers can do no more than mass-produce side issues. The republic, the flag and the anthem feature amongst these.

There is only one solution. Rally round the flag. The flag? Yes, the black and white flag of the Liberal Party.

C. PRITCHARD and E. MORTEL,
Cape Town.

Have lost their heads

SIR.—Whites in Central Africa have lost their heads because of African Nationalism which has burst out: Whites who love the colour bar are sore afraid of being revenged which is not in the minds of Africans.

What Africans want is democracy, whereby they would be rulers in their own countries. Whites do not want Africans to rule them.

Instead of creating friendship or racial understanding, Whites are creating racial misunderstanding which results in war against peaceful people.

They make laws oppressing Africans and then arrest them when they are caught in the Whites' traps—bad laws.

Africans fail to keep quiet from telling Whites what is right because Central Africa is an African state. Whites who are democratically-minded oppose their fellow Whites and support African nationalism.

If Whites were not selfish there would be no hatred between races; but Whites have created a sense of colour as a judging factor for being a human being.

Now because of the right-about-turn which Africans have created having realized what their rights are in their own land, Whites are afraid.

They want peace in words and war in action.

MASOKA V. NYIRONGO,
Livingstonia, Nyasaland.

Shall we surrender?

SIR.—Shall we democrats surrender at this juncture and "throw our struggle to the winds"? We shall neither surrender nor allow ourselves to be cowed. We must fight on: not against "White" or "Black", but against any element which may try to destroy human rights—a birthright to all.

To the adherents of democracy I say, "Fight on with all the strength. But violence will achieve the lesser dividends. Your weapon is the press. Support the liberal papers like *Contact* for it leaves no stone unturned. Long live democracy and short live Nazism.

I. C. M.,
Chipinga, S.R.

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The Lazy Farmer

SIR.—The South West Africa Administration is like a lazy farmer who uses his animals only for exploitation; who gives water only to those which give milk. Thus does the Administration treat African labourers.

The African labourer should be treated with respect; but he is not treated like a human being. An employer should respect his labourer, because he does work for him. Employers' children are more respected by the employers than are the labourers.

Here in Oranjemund, labourers have their breakfast at four o'clock in the morning and then have to walk for an hour and a half to get to work. At work they are given one piece of bread and some mealie-meal dough to eat, and that food covers fourteen hours at work.

Africans are not allowed to protest against their bitter living.

We want our people to be controlled by a government that will enable us to live safely and work under good conditions without being exploited.

TARAH A. JOHANNES,
Oranjemund, S.W.A.

Light to the people

SIR.—The clouds which were hanging over my path have now dispersed. People enjoy *Contact* very much. I sell the paper to people, some of whom go to the extent of nicknaming me "*Contact*" wherever they see me.

Please do send me the *Contact* and let me give light to the people. The truth never faileth! What we aim at shall be achieved if we only stay on nothing but the truth.

Long live *Contact* until we get our state of freedom.

A. S.,
Glen Harmony, O.F.S.

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Published by the proprietor, P. Duncan, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town, P.O. Box 1979. Telephone 2-4524. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Limited, 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

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Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

EVERY FORTNIGHT 6d.

FORTNIGHT ENDING 3rd DECEMBER

Vol. 3 No. 24

EDITOR'S COURT STATEMENT

—SPECIAL
SUPPLEMENT



“ ONE DAY I’LL HAVE MY SHARE, TOO ”

ANGLICANS ENDORSE DE BLANK'S LINE

By the Editor

HOW far would the Provincial Synod, top gathering of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, back the uncompromising anti-apartheid stand of its leader, Archbishop Joost de Blank at its five-yearly meeting in Cape Town? That was the biggest question-mark over the week-long session which closed at 6 p.m. on 25th November.

Nationalist observers sought to draw comfort from the wording of a resolution which called for "consultation and co-operation between Christian bodies . . . without sacrifice of principle . . . especially with the Dutch Reformed churches . . ." and *Die Burger* (26th November) claimed that the resolution had tacitly repudiated the archbishop's "hostility" to these churches.

ATTITUDE TO D.R.C.

I can state categorically that *Die Burger* was not justified in making this inference, for the archbishop himself had a hand in drafting the resolution. What he did do was to avoid discussion, by adroit chairmanship, for there were many delegates who would have expressed views violently critical of the Dutch Reformed churches, thus endangering the tricky forthcoming conference of the World Council of Churches due for 8th December in Johannesburg.

Democratic observers noted with satisfaction that Chief Gatsha Mangosutho Buthelezi, chief opponent in Zululand of Bantu Authorities, proposed a motion, which synod accepted unanimously, pledging full support to Dr. De Blank.

ALIENATE WHITES

It is true that fears were expressed from the Free State that the church's concern with the underprivileged might alienate White members, but Mr. Walter Stanford (Cape) was cheered when he said that the church must be unflinching in its witness for social justice. At the end of synod it was clear that the archbishop had succeeded in keeping his flock well together behind his zealous and uncompromising leadership.

APARTHEID IN CHURCH

Another big question-mark was whether synod would do anything to speed the removal of apartheid within the church. The most serious failures are (1) the continued existence in many towns of duplicated or segregated churches and schools, and (2) the failure of many dioceses to pay priests equal stipends for equal work, irrespective of race.

Some progress has been made on both fronts during the last five years, and in a few dioceses the principle of equal pay has been accepted. But there has been almost no desegregation of church buildings and schools. Some members urged an urgent clean-up but synod, which could have done much in this direction, in fact did nothing.

The "province" of the church extends over the whole of the Union, the territories, South West, and the whole of Mozambique, the northern end of which has just been removed from Tanganyika. In the Union alone there are about 1,250,000 Anglicans. The province is ruled by 12 bishops, all of whom attended synod. Some 83 clergy, and approximately as many laymen, also attended.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST "DIE BURGER"

An ill-advised attempt by Archdeacon Wood, the archbishop's public relations officer, to discriminate against *Die Burger* at the beginning of synod was defeated by the forceful intervention of the Bishop of George, the Rt. Rev. John Hunter, and by the determined charm of Miss Betty Peacey, daughter of apartheid-lining former bishop Basil Peacey, who was *Die Burger's* representative and who was present throughout.

Synod rejected a proposal that the church commit itself now to defiance of the savage original unamended "church

clause" which Minister De Wet Nel now threatens to re-introduce. Nevertheless the tone of the debate indicated that the church is absolutely pledged to resistance, and that, even if it is not prepared to threaten defiance in advance, it will defy in the event.

Disappointed delegates learned that *Church News* (monthly, Durban, 1,800 circulation) is to fold at the end of the year. It is the only anglican newspaper covering the whole Southern African province. Nevertheless church membership is up; the church clearly has immense reserves of sympathy among the masses; and, strengthened by the results of this synod, Archbishop De Blank has good grounds for satisfaction.

PRAYERS FOR KGOSANA

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: At the annual speech day of the Lady Selborne High School Mr. B. L. Leshoai, the principal, last week asked the five hundred people who attended to stand in honour of Mr. Philip A. Kgosana, one of the school's ex-pupils. Mr. Kgosana's leadership of the Cape Town anti-pass demonstrations was remembered and a short prayer was said for him.

The guest speaker, the chairman of the Pretoria Rotary Club, told the gathering that the club intended to increase the number of bursaries which they are giving to the school.

One of the students, Mr. Percival Moeletsi, spoke on behalf of the school-leavers. He said that parents should not create enmity among children by teaching them tribalism, but should realise



LESHOAI

that these students were potential future leaders.

Dr. W. F. Nkomo said that the school board in Lady Selborne was very sorry to lose a man like Mr. Leshoai, who will be leaving the school at the end of this year. He said that he was, nevertheless, happy that the principal was going on leave before being sacked.

Earlier this year he had been sacked after being involved in a fight with a White man in Lady Selborne.

Operation Noah?

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, was raised to the rank of Knight Order of Merit at a Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes ceremony in Broken Hill on 29th October. (*Rhodesia Herald*, 31st October.)



Plans are being made to form a non-racial South African High Schools' Sports Association next Easter. At the moment there is in existence a Natal High Schools' Sports Association and a Transvaal High Schools' Sports Association which conduct their affairs independently. But during the September vacation two Transvaal high school teams visited Natal and played a series of matches against high schools. Just before they left officials of both provinces discussed the possibility of forming a national body. The suggestion was well received. Our picture shows S. Naderaj, P. Naidoo (Springfield Teachers' Training College) and J. Fernando and J. September (Bechet Coloured High School) who played in the Natal annual tournament.

S.W.A. APPEAL BY REV. SCOTT

DURING the debate in the Fourth Committee on South West Africa, the Rev. Michael Scott sent the following statement for publication in *Contact*:

The question of South Africa and her administration of mandate over South West Africa may prove to be an historic case before the International Court of Justice. It may be as conspicuous a landmark in the development of international law as was the case if integration in the schools in the development of federal law in the United States.

South Africa has not yet indicated her recognition of the jurisdiction of the International Court on this issue. But she has claimed that since the court has seized on this question as a contentious proceeding it is therefore "sub judice" and that replies to the allegations made by petitioners at the Fourth Committee of the U.N. would have to be given at the "appropriate time and place".

There is poetic justice in the bringing of this case back to the Hague, to the birthplace of international law and the motherland of Grotius and Van Riebeeck and the early Dutch settlers at the Cape, and that this case should be brought by two African states.

I do trust that the authorities both of the Netherlands and of South Africa will be big enough to allow Chief Hosea Kutako, who has fought such a just fight, to be present at at least a part of the proceedings at the Hague.

Surely it would be best for the respect which people of all races should have for one another in South Africa if this was to be allowed. May I through your columns repeat the plea that I made in the Fourth Committee to this effect and also that I should be allowed to return to South West Africa myself now that this case has been advanced to the point of being adjudicated by the International Court: If there is any confidence on the part of the authorities in South West Africa and the Union in the allegations they have made against me in the U.N. and at home, they surely have ample judicial means of vindicating them.

Michael Scott.
Michael Scott.

U.N. Nov 20th 1960.

Sash to Remove Colour Bar?

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Will the Black Sash, hitherto an all-White, all-woman movement dedicated to putting morality back into politics, open its door to women of all races?

A proposal from East London to this effect was defeated at the recent conference here which closed on 2nd November. But a resolution to this effect can be confidently expected at next year's conference.

The Sash is moving in a democratic direction, and this year, for the first time, it adopted the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Until now the Sash has been deterred by article 21(3) of the declaration, which calls for "periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage".

"One Kaffir Less"

GERMISTON: A 12-year-old White boy, looking younger than his years, was alleged in the Juvenile Court here to have thrown a bottle at an African boy and drowned him.

The boy appeared at a preparatory examination on an allegation that he murdered Syttie Mokwena (12) at Stanhope Dam on 18th October.

A 12-year-old playmate said in evidence that he went to the dam with the boy and two others.

Accused and Mokwena had a dispute over a fish hook. The boy pushed Mokwena in the water and threw the empty wine bottle at him. It hit Mokwena above the eye and he cried.

After pushing Mokwena under the water, the boy in court dragged him into the reeds.

He pulled him in the water, stood on him to keep him under, and said, "There is now one Kaffir less." (*Cape Times*.)

"GOVT. CAN SHOOT MY PEOPLE"—SIGCAWU

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Chief Botha Sigcawu, Paramount Chief of Qawukeni (East Pondoland), Transkei's No. 1 Tshombe, has shocked people here by inviting the Government to suppress resistance in his area by shooting if necessary.

At a top-level security conference here on 11th November, attended by some 15 of the Regional Bantu Authorities (principal chiefs) and other collaborators, by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner (Mr. Vic Leibbrandt), by Mr. Hans Abraham (His Excellency the Commissioner-General), and by a very senior police officer described to me as "the Commissioner of Police", government spokesmen told of their concern with the

Vukayibambe Sigcawu, at Ntlenzi location.

Chief Vukayibambe (34) was educated at Adams College, and was unofficially recognized by the Government as the deputy and possible regent or successor if it should prove necessary to replace his brother.

Unlike Chief Vukayibambe, Chief Nelson Sigcawu, the man believed by the majority of the Pondos to be the rightful chief, is only a half-



Botha Sigcawu in his study at Qawukeni.

rising tide of resistance, and of their determination to stamp it out at all costs. There were White agitators in the Transkei, the chiefs were told, who must be seized and handed over to the authorities.

Chief Botha Sigcawu's reply was as follows: "It is late for me to speak to my people. I can do nothing with them. Government must see what to do with them. Government must shoot them if it wishes."

In the meantime Chief Botha Sigcawu's position has been rendered more precarious with the murder of his full brother, Chief

brother of Chief Botha Sigcawu.

Another half-brother, Mr. Cingo Sigcawu, of Bokuneni location, Flagstaff, is reported to have been attacked and axed to death near Qawukeni Great Place, after hiring out his tractor to his brother.

APARTHEID FOR STIRLING MOSS

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Stirling Moss, Britain's ace racing driver, will be racing to a segregated crowd at the Killarney track, near here, on 17th December.

The race, organized by *Die Landstem*, Afrikaans-language weekly newspaper, will be the first international Grand Prix held in the Peninsula.

For the first time in the history of motor racing in the area, the spectators will be segregated.

Contact is informed that the organizers deny having asked for segregation. And the club on whose track the race will be run also says that it did not ask for segregation.

Contact was told that the organizers insisted that the request for apartheid came from the South African Police; they were also told that the Administrator of the Cape, Mr. Nico Malan, had indicated that "he would not be pleased" if the spectators were not segregated.

CAPE TOWN SIT-INS



By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Who are the people who have begun to challenge café apartheid in Cape Town's department stores? Why are they doing it?

During last week three café sit-ins have taken place in Cape Town. Groups of people of all races have entered the tea-rooms of large department stores and have asked to be served. So far, they have not been served.

It is hoped that when the management realizes how great the opposition is to this practice, it will lift the colour-bar in tea-rooms. (See "Sam Sly", page 4.)

The sit-in is a form of non-violent protest which has proved successful in the United States. Its very non-violence does more than disarm opponents: it makes them powerless to defeat the sitters.

Many large department stores in South Africa have tea-rooms, and all these tea-rooms are reserved for Whites.

During discussions on practical methods of resisting race discrimination, it was felt among certain younger members of the Liberal Party that a sit-in campaign should be launched.

The people who have joined the sit-in teams believe that all South Africans

have a right to use the same facilities, especially in places where they spend their money. They feel that the time has come to show that they are prepared to oppose apartheid by deeds rather than word—and to show that the "traditional South African policy" is no longer acceptable.

The group feels that if apartheid can be broken in this small way, its general disintegration will be hastened.

If enough people join the demonstrations, their success is ensured.

The sit-ins are organized by a small committee consisting of younger members of the Liberal Party.

Like-minded people in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg and East London have been approached with a view to sit-ins being organized elsewhere.

The Security Branch is keeping a close watch on the activities of the demonstrators, and warns stores in advance that they are going to be "invaded".

WHEN THE POLICE ASK QUESTIONS

MANY people have wondered what the rights of the South African public are in matters to do with police questioning. Some time ago a leading lawyer made the following statement on this subject:

(1) A policeman may demand the name and address of:—

(a) any person who he has power to arrest;

(b) any person reasonably suspected of having committed any offence;

(c) any person who may, in his opinion, be able to give evidence in regard to the commission or suspected commission of any offence.

If any person falling into one of these categories refuses to give his name and address, he may be arrested.

It is therefore advisable to give one's name and address whenever called upon to do so. The task of proving afterwards that the policeman did not believe that the person concerned could have

given evidence about any offence would probably prove insuperable.

(2) No one is obliged to answer any other question asked by the police.

(3) If the police have reason to believe that any person has information concerning the commission of a crime, and that person refuses to answer questions, the police may issue a subpoena to compel that person to appear before a magistrate. He may then be interrogated under oath, and must answer the questions put to him.

He may refuse to answer only on certain grounds, the most important of which is that the answer would tend to incriminate him. The fact that the answer would tend to incriminate someone else is no ground for refusal to answer.

(4) The procedure described in paragraph 3 is comparatively seldom used. In the majority of cases, a firm refusal to answer questions puts an end to the matter.

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contact

Congo Rebirth

THE latest news from the Congo is good. Colonel Mobutu is quietly building up a real Congolese army. In alliance with him President Kasavubu has obtained a seat at the United Nations. Technicians, many of them Belgians, are trickling back to the country to help re-start essential services. Slowly, in place of the chaos caused by Belgian apartheid, a modern free state is arising. When its power is great enough, and the signs are that that day is now near, it will deal with the man who tried to sell his country to the Russians—Patrice Lumumba.

It is said by communist newspapers that Lumumba is the rightful Prime Minister of the Congo, because parliament chose him. It is true that the Congo parliament did choose him. But it is also true that the Congo constitution gives the president the power to dismiss the prime minister in a crisis. President Kasavubu, acting under this provision, did dismiss Prime Minister Lumumba.

For his part Lumumba called a session of members of parliament, and they voted to reinstate him and to remove the president. This reinstatement is made much of in the communist press. But communists conceal the fact that that session was no true session of parliament, for it never had a quorum. Lumumba therefore remains what he was before the session: a dismissed prime minister.

It looks as though the Congo is at last on its way to normality. *Contact* congratulates its leaders, and hopes for a speedy end to the crisis.

Knave's "New Deal"

IN March and April some sections of the oppressed people chose to ally themselves with the oppressors. Perhaps they believed that good behaviour might win Dr. Verwoerd's favour, and earn some concessions.

The Nationalist Party has laboured for months over a "new deal for the Coloured people". It has so far produced a statement from Dr. Verwoerd that no changes of any importance can be expected from his administration.

Democrats should take the lesson to heart: nothing will ever be gained by sitting on the touch lines in a great national stay-at-home.

Let everyone work now to ensure that next time there will be no neutrals. There will be the oppressors and the oppressed. When that day comes all will have to stand up and be counted. Dr. Verwoerd by his stubbornness has guaranteed increased democratic unity and strength.

After the Referendum

Contact was criticized for its attitude over the republican referendum. We said that we hoped for a republican victory, mainly because it would free Nationalists for more constructive thinking.

Our hopes were realized. The "Yes" vote took the victory. And, scarcely a month later, one can already chalk up the following signs of liberated Afrikaner thought: the Cape-Transvaal split over the "Coloured New Deal"; Mr. Mentz's resignation from the cabinet after disagreement—the first such resignation in twelve years; "The Book"—the forthright vote of no confidence

in apartheid by eleven D.R.C. men representing hundreds of ministers.

We dislike differing from our fellow-Liberals. But on this occasion we have no regrets.

We Say . . .

That Senator Kennedy's election promises to be a milestone of the twentieth century. The most powerful man in the world has clearly committed himself to world radicalism, to un-

freezing the cold war, and to closing the terrifying "economic gap"—that gap between the overfed westerners and the poor majority of the human race.

That the United Nations must pursue the South West African question, and that the mandate must be revoked as soon as possible.

The great democracies should realize that this issue gives them a good opportunity of demonstrating solidarity with the world's freedom forces.



Outside the Magistrates' Court, Cape Town, 17th November, 1960: a group of people gathered to attend the second hearing in the case in which "Contact", the Editor, and Mr. J. C. A. Daniels, Business Manager, were charged with contravening the Emergency Regulations by "issuing subversive statements". The Court was crowded with people of all races sitting together. Occasionally a policeman would put his head around the door and gaze at them, puzzled. Third from the left is Mr. Duncan, and beside him Mrs. Duncan and Mr. Daniels.

Sam Sly

SO far the anti-apartheid café "sit-ins" that a group of Cape Town Liberals are conducting have happily not been visited with the fire-hoses, clubbing, black marias, fist-blows and spittle that made the lunch-counter sit-ins in the Southern States so heroic—and so triumphant. At two I have witnessed there has been scarcely a stir from the surrounding tea-sippers and bun-eaters, though as the campaign develops this may change. If it does, these people will not be provoked by assault: they will not squeal at legal punishments. They are steadfast people.

YES, this is Cape Town, where tolerance is still just alive, and where there are fewer of the species of wildlife that assaulted Chief Luthuli and others at a Pretoria study-group meeting. Most Whites do not hate Coloureds here, and there are not enough Africans (an eighth of Cape Town's 800,000 people) to produce the fear-crazed atmosphere of White Durban or the Rand. Most Whites do not fear the "Coloured" vote here, but they may be roused by this far more radical claim: social oneness. Many Whites can bear the thought of non-Whites next to them on the voters' roll, but even the Progressives advocate restrictive covenants on title deeds, to spare them the final "disaster" of non-White neighbours.

POLITICAL "new deal" talk and the superficial inter-racial calm may look as if they favour the sit-ins. But these Liberals are probing, and if they strike a raw nerve in the Whites' racial consciousness, the reflex may be to their cost. In the long run it will be to South Africa's gain.

AS Jim Crow began to die a lingering death in the Southern States, the Dixiecrats turned nastier than ever. Do you remember the twisted faces of the White schoolchildren in the Little Rock news-photos? Then last March four very



young Negro students walked quietly up to a lunch-counter.

"The effect on the civilized White minority in the South was extraordinary," wrote Kenneth Rexroth in "The Nation", New York. "All but a few had gone on accepting the old stereotypes. There were good Negroes to be sure, but they didn't want to mix. The majority were ignorant, violent, bitter, half-civilized, incapable of planned organized action, happy in Jim Crow.

It would take another 200 years. In a matter of weeks in thousands of White brains, the old stereotypes exploded."

The people at our sit-ins are neither very young, nor students, nor are they of one race or another. So far they are mostly Liberals, who therefore call themselves South Africans, admitting to no racial classification (as I heard them tell the policemen taking their names at Caledon Square charge-office).

The twisted faces of White schoolchildren . . . Little Rock, Arkansas, U.S.A., 9th September, 1957.

Why are they doing this? To protest publicly against social segregation, to demonstrate their rejection of racialism and apartheid, to challenge the acceptance of status based on colour—all of

these adding up to their task as Liberals—to defeat apartheid in this and every form.

I haven't Mr. Rexroth's confidence that stereotypes explode so easily. The peaceful silence of Kgosana's crowd in Caledon Square on 30th March should have been a stereotype-exploder, and perhaps it was. But within a month non-Africans of my acquaintance were talking about "that Native riot in town" Another dose is needed, perhaps.

I have confidence in the sit-in teams, in their patriotic motives and in their determination to administer such a dose.

THE sit-ins get good laughs: this is not gloomy-faced heroism. At the first, a neighbouring tea-sipper said to a bun-eater: "They must be Canadian diplomats." And one counter-hand answered another's question: "Oh, they're Natives from one of those countries that don't have apartheid—Zambezi I think it is." At the second, a waitress got it all wrong, by consenting to serve two "Coloured" men and refusing one sun-tanned "White" girl in the party.

"IT feels strange to be about to leave the country," Lewis Nkosi wrote to me in September. "the thought that I am about to be transplanted from a small tribe of South Africans, Black and White, fills my heart with psychological terror." This was a week before he was due to leave on a few months' study visit to the United States. Now, ten weeks later he has left—without the passport they refused him. With characteristic perversion of the meanings of words, the official report read that Lewis Nkosi "has been granted an exit permit and will leave South Africa permanently". Only in crazy South Africa does a civil servant grant a man self-exile from his motherland. Only in crazy South Africa is a man who is an asset, and not a liability, to society forced to accept this so that he can develop his gifts and himself at the sort of great seat of learning his own small country cannot yet provide.

Lewis Nkosi is not a politician, but he detests and fights against apartheid and racialism. The new democratic South Africa will be the richer when he brings his gifts back to us, developed more by a few years' absence than by the few months at Harvard that official littleness and spite tried to deny him.

THE "CONTACT" CASE

On 17th November, the day of the second hearing in the case Regina v. Selemela Publications and others, the Editor and Mr. J. C. A. Daniels, Business Manager, were charged under the Emergency Regulations with "issuing subversive statements".

The Editor made the following statement in the Regional Court, Cape Town, having refused to plead guilty or not guilty at the first hearing on 4th November 1960. Mr. Daniels had pleaded not guilty.

Because we believe that the arguments the statement contains are important to Contact, and to South Africa, we give the text in full as a supplement to Contact, 3rd December 1960.

STATEMENT BY PATRICK DUNCAN :

I was astonished when the summons in this case was served on me, for I had thought that the government would have hesitated, from a sense of shame, to revive the painful memories of what it did to the people of South Africa in March and April of this year.

The prosecution has alleged that eight articles, published on 2nd and 16th April this year in *Contact*, were 'subversive statements', and that I have broken the law by having distributed them. These articles describe, and comment on, certain acts done by the government. These acts include large-scale murder by the police, and two treacherous breaches of faith.

Other articles in the issues which are before the court include reports of barbaric floggings of innocent people by the Cape Town police. These criminal acts, perpetrated by and in the name of the government, achieved world notoriety, and shocked the conscience of the whole human race.

Now that the clamour of world publicity has somewhat abated I should have thought that a government of guilty men, such as is the South African government, would have left these horrors alone, to be forgotten. I thought that these guilty men at least had shame. I now see that I was mistaken.

These words that I have used of the government are hard. I have not used them lightly. I have pondered long the question of whether to use them or not. I have decided to use them, and I am prepared to prove that my use of them is justified.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS ARE DEFECTIVE

THE charge against me is that I infringed the emergency regulations by having distributed subversive statements, it being alleged that the eight articles mentioned in the indictment are subversive statements, within the meaning of those regulations.

I do not wish to waste the time of the court. I did distribute the articles in question. **I am solely and wholly responsible for what they say.** With this heavy charge hanging over me I should like the court to know precisely why I did distribute them, well knowing that material of this kind might be held to conflict with government policy and regulations.

The principal reason for my decision to go ahead and publish them in these circumstances was that I deny that the emergency regulations ever were or are law in the true sense of the word, or that they were or are in any way binding on the conscience.

I maintain that the regulations are lacking in two essential ingredients of true law, and that they are not, therefore, true law.

The missing ingredients are, firstly, the legitimacy of parliament, and, secondly, the morality of the law.

I contend that only just laws made by a legitimate government are true laws, and I am going to show this court why these regulations are fatally defective.

Some people who have been charged under these regulations have contended that all the institutions of government, and therefore all the laws passed since Union, have no legitimacy because the non-Whites had no part in establishing the state.

A case could, I believe, be made in support of their contention. There are, after all, many rules in life that want the full force of law. Children playing in their sand-pits make rules; bandits make and can often enforce rules; usurper kings and governments purport to make rules. But only governments which are, and which are believed to be, legitimate can make laws in the fullest sense of that word, laws which are binding on the people that are governed.

It is obvious that not all who exercise power can bind the consciences of the ruled. During the Nazi occupation of Europe, Hitler's gauleiters

made rules, and often succeeded in enforcing obedience to them, because they had a victorious army behind them. These rules did not, however, have the character of law.

A case could be made in support of the contention that the government in South Africa is as illegitimate as that of Hitler's occupying armies. It is, however, not necessary for me to enter too deeply into this question, nor to pursue this line of argument, for I rest my case on the simple statement that these regulations are fatally defective by reason of their injustice.

The civilizations of Greece and of Rome, the traditions of Christianity, both Catholic and Reformed, on which our whole culture is based, proclaim unanimously that an unjust law is no true law and cannot bind the conscience of the subject, and that the subject has no duty to obey such a law.

This question is of such tremendous importance that I have spent some time in looking up authoritative statements which will help the court to reach a decision on the subject.

One of the earliest statements of this truth is contained in Sophocles' tragedy, *Antigone*. In this play Creon, a king, makes a proclamation that no one may bury the corpse of Polynices, a warrior who died attacking the city-state of Thebes. But, according to Greek religion, an absolute duty lay on the family of a dead man to see that his body got burial rites, as without them he might be prejudiced in the next world. Antigone, a sister of the dead man, deliberately disobeys the king's law, so that she may obey the divine law.

CHRISTIAN TRADITION OF JUSTICE

The dilemma is brilliantly portrayed by Sophocles. The king says: "Whomsoever the city-state may appoint, that man must be obeyed, in little things and in great, in things just and unjust." (lines 666-667) But Antigone says: "I did not believe that your (i.e. the king's) proclamations were of such force that a mortal could override the unwritten and unfailing laws of heaven." (lines 452-455) The play ends in a triumphant statement that Antigone was right in her opposition to the laws of man.

Over the two-and-a-half-thousand years since the *Antigone* was written the great thinkers of the world have consistently supported the view of Sophocles. Aristotle, in *Rhetoric* (1, 15, para. 6) quotes the above passage from Sophocles in support of the view that equity takes precedence over the written law.

And the same view was held by Cicero. In *De Republica* III, 22, he says:

"... True law is right reason in agreement with nature; it is of universal application, unchanging and everlasting; it summons to duty by its commands, and averts from wrongdoing by its prohibitions. And it does not lay its commands or prohibitions upon good men in vain, though neither have any effect on the wicked. It is a sin to try to alter this law, nor is it allowable to attempt to repeal any part of it, and it is impossible to abolish it entirely. We cannot be freed from its obligations by senate or people, and we need not look outside ourselves for an expounder or interpreter of it."

This measuring of human laws by eternal standards of justice is basic to the Christian idea of law, and is found clearly stated in St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*:

"A tyrannical law, through not being according to reason, is not a law, absolutely speaking, but rather a perversion of law" (Prima Secundae Q. 92, Art. 1). Again: "Human law has the nature of law in so far as it partakes of right reason; and it is clear that, in this respect, it is derived from the eternal law. But in so far as it deviates from reason, it is called an unjust law, and has the nature, not of law, but of violence" (Prima Secundae Q. 93, Art. 3). Again: "As Augustine says, that which is not just is no law at all; wherefore the force of law depends on the extent of its justice" (Prima Secundae Q. 95, Art. 2).

And, lastly, Aquinas says: "Laws framed by man are either just or unjust. If they be just, they have the power of binding in conscience, from the eternal law whence they are derived, according to Prov. viii, 15: 'By Me kings reign, and law-givers decree just things.' Now laws are said to be just, both from the end, when, to wit, they are ordained to the common good — and from their author, that is to say, when the law that is made does not exceed the power of the law-giver — and from their form, when, to wit, burdens are laid on the subjects according to an equality of proportion and with a view to the common good. For, since one man is a part of the community, each man in all that he is and has, belongs to the community; just as a part, in all that it is, belongs to the whole; wherefore nature inflicts a loss on the part, in order to save the whole;

so that on this account, such laws as these, which impose proportionate burdens, are just and binding in conscience, and are legal laws.

"On the other hand, laws may be unjust in two ways: first, by being contrary to human good, through being opposed to the things mentioned above — either in respect of the end, as when an authority imposes on his subjects burdensome laws, conducive, not to the common good, but rather to his own cupidity or vainglory — or in respect of the author, as when a man makes a law that goes beyond the power committed to him — or in respect of the form, as when burdens are imposed unequally on the community, although with a view to the common good. The like are acts of violence rather than laws; because, as Augustine says (*De Lib. Arb. i., 5*): 'a law that is not just, seems to be no law at all'. Wherefore such laws do not bind in conscience.

Another Christian legal philosopher, Lucas de Penna (Ullmann's commentary in *The Medieval Idea of Law*, London, 1946, p. 54), says:

"The ruler cannot claim the validity of, and demand obedience to, his command when it contradicts the counsels in the holy scriptures . . . Furthermore, any command of the ruler which contradicts the divine idea of natural justice or the dictates of natural reason fails to constitute law."

This tradition is comprehensively Christian, and is not limited to Roman Catholic thought. Thus, Theodore Beza, the Calvinist statesman, in his *Rights of Rulers over their Subjects* (H.A.U.M. edition, p. 25), says that princes must be obeyed, but that

"such obedience must be made subject to the following condition, namely that they command nothing impious, nothing unjust . . . Unjust behests, however, I call those by which the performance of that, which every man in accordance with his calling . . . is in charity bound to render to his neighbour, is either prevented or forbidden".

Nor is this tradition merely theological. Grotius, one of the fathers of our South African system of law, clearly recognizes that a statute is not law if it clashes with morality. In his *Jurisprudence of Holland* (I, ii, 6) occur the following passages:

"Law (which is also sometimes called Right because it determines what is right) is a product of reason ordaining for the common good what is honourable." And, again, "that which is forbidden by the law of nature (which Grotius elsewhere defines more or less as morality) may not be enjoined by positive law (which he defines as what we would call statute law), nor that which is enjoined by the first forbidden by the second." And Grotius also says: "for men must obey not from fear alone, but also for conscience' sake."

Again, John Locke, on whose thought was erected the whole philosophy and practice of the American constitution, in his *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (Hafner Classics, 1947, pp. 188-194), says:

"The legislative or supreme authority cannot assume to itself a power to rule by arbitrary decrees, but is bound to dispense justice . . .

"These are the bounds which the trust that is put in them by the society and the law of God and nature have set to the legislative power of every commonwealth, in all forms of government: First: they are to govern by promulgated established laws, not to be varied in particular cases, but to have one rule for rich and poor, for the favourite at court and the countryman at plough. Secondly, these laws also ought to be designed for no other end ultimately but the good of the people. Thirdly, they must not raise taxes on the property of the people without the consent of the people."

The foremost thinkers of the western European Christian tradition, and the fathers of South African law, are therefore at one in proclaiming that an unjust law is no true law.

REGULATIONS DOUBLY UNJUST

These regulations, this piece of paper in front of the court, were doubly unjust. For not only were they unjust in themselves: they were the culmination of many years of unjust legislation.

An indication that they were immoral and unjust in themselves is that the notorious 'death regulation' (Proclamation No. 97, *Union Gazette Extraordinary* of 2nd April, 1960) was issued under their authority. This regulation contained the following words:

"MAINTENANCE OF ORDER.

3. (1) Whenever any magistrate or any commissioned or non-commissioned officer in the Forces is of opinion that the presence or conduct of any person or persons at any place endangers or may

endanger the public safety or the maintenance of public order or exposes or may expose life or property to danger, he may in a loud voice order such person or persons to stop or to proceed to any place indicated in the order or to desist from such conduct, and shall thereupon warn such person or persons that force will be used if the order is not obeyed forthwith.

(2) If any such order is not obeyed forthwith, the magistrate or commissioned or non-commissioned officer may apply or authorize the application of force (including force resulting in death) in order to remove or prevent the suspected danger."

The import of this regulation was seen in the streets of Cape Town on 4th April, when the South African police force was turned by order of the government into a tribal impi. Armed with sticks and sjamboks they combed the streets of Cape Town, hunting for Africans. They chased any person they believed to be a 'kaffir', and perpetrated hundreds, perhaps thousands, of brutal and unprovoked assaults on these persons.

On 7th April a friend of mine was sitting quietly in his own house in Nyanga. He heard someone knocking at his door, so he went to open it. He saw police and soldiers outside. One was armed with a sort of club. He attacked my friend and broke the bones of his left forearm and his right thumb with this club.

As St. Thomas Aquinas said, "unjust laws have 'the nature of violence'."

I will not weary the court with further details. It is sufficient to say that at that time the police force acted illegally, immorally, and inhumanely. All this was done under the authority of the emergency regulations, and I therefore stigmatize them as immoral and unjust in themselves.

I accuse them with injustice, also in this respect, in that they were the culmination and logical consequence of a mass of other unjust apartheid legislation.

APARTHEID LEGISLATION IS ANTI-LIFE

It is a first rule of the law of reason and nature, a first requirement of justice, that no human being shall be unjustly deprived of his life. Yet, from the point of view of non-Whites, much of the apartheid legislation is anti-life. That is to say, they are laws, not designed for the common good, not made, in Christ's words, 'that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly', but that the non-Whites' claim to life be denied.

Apartheid legislation was condemned by anticipation in the pages of both Locke and St. Thomas Aquinas. Locke, as quoted above, said that for a decree to be a law, and for it not to be merely arbitrary, there must be 'one rule for rich and poor, for the favourite at court and the countryman at plough'. If he had lived in modern South Africa he would no doubt have added the words 'and one law for Black and White'.

St. Thomas Aquinas cuts even nearer the bone when he says that a law is unjust 'when burdens are imposed unequally on the community'.

Some apartheid laws impose such unequal burdens on the community that I have stigmatized them as 'anti-life' because they appear hostile to the non-Whites.

How else can one explain the cruel cancellation of the African school-feeding scheme, while White children continue to be fed by the State? How else can one explain the mean attempt to abridge and constrict, by administrative action, the pension scheme for non-Whites which this government inherited from its predecessor? How else can one explain the present intention of this government to institute family allowances—for Whites only?

Some laws then, actually seek to deny life to non-Whites. Others, while not exhibiting hostility to this extent, yet shamelessly deny justice. I instance:

(1) The Natives Prohibition of Interdicts Act, which subverts the courts by preventing Africans from going to court to defend their rights in certain matters.

(2) The Separate Amenities Act, which empowers the authorities to make separate but unequal facilities for Whites and non-Whites.

(3) The sacrilegious 'church clause' of the Native Laws Amendment Act, which forbids Africans to go to church in certain circumstances.

(4) The greedy Group Areas Act, designed (despite the pious and lying promises made by Minister Dönges when he introduced it in parliament) to give the Whites a monopoly of nearly all the desirable areas and suburbs, and, in particular, to strangle the business

of many South Africans of Indian origin. This subversive act, by destroying the validity of title deeds, has undermined the respect for and value of property on which our whole economic system is based, and which is indispensable to real liberty.

(5) The unholy Urban Areas Act which, through its so-called influx control, breaks up families, encourages the running wild of children, and reserves family happiness 'for Europeans only'.

(6) The grasping Land Act of 1913, under which some 85% of the surface of our common fatherland is closed to ownership to some 66% of our fellow-citizens — the Africans.

(7) The feudal pass law, codified under the deceitfully-named Abolition of Passes Act, which chains many of our fellow-citizens to one job or one farm, and which prevents millions from selling their labour where it is most needed.

(8) The greedy job-reservation law which seeks to reserve to the White minority in perpetuity all the good jobs.

(9) The regressive Bantu Authorities Act, which seeks to turn the clock back to a tribal past, instead of helping the people into the modern world as equals.

(10) The repressive Bantu Education Act, which seeks to condition African children to serfdom, in accordance with Dr. Verwoerd's words: "When I have control of Native education I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them."

The making of these hostile and unjust regulations is consistent only with a state of mind in the legislator of deep and inveterate enmity borne towards the majority of the people of South Africa.

They are not law. Law, as we have seen, to be true law must nurture life, must promote the common good, must be imposed equally on the community.

It may, however, be argued that however violent, unjust, or anti-life these regulations were, they were necessary for the preserving of law and order.

I admit immediately that this is superficially the most plausible argument against me. I am confident, however, that what I have said remains valid despite this allegation. For one has to consider what law, what order, is being preserved at such cost. It is clear from everything that I have said that the law to be preserved is the law of greedy race supremacy, and the order to be preserved is the order of apartheid.

I would remind this court that Himmler and Hitler did little that was not legal. Like this government, they took the trouble to pass regulations to give the appearance of legality to their dark deeds. Before their genocidal attack on the Jewish communities of Europe they passed the Nuremberg race laws.

Mere order, mere law, I say, are not ends in themselves. They must be related to life, to morality, and to justice.

It might also be argued that it was my patriotic duty to obey, at a time of difficulty and danger to the State, the State's regulations, and that it was my duty to do nothing that could draw on my country the opprobrium of the world.

I say that the opposite was my duty. I am unquestioningly loyal to South Africa, to the fifteen millions of people of all races who are my fellow citizens, and to the lovely land which is ours. I have therefore a duty to protect my people and my country against any group which is hostile to the majority of our people, even though, by a series of historic swindles, such a group has been able temporarily to arrogate to itself the name of government.

The anger of the world is not against South Africa. The anger of the world is against this greedy oligarchy that battens on the people that it hates. So far from trying to diminish the world's anger, I believe that it was my patriotic duty to do all in my power to increase it.

I also believe that it was my patriotic duty to speak up for another reason. The injustices done in March and April purported to have been done in the name of all South Africans. For the whole of South Africa to have kept silence then would have been for the whole country to stand arraigned before the highest tribunal of the human race, the Security Council of the United Nations, as steeped in a uniform guilt. I spoke up because I wished to protect the majority of my fifteen million fellow-citizens from the righteous detestation of the whole human race.

It was also, as I see it, my duty to speak the truth then, for no other newspaper in the country felt free to do so. These regulations had dealt an intentional blow against the press of South Africa, whose freedom was thereby curtailed, and curtailed more completely than at any time since the governorship of Lord Charles Somerset. I knew that if only

one newspaper were to continue to publish the truth and to comment without fear, other newspapers might follow suit. I acted in the interests of the freedom of the press, which is the most precious freedom left to us in South Africa, though even this freedom has been whittled away and is now finally menaced by a new Bill.

To summarize: I decided to ignore these regulations because they were not worthy of the name of law, because to do so was patriotic and in the interests of our country.

In this trial I am not the accused, though I appear in the dock. On the contrary I am the accuser. I accuse the emergency regulations, and the unjust laws which they arose out of and which they were intended to protect, and those men who perpetrated them, for they have destroyed peace, and outraged justice in our country.

REVIEW OF THE ARTICLES IN THE INDICTMENT

I DESIRE now to turn to consider, briefly, and one by one, the articles which, the Crown alleges, were subversive statements.

The first article which the Crown does not like is one entitled 'Massacre at Sharpeville' which appeared on 2nd April.

I firstly defend the use of the word 'massacre'. A reading of the text of the article, the only eye-witness account by a journalist of the killing, will show that the word was fully justified. The author, Mr. Humphrey Tyler, Assistant Editor of *Drum*, described how police, armed with sten guns, fired into an unaggressive fleeing crowd. As is known in every country in the world, some seventy people were shot dead. The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'massacre' as 'a general slaughter', and even today, now that passions have somewhat cooled, I can think of no more suitable word to have used as a headline.

Why then did I run the article? Because it was written by a journalist of repute, because it concerned a historical event which touched us all, because I was given exclusive South African rights to use it, and above all because I felt it to be my duty to publicize to South Africans of all races the things that the South African police are capable of doing.

I turn now to the second article which has earned the Crown's displeasure, 'Pass Campaign Success at Langa and Nyanga'. I am not sure whether the Crown dislikes my use of the word 'success' as showing sympathy. I should like to state here that *Contact* stood, and stands, in complete support of the Pan-Africanist campaign in Langa. That campaign, after all, was totally non-violent, and totally lacking in racialistic attacks on the White minority. What do these White rulers want? Would they rather have a Black Hitler inciting violent race war against them? No doubt they imagine that there is a third possibility, that the African people of this country are going to say 'Ja, baas' for ever, are going to accept apartheid cheerfully and obediently for ever. Let me undeceive them. **That possibility does not exist. The alternatives before South Africa are liberation with violence and liberation without violence. As a South African patriot and as a democrat I chose and I choose the way of non-violence wherever it is possible.**

The third article for which I have to answer is 'Fortune Favours the Brave'. This was an editorial giving praise to the Pan-Africanist leadership for their qualities of courage, which, as I felt, had enabled their campaign to succeed where no other campaigns had succeeded.

This courage was of a self-sacrificing nature. The leaders were, as they said, prepared to die, but not to kill, for freedom. There can hardly be anything nobler than such courage. I praised it then, and still praise it. I commented as I did hoping that my praise would inspire other South Africans, and perhaps future campaign leaders, with something of the greatness shown by Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe and his lieutenants.

The fourth article with which I am charged is 'United Nations Must Intervene'. I would prefer to deal with this article later, as in my view it is the most important editorial ever published in *Contact*, and its logical place in this survey is after certain other articles.

The next article which the Crown dislikes is 'The Kgosana Speech' published on 16th April. Why did I publish it? Because it was a historic speech. A young man, scarcely out of his teens, leaps into prominence, leads the two townships of Langa and Nyanga in their pass campaign, and shakes the house of apartheid to the foundations. He launches his campaign with a speech, of which the precious text comes into my hands. The daily press has carried nothing of this speech. The speech includes instructions from the leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr. Sobukwe, which, if obeyed, will strengthen the campaign. The speech

contains memorable and important passages which I should like to quote:

"We are not fighting Dr. Verwoerd simply because he is Dr. Verwoerd; we are not fighting against the Nationalist Party or the United party. We are not fighting against Europeans or Indians or Chinese. In short we are fighting against nobody. Our energies and forces are directed against a set-up, against a conception and a myth. This myth — others call it racial superiority, others call it herrenvolkism, others White leadership with justice, or White supremacy. We are fighting against the Calvinistic doctrine that a certain nation was specially chosen by God to lead, guide and protect other nations.

"We are not a horde of stupid, barbaric things which will fight against a White man simply because he is White. No sensible person can do that."



"I wish here to quote the final instructions of the President of the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr. Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe:

'To All Regions and Branches of P.A.C.:

'Sons and Daughters of the Soil, Remember Africa!

'Very soon, now, we shall be launching. The step we are taking is historical, pregnant with untold possibilities. We must, therefore, appreciate our role. We must appreciate our responsibility. The African people have entrusted their whole future to us. And we have sworn that we are leading them, not to death, but to life abundant.

'My instructions, therefore, are that our people must be taught NOW and CONTINUOUSLY, THAT IN THIS CAMPAIGN we are going to observe ABSOLUTE NON-VIOLENCE.

'There are those in our own ranks who will be speaking irresponsibly of bloodshed and violence. They must be firmly told what our stand is.

'Results of violence: Let us consider, for a moment, what violence will achieve. I say quite POSITIVELY, without fear of contradiction, that the only people who will benefit from violence are the government and the police. Immediately violence breaks out we will be taken up with it and give vent to our pent-up emotions and feel that by throwing a stone at a Saracen or burning a particular building we are small revolutionaries engaged in revolutionary warfare. But after a few days, when we have buried our dead, and made moving grave-side speeches and our emotions have settled again, the police will round up a few people and the rest will go back to the Passes, having forgotten what our goal had been initially.

'What we are not going to do:

'We are not going to burn or damage any part of the Pass Book in any manner. We are not going to fight or attempt to fight, insult or attempt to insult, provoke or attempt to provoke the police in their lawful duties. We are not going to throw stones at the police or do anything that is going to obstruct the police. Any person who does all these things shall be dealt with by the police of course and we, as an organisation, shall further deal with him. Nobody is carrying money, knives or any dangerous weapon with himself to-morrow?'



Admittedly the passages I have quoted are accompanied by other passages which are militant calls to action. Those it is not necessary to quote here. All I would say is that nothing in the whole speech incites hatred against any group, White or non-White, and that nothing in the speech falls below the highest levels of modern political thought.

If it is a crime to try to help such a man speaking on such a platform, then I eagerly plead guilty to that crime.

White South Africa does not yet know how lucky it is. Instead of a Black Hitler, or a terrorist movement, people like Mr. Kgosana and the P.A.C. have been thrown up by the oppressed people of our country. One day the Whites of our land may well thank almighty God for their undeserved luck.

Reading through *Contact* of 16th April, I note that the article 'The Monday Beatings' has not been included in the indictment. This despite the fact that it contains a photograph of a police officer chasing a man at Langa and trying to beat him with a stick, [and despite the fact that much of the text of the article was taken from embargoed foreign press reports, the publication of which was forbidden in all the rest of the South African press. The article also contains my own eye-witness account of a vicious and unprovoked assault by uniformed police on African pedestrians. I am surprised that this article was missed by the Crown as it combed the two guilty issues for subversion. Is it possible that the Crown is ashamed of the behaviour of members of the police force? I hope so.]*

* Mr. Duncan was told by the Magistrate that this was not relevant to his argument.

I pass now to two editorials which the Crown has alleged are subversive. The first describes how, on 25th March, the following pledge was given by the Cape Town police chief to the Cape Town Pan-Africanist leadership: "Until things return to normal I will see to it that in this area no one is asked to carry passes again". And, on the evening of the same day, the suspension of the pass laws was made country-wide by General Rademeyer, the then commissioner.

It also described how, some ten days later, long before things had returned to normal (for it was only the first week of the five months' emergency), Minister Erasmus announced that the police would again ask for passes.

The second editorial told the story of the more important betrayal. I quote the first part of it:

In 1838, Dingane lured Piet Retief and his party into a trap. The Boers put down their arms, and were then dealt with, and murdered, by the Zulus. This was treachery.

One hundred and twenty years later, Mr. Philip Kgosana, a young South African, aged twenty, negotiated from a position of strength with the Union authorities. He, too, was induced to put down his weapon, the presence of a peaceful and orderly crowd of thirty thousand Africans. In good faith he asked them to go home, for he had been promised an interview with the Minister, Mr. Erasmus.

When he had disarmed, after he had willingly put away his only defence, when he came for the promised interview, he was seized and gaoled.

Mr. Erasmus had only two honourable courses before him. Either he might decide that the police officers who had given the pledge to Mr. Kgosana had acted beyond their authority. In this case nothing less than a public reprimand could make known the Government's displeasure and refusal to accept responsibility for the promise. Or he might decide to honour the pledge made in his name by an honourable official, and to give Mr. Kgosana the interview.

In the event Mr. Erasmus did neither. To the best of our knowledge the interview has never taken place.

In our view Mr. Erasmus is as guilty of treachery as was Dingane. **Here were two clear cases of betrayal. I called them so. If it is a crime to plead the cause of good faith, to criticize governments that break solemn promises, then I am happy to be guilty of such a crime.**

The last article which, it is alleged, is a subversive statement, is the column 'Sam Sly' in the same issue. I have searched the column, trying to see what the Crown finds to be subversive. I have reached the conclusion that the subversive bit is a passage describing how an Archbishop, various television personalities, and some Africans had a pleasant drink together in the Mount Nelson Hotel.

In a country afflicted with apartheid, a country in which very few White persons enjoy being near Africans unless they are making money out of them, I now understand that to have printed this passage was seriously subversive.

To bring this review to a close, I would turn the attention of the court to the article 'United Nations Must Intervene' published on 2nd April.

I published this article when it became clear that the government had lost control of the situation, and that it would be compelled to proclaim a state of emergency. I realized that what had happened in Cape Town and elsewhere was merely a foretaste of future demonstrations, and that if the government lost control for so small a cause, chaos would be likely as a result of future bigger and better-organized demonstrations.

As a patriotic South African I was, and still am, disturbed by the prospect of apartheid-induced chaos in my country. I realized that there is only one force in the world able to intervene to keep chaos at bay, the United Nations. As a democrat I realized that it was possible to hope that if the United Nations were to intervene they would introduce free elections on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that is to say, on a basis of adult suffrage.

United Nations intervention would thus be likely to rid our country of the crushing weight of apartheid, to bring our people democratic freedom, and to guarantee the security of the White and other minorities. It was to bring so glorious a day nearer that I wrote the editorial.

To summarize: I decided to publish all the articles in the heat of the crisis of April. Looking back from this somewhat calmer period I would omit nothing, add nothing, and change nothing. I leave it to a future South Africa to justify or to condemn what I did.

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party.

THE Progressive Party congress is over. The Molteno Commission made its recommendations on the franchise, a new Senate and a Bill of Rights. The congress adopted some and rejected others. I would like to discuss the recommendations and their reception, critically but, I hope, fairly.

I will not discuss the merits of the reformed Senate the Progressives want. Nor will I say much about their Bill of Rights. It has long been Liberal Party policy that a rigid constitution embracing a Bill of Rights was essential in South Africa. What we do not regard as essential, however, is a Bill of Rights which will permit continuing segregation in residential areas, in schools and in universities, as the Progressive Bill of Rights will. We do not support that. What I would like to discuss in some detail are the Commission's franchise recommendations and the Progressive reaction to them.

The Commission report is interesting not only for the proposals it makes but for the striking divergence which it showed between the views of its White and non-White members. The people who supported the franchise qualification proposals without reservation were all White. The people who wanted higher qualifications were White. All three non-White members stated their belief in the principle of adult suffrage and Dr. Cooppan, in his admirable minority report, expressed the view that a qualified fran-

VOTES FOR THE FEW

chise could only be justified "as a temporary expedient to break up the present stalemate in our political relationship". Neither Dr. Cooppan nor Mr. Selby Ngcobo nor Dr. van der Ross could, by any stretch of anyone's imagination, be described as an "extremist agitator". All three of them would qualify for a vote whatever the qualifications were. They are responsible and respected men. Yet they all support the principle of adult suffrage and the Progressive Party congress met knowing that they did. It also met in the face of an appeal, addressed to it by Chief Luthuli, Jordan Ngubane and other well-known African personalities, asking the party to adopt universal suffrage as its objective.

This was the background against which the congress met. What was its response? Its response was to adopt qualifications higher than those which the Commission recommended. And Dr. Steytler went out of his way to make it quite clear that his party would not consider a policy of universal suffrage either now or at any time in the future. It is a great pity that he did so because, however good his intentions, non-White people will remember this reaction to their views.

Why should the Progressives have reacted in this way? There seems to be only one answer. The fact is that, although they have travelled a long way since they parted from the United Party, they remain a White party with White views, convinced that a White-orientated policy holds the answer for South Africa and that White people can still produce a policy which non-White people will gratefully accept. This is a delusion. Those days are past if, in fact, they ever existed and, if the Progressives had had an effective non-White membership effectively represented at their congress, they would have known it.

Dr. Steytler has said that he is sure that he will be able to win non-White

support for his party's policy. It seems unlikely that he will win the kind of support worth having. The reasonable and responsible non-White members of the commission believe in universal suffrage. Universal suffrage is the universal demand of non-White people who count in South Africa and it would be a great pity if the Progressive Party were to continue to give the impression, as Dr. Steytler has now done, that it has firmly slammed the door against the attainment of universal suffrage ever. Dr. Steytler has shown courage and originality in many directions already and I hope he will revise his views on this one question and say so. Let him, if he wishes, advocate his qualified franchise as a necessary and expedient first step but let him recognize at least the possibility of a society being established here one day

on the basis of votes for all South Africans. For I am sure that that is the sort of society we are going to have and that is where time and events will lead us. The Progressives will have to move with those times and events, and they can lose nothing by admitting the possibility now.

As long as a large body of people are excluded from the franchise they cannot effectively protect their interests. Where, as is inevitable in South Africa, the line of exclusion will closely follow racial lines, they will provide a fruitful field for racial appeals. These are good reasons for adopting a policy which will give the vote to everyone. But the best reason of all is the determination of modern Africans that, nowhere on the continent, shall their fellows enjoy a status a whit inferior to that of any other person.

"6 per cent of the votes . . ."

"Richard Radex", one of South Africa's acutest political observers, writes as follows:

THE conservative wing of the Progressive party defeated all attempts, made at the congress last month, to get more liberal policies adopted.

On the question of the franchise, the Molteno report was seriously weakened by amendments.

As a result, far fewer Africans would qualify as voters under the agreed plan, which lays down standard six plus an annual income of £300.

The number of Africans in the whole Union who have passed standard six is below 200,000. It is estimated that under five per cent of these earn £25 a month, i.e. less than 10,000 would get the vote.

There are also about 62,000 Africans who hold Std. 8 or Matriculation certificates, which would qualify them.

More Coloureds and Indians would probably qualify. But even when these are added, calculations show that the grand total of non-Whites, men and women, who would reach the common

roll would be in the region of about 130,000. As there will soon be two million Whites on the roll, the non-Whites would number barely six per cent of the electorate.

A notable omission from the bill of rights in the Molteno report is the right to form trade unions. (This right is, of course, included in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.)

This omission is no accident. The clue is provided on page 14 of the Molteno report where it is indicated that the Progressives' aim is to give the vote only to "the stabilized semi-skilled working class".

But as only a small proportion of semi-skilled African workers receive £25 a month, even this limited aim would not be achieved.

It is clear that the Progressives have no intention of giving the vote to the unskilled workers, who are, of course, the great majority.

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NEW BISHOP

BISHOP ALPHAEUS ZULU, consecrated in St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, on 27th November, is the first African bishop in the Church of the Province of South Africa.

Born of simple parents fifty-five years ago, he has had a notable career.

After passing Std. VI in Newcastle, Natal, he spent a year as an unqualified teacher, and then went to St. Chad's Training College, Ladysmith, to qualify.



ZULU

In 1924 he was principal of the Umlazi Mission Primary School; in 1926 he became principal of the intermediate school, and in 1935 was made head of the combined schools at the mission.

During this period, he studied privately and passed his matriculation.

In 1932 he was asked by Bishop Leonard Fisher whether he would like to enter the ministry. He said that he felt that he should further his education before doing so.

The Church undertook to pay for his higher education, and he went to Fort Hare where he took a B.A.; this was followed by a period at the Church's theological school in Johannesburg. He was ordained in 1942 and served at St. Faith's Mission, Carlyle Street, Durban.

In 1955 he was appointed director of the Durban and North Coast missions, and in 1957 was made Canon.

He will now be suffragan bishop of the diocese of St. John's, living in Umtata, and working among the people of the Transkei.

The Progs. meet the Press

Contact's representative was at the Progressive Party's press conference, held in Johannesburg on 16th November after the party's first congress.

Here are some of the answers. Does the recommendation in the proposed Bill of Rights that people should be allowed to live anywhere, mean that the Progressive Party has changed its policy regarding residential segregation?

No. Under Progressive policy it is still permissible to divide up the residential areas. This clause in the Bill of Rights means that husbands won't be separated from their wives, etc.

If a house falls vacant in Parktown, will an Orlando resident be allowed to purchase it?

We don't see why people should be forced to live next to each other if they don't want to.

Apart from differences regarding the franchise, do you consider there are any

deep differences in policy between the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party?

The two parties have a different psychological approach. The Liberals ignore the fact that there are different communities in this country. Recognition must still be given to the existence of each group.

The Federation's qualified franchise has failed. Why shouldn't yours also?

The Federation's failed because the qualifications were set too high. We have a much better chance of success.

What is your attitude to Bantu Authorities?

The machinery here is not all bad by any means. The way of implementation was bad. If there had been allowance made for elections instead of appointments, there might have been some chance of its being acceptable.

THE QUALIFICATIONS

THE Progressive Party congress decided on the qualifications a Progressive government would insist on before a person could vote.

Apart from being a Union citizen, and having attained the age of 21, a person would not qualify for the ordinary common roll unless he or she had a Std. VI certificate or equivalent, together with an income for two consecutive years of at least £300, or occupation or control for at least two consecutive years of fixed property to the value of at least £500.

Another qualification which would place a person on the common roll would be literacy in an official language, together with ownership of fixed property of at least £500, or literacy in an official language together with an income for at least two consecutive years (cash or kind) of at least £500 a year.

Any South African citizen, over 21, with the Junior Certificate would qualify for the ordinary roll.

People who do not qualify for the ordinary roll would be registered on a special roll if they are Union citizens, are 21, and are literate in an official language. These people would be able to elect only ten per cent of all Members of Parliament.

N.D.P. Has a President

NKOMO RETURNS TO LEAD

From ENOS NDLOVU

SALISBURY: Mr. Joshua Nkomo, former president of the banned Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, arrived at the Salisbury Airport on the 20th November, after a two-year exile in London. He has been called back home to lead Africans in S. Rhodesia as President-General of the non-racial African-led National Democratic Party.

The emergency found Mr. Nkomo out of the country and he narrowly escaped arrest. He then went to London where, after joining the N.D.P., he opened its present External Affairs office and became its director. While out there, he travelled widely in Europe, America and North Africa, addressing gatherings and raising funds for the N.D.P.

Welcoming Mr. Nkomo were thousands of people, cheering, chanting and dancing, and a large number of uniformed police.

He told the crowd: "Now that I am back home I demand that all those who were arrested without trial be released to-day."

He has also demanded that a thousand people arrested recently in the main towns of the country, under the new Vagrancy Act, be given their freedom immediately.

The British Government, Mr. Nkomo said, should initiate a constitutional conference for the Colony, out of which would emerge a constitution which would allow adult people of all races to participate in the election of a truly non-racial democratic government. Meanwhile, the N.D.P. has announced its intention of boycotting the Colony's elections early next year.

U.N.I.P. TO BOYCOTT LONDON TALKS?

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party may boycott the Federal review talks due to commence in London on 5th December.

U.N.I.P. is not satisfied with the progress being made regarding the Northern Rhodesia constitutional talks. Mr. Kaunda told me that U.N.I.P. regards the Northern Rhodesia talks as more important than the Federal talks. He said that unless the Governor can tell him categorically that the talks will take place and when they will start as well as offer him reasonable representation, his party would boycott the talks.

Mr. Kaunda complained that he has been left completely in the dark regarding what will happen at the London review conference.

So far, U.N.I.P. has been offered two

put across propaganda against Sir Roy Welensky's propaganda team, *Voice and Vision*—a first-rate British advertising firm.

Voice and Vision have published full-page advertisements in several British papers to plug the case for the continuance of Federation.

DEPORTED FROM S. RHODESIA

BULAWAYO: A 42-year-old former member of the French Foreign Legion now living in Bulawayo, Mr. James Horkins, has been notified by the authorities that he is to be deported from the colony.

Mr. Horkins recently joined the National Democratic Party, but an immigration official said that this had nothing to do with his deportation.

The Principal Immigration Officer said that Mr. Horkins had been declared a prohibited immigrant. (*Cape Argus*.)

(See letter on page 8)

U.N. AID FOR TANGANYIKA

TECHNICAL assistance in the form of international experts to aid the development of Tanganyika's economy, and that of the other East African territories, will be set in motion early in 1961 when a permanent United Nations office is established with its headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

Read "LOTUS", Rhodesia's Liberal Asian Monthly. Annual Subscription 10/-. Box 998, Bulawayo.

BACK FROM EXILE

Mr. Nkomo addresses the crowd on his arrival at Salisbury airport.

IS DUAL ROLL ANTI-AFRICAN?

THE Progressive Party has adopted the device of a qualified franchise on a dual voters' roll (see page 4). Has the somewhat similar arrangement in the Federation succeeded in winning support from Africans?

The device of a dual electoral roll in Rhodesia was put forward by the then Federal Prime Minister, Lord Malvern, in March, 1956. According to Philip Mason in his book *Year of Decision*, Lord Malvern said at an election meeting that he was thinking of "two multi-racial common rolls". The upper roll, for which qualifications would be high, would elect the majority of members to the Federal House, while the lower roll and the higher roll together would elect perhaps a quarter of the members.

A year later the Tredgold Commission—appointed to consider and report on a franchise system for Southern Rhodesia which might place government in the hands of "civilized and responsible persons"—made its recommendations. While stating that "no system that leaves any substantial section of the people labouring under a justifiable grievance can in the end prevail", and also acknowledging that the ideal system was democracy based on a universal adult suffrage, the commission was bound by its terms of reference. Its suggestion was a complicated roll of graded qualifications, with a special qualification which would be adjusted so that special votes would not rise above a certain proportion of ordinary votes. Both ordinary and special vote qualifications were far above the reach of most Africans, but even these recommendations were raised in the franchise which was eventually accepted.

Much of the Southern Rhodesian system was embodied in the Federal Electoral Act of 1958, with the change that a dual roll was introduced. The Federal House of Assembly consists of a speaker and 59 members—44 ordinary members of any race (but in practice only Whites) are elected by General voters only; nine Africans are elected by Special and General voters; four Africans are specially elected by African

councils in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; two Whites are nominated by territorial Governors to represent African interests, and one is elected in Southern Rhodesia by Special and General voters.

To qualify for the General Roll a Federal citizen or British Protected person must have:

- (a) An income of at least £720 a year or £1,500 property, plus literacy;
- (b) An income of £480 a year or £1,000 property, plus completed primary education;
- (c) An income of £300 a year or £500 property, plus four years' secondary education.

The Special Roll qualifications are:

- (a) An income of £150 a year or £500 property, plus literacy;
- (b) An income of £120 a year plus two years' secondary education.

There is, however, a further complication in that, if an African should ever be elected to one of the 44 "ordinary" seats, the number of African seats would accordingly be reduced by one and the ordinary seats correspondingly increased.

"The whole arrangement," comments Philip Mason, "is complicated. It is difficult to explain on a public platform. It was explicitly designed to keep 'extremist African nationalists' out of Parliament. This meant, of course, that Africans were to be represented not by the people they themselves chose as their leaders but by the people Europeans thought suitable to lead them."

It becomes clearer when one examines the franchise qualifications of these extraordinary Rhodesian systems, says another writer, Colin Leys, that they "are blatantly rigged against participation by the ordinary African, and in favour of every European".

Perhaps the most telling comment was made by Dr. Verwoerd's daily, *Die Transvaler*. When Huggins first announced a dual roll it welcomed the determination of Rhodesians to "stand firm in the interests of the White man and his civilization". (Mason: *Year of Decision*, page 71.)



KAUNDA.

seats as against three offered to the Malawi Congress Party. Originally U.N.I.P. was offered only one, but negotiated for another.

U.N.I.P. is unwilling to accept the seats until it is satisfied with the arrangements for the Northern Rhodesia talks.

In preparation for both review talks, however, U.N.I.P. has sent its publicity chief, Mr. Sikota Wina, to London by air to help U.N.I.P.'s London office to

Historic Conference in Ivory Coast

French-Speaking States Forge Unity

By R. W. HOWE

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast: In early November French-speaking Africa, which is about three times as big as India and Pakistan put together, took a giant step towards the formation of a confederated union, grouping about a score of states.

Twelve countries met here and agreed on the formation of a French-African bloc. Eight were represented by their presidents or premiers—thus making the Abidjan Conference the biggest meeting of African heads of government ever

plosive issues: Algeria, the Congo and Mauritania.

In the Congo, they decided to back the United Nations, and President Joseph Kasavubu.

WANT ALGERIA CEASE-FIRE

In Algeria, they want a cease-fire on terms that respect the personality of the Algerian resistance movement.

In Mauritania, which reached independence on November 28, they fully support the Moktar Ould Daddah government and oppose Morocco's claim to annex the territory.

The twelve powers which have just met here are: Ivory Coast, Senegal, Dahomey, Voltaic Republic, Niger Republic, ex-French Congo, Cameroon, Mauritania, Chad, Centrafrican Republic, Gabon and Mali. They cover an expanse of the world's surface running from the arid sands of the Sahara to the mangrove swamps of the Congo Valley.

If, as expected, Madagascar and Togo join the group, the 14-state bloc thus formed will have a majority among African powers, which now numbers 27. Members of the bloc will vote identically on all U.N. issues, it was decided here.

OTHER STATES MAY JOIN

Apart from Madagascar and Togo, other countries being spoken of here as future members of the confederative union are: Tunisia, Morocco, an independent Algeria, Guinea, ex-Belgian Congo, Ruanda-Urundi and Angola. Given a little time, observers believe, such an economic union is far from improbable.

Thus, if all goes well, what has just been so swiftly and smoothly decided here could mean, in a few years, the formation of a bloc twice the size of the United States, and grouping seventy million people.

The Abidjan Conference was principally a triumph for President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.



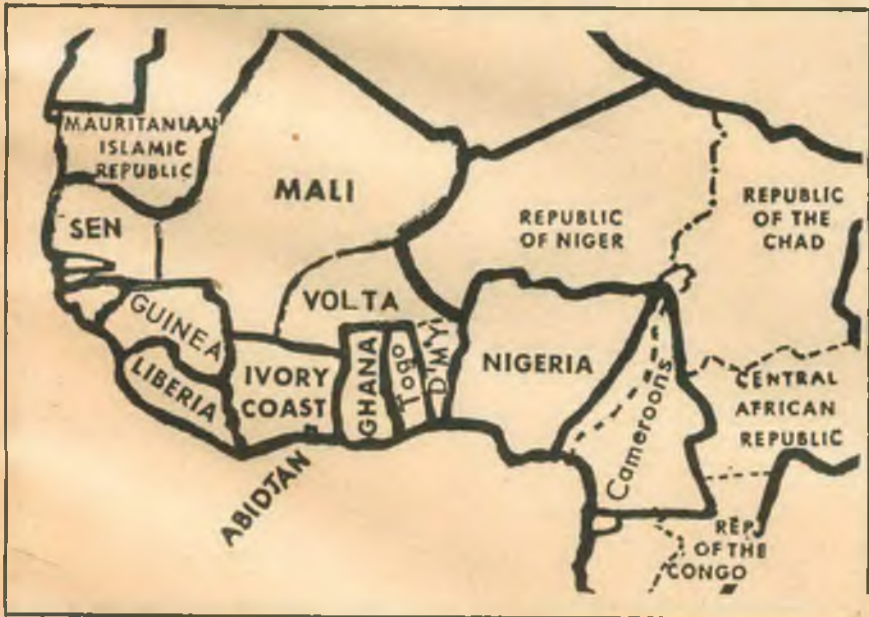
HOUFHOUE-BOIGNY.

held—three by ministers with plenipotentiary powers, and one by an observer whose government (Mali) is expected to endorse the meeting's decisions.

ECONOMIC UNION

The union of French-speaking states will be essentially economic in character, it was decided, and will not infringe on any national sovereignties. But it will have such political aspects as a common foreign policy, including a common African policy.

In 48 hours, from October 25th to October 27th, the twelve reached a common policy on Africa's most ex-



ZANZIBAR GETS RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: In Zanzibar, the British protectorate comprising the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba off the coast of Tanganyika, the Legislative Council has approved a bill which will give the islands responsible government after the general elections in January next year.

The Chief Minister will be appointed

in consultation with the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The islands will continue to be a British protectorate, and the Sultan will continue to have the support of the British Government.

The Sultan is the ruler of 165,000 people, Africans, Asians and Arabs and a few Whites.

The constitutional changes have the support of all the major political parties.

Persecuted in Moscow



Six of the "Seven Loyal Somalis" back from the Soviet Union. Left to right: M. N. Mohamed, A. M. Hassan, A. H. Belki, M. G. Barre, A. N. Hussein and A. K. Aden.

"STOP STUDENTS GOING TO U.S.S.R."—SOMALIS

A LETTER was addressed on 7th November by "Seven Loyal Somalis" to Somalia's prime minister, Dr. Scermarche, "warning you and our government of the evil actions and intentions of the government of the U.S.S.R."

The following were their charges "against the Soviet Government and the Russian Friendship University".

It was charged that the cash allowances were not nearly adequate to maintain life, that the Somalis were separated, and "everything possible" done "to prevent contact between them.

... who is loyal to us and who is not, and who (are) the agents of ... capitalism."

Postal censorship was alleged, and the students claimed that much of their time was wasted in compulsory lectures on communism.

The soviet authorities had, they claimed, prevented them from joining the Moscow African Students' Association (Union), and compelled them to form a Somali Students' Association, on the grounds that "there is no African unity in Africa".

The statement ended with an appeal to the Prime Minister to "consider the fate of our Somali brothers who are still in Moscow. . . . Of all the Somali students," ran the letter, "who have studied in various countries, only those . . . who have been in Russia have returned home because of discontentment and . . . persecution. We believe the government should stop Somali students from going to communist countries.

"Long live African freedom! Long live Somalia! (signed) M. N. Mohamed; A. M. Hassan; A. H. M. Belki; M. G. Barre; A. N. Hussein; A. K. Aden; M. A. Alas (absent in Rome)."

We publish this report, just as we published the statement of the executive of the Moscow African Students' Union ("Contact", 8th October), not to make capital out of the existence of racialism in the Soviet Union (It exists in many countries), but to show that much Soviet propaganda is false.

Also African students are never permitted to live inside the university where the best accommodations are found".

Race discrimination was also charged. "The Russians think of us as inferior people. They treat all Africans alike and we have been called black monkeys and were told 'you are not a man, you should be in a tree'. One member of our group was beaten up by the Kom-somols (Communist Youth) because he danced with a Russian girl. Another member of our group was brutally assaulted because he discussed (the) Muslim religion in a public place."

The students also claimed that there was religious suppression. "There is no mosque, church, temple or facility for . . . religion in the university. . . . There is only one mosque in Moscow which the Russians keep as a museum and for showing visiting Moslem officials to prove how (the) Moslem religion is protected in Russia. . . . Many times the only food offered us was pork."

It was asserted that pressure had been brought to bear on the remaining Somali students—there were only 23 left when the letter was written—to remain in Moscow against their will.

One student, it was charged, had been trapped into talking with a Russian girl, and then blackmailed by the police to spy on his colleagues, and asked to report on "what your friends are doing

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

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Apartheid in Church

SIR,—I have just read my copy of *Contact* dated 5th November, in which there appears a letter from the Bishop of George in which he makes a valiant attempt to whitewash the apartheid which is found in his diocese.

In view of his statement, I think it would be a good thing if the bishop were to answer the following:—

1. If there is no apartheid (a) at Oudtshoorn, why is it necessary to have two separate churches? (b) At Beaufort West why was it necessary for the bishop to open a new separate church building last month? And (c) why should there be two churches at Graaff-Reinet?
2. In those churches mentioned by the bishop (and the Cathedral at George), are non-Whites made welcome and received on equal terms, or are they told to go to the separate church around the corner?
3. The bishop admits that there are parishes where the races are separated; that is all very well and a frank confession; but what is more important still is for the bishop to tell us what he is DOING to put the matter right.

ANGLICAN,
Cape.

Kept alive through fear

SIR,—That violence used for any purpose is useless, a kind of persistent superstition, should be clear to rulers and ruled alike. From time immemorial has the lie that violence by some towards others can solve a problem been accepted as were it the most undoubted truth, not only among those to whom violence is profitable, but even among a majority of the very people who have suffered and are suffering most from violence.

As soon as people understand that the violence done by some towards others, besides causing the latter to suffer, is unreasonable because those who quietly submitted then become indignant and embittered by the use of violence against them.

Rulers and ruled know in the depth of their unconscious being that by using violence they can only gain a semblance of a solved problem, not a real solution based on justice and truth.

As laws which discriminate between races, even the laws that aim at protecting the ruled, are basically resting on violence, it should be clear as crystal that such discriminative laws must in the future defeat the aim and goal of the lawgivers.

Those who non-violently oppose the laws to which they object must at all times remember that the legislative body is labouring under a misconception of truth and reality born and kept alive through fear.

AHIMSA,
Durban.

Catholic danger?

SIR,—According to Mr. Andrew Murray (*Contact*, 19th November), the Catholic Church "is the ardent champion of human rights, social justice and respect for human dignity".

It is unnecessary to read "books by noted enemies of the Catholic Church" to discover that Mr. Murray's statement is false. In *Apologetics and Catholic Doctrine* by The Most Reverend M. Sheehan, D.D. (a book bearing the Catholic Imprimatur), we are told (pp. 200-1) that, "Matters spiritual belong exclusively to the Church; matters temporal . . . exclusively to the State. Matters of a mixed character which affect both societies alike should be dealt with by mutual arrangement, but in the case of conflict, the State, inasmuch as it pursues the less important end, must

yield to the Church" (our italics).

As we see it, if the State does in fact yield to the Church, birth control clinics will not be permitted, the Church will control all education (see *Sacred Canon 1381*), and will presumably ban all books which are listed in the Catholic Index of forbidden books, psychoanalysis will be prohibited and the heretic will be regarded and treated as "more dangerous than the thief or murderer" (p. 198). However, we are consoled—"the Inquisition gave the heretic ample time to recant" (p. 198).

We consider, therefore, that the policy of the Catholic Church, as judged by its stated teachings, is a grave threat to liberal values. The extent to which the Catholic Church's tactic of non-racialism derives solely "from motives of prudence" in those countries of Africa in which she is not established can be judged by her record in those African territories where she is the established Church (e.g., Angola).

G. G. MICHAELIDES,
D. A. HIGGS,
E. R. ROUX,
B. STEIN,

University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg.

Republic will die

SIR,—The Nationalists' republic will grow sick and die. The Nationalists think they are above everyone, they seem to believe in magic. A magician thinks he is very much cleverer than anybody else; he says he is above everybody else, but soon sickness will enter his stomach, and he will become sick and die.

It will be the same with that republic.

Don't worry, our brothers, it will die of itself. If not, then Kamuzu, Kwame, Nyerere, Kaunda, will see that it does.

GODFREY G. KONDOWOLE,
Kota Kota, Nyasaland.



Reply to Mr. Zwane

SIR,—I refer to Mr. Basil Zwane's letter (*Contact*, 8th October) presented in response to mine of the 27th August, 1960.

Mr. Zwane states:

(1) That he is in no way responsible for *New Age*, *Liberation*, *Fighting Talk* or the Congress of Democrats.

(2) That the editors of the publications concerned and the Congress of Democrats should themselves answer my questions "should they consider it necessary"!

It is only point two which is of interest for it seems to give some insight into Mr. Zwane's approach to questions of political morality.

In my letter I demanded that the papers and organization named above explain why they had held out Russia to be a democratic and Socialist state when they knew this to be untrue.

It does not appear to have dawned on Mr. Zwane that a reply to my letter is an inescapable necessity for the people he mentions to the extent that they "consider it necessary" to preserve even a mock semblance of political integrity. That silence, furthermore, in the face of the questions I have raised, is more damning than an admission of guilt.

Now this, to me, is a strange attitude for a man or woman to take, particularly for one whom I am given to understand lives under conditions of the gravest social and political injustice in South Africa and by virtue alone of his racial classification!

As to the questions he directs at me: How many colonies, if any, have Russia and China in Africa, etc., etc.? These are inane and completely irrelevant to

To all readers of "Contact"

- Thank you for all your letters
- Send us more of your views, criticisms, ideas, opinions, with a photograph of yourself if you like
- Always send your correct name and address with your letter—and keep the letter short
- Let's hear from you soon

the issue; a poor attempt to sidestep the questions I raised: indeed, the sort of red-herring that one would have expected the very people Mr. Zwane declares himself to be "in no wise responsible for" to have introduced into the discussion—and precisely for the purpose of creating confusion in the hope of escaping the moral obligation of replying to the issues raised in my letter.

K. J. HENDRICKSE,
Kenilworth, Cape.

Progress in selling

SIR,—I am glad to inform you of my progress in selling *Contact*.

To start with my aim in selling the newspaper was only to find an easy way to make money, but during my selling that idea has totally gone from my head.

To clarify: in the first place I had been in darkness concerning the political aspect of current events. Now I was proud of myself to find that being an agent for *Contact* has not only brought me money but has educated me, or has at least turned me into a light by which I can undoubtedly say I am leading my customers from darkness to the political arena.

Once again I say this selling business has caused me to be sociable; meeting with different types of people with subversive ideas in connection with the present state of affairs. But I have managed to turn those block-heads to future agents of *Contact* and future ambassadors of non-racialism.

DUNCAN MTIYA,
Randfontein.

Get rid of the Nats!

SIR,—I wholeheartedly agree with the views expressed in your leading article "Get rid of Tshombe" (*Contact*, 19th November).

But what about the Nationalist government? Is this "mazibuze" in the reserves anything better than Tshombe's puppet government in Katanga province?

1. Dr. Verwoerd is wasting vast sums of money, time and energy in opening up a chiefs' sons' school at Tsolo for training his future Tshombes.
2. Instead of considering the grievances of the people, the B.A.D. commissioners are meeting them with armed force as in Pondoland.
3. Budding young leaders like Anderson Ganyile are deported for airing the grievances of their people against apartheid and Bantu Authorities.
4. Bantustan chiefs are squandering the money of impoverished people to the last penny.

Therefore solidarity is called for from all peace and freedom loving people of the world to take prompt and effective action against the Nationalists and Tshombe's bogus government. They have caused the name of Africa to stink.

The United Nations Organization is the only international institution to achieve this. If it fails to do so there will be nothing but chaos which has already manifested itself.

MIKE MLOBELI,
Maseru.

"Capitalist System"

SIR,—Mr. John Morley suggests (*Contact*, 5th November), that "the Capitalist System has reached the end of its usefulness". May I strenuously oppose this view while at the same time also professing a "love for my fellow human beings".

It is manifestly desirable to strive to achieve a high level of material welfare for all South Africans. This will be more easily attainable if aggregate wealth is growing apace. Furthermore, this dynamic expansion is more likely within the "capitalist system".

The term is not, of course, a precise one: it includes economies in which free enterprise is rampant as well as those where, possibly, excessive socialization is having a cramping effect.

An appropriate variant of the "capitalist system" is quite consistent with a policy of ensuring an equitable distribution of wealth. Indeed, it could bring about "equality at a high level of income", which is much to be preferred to that equality which merely levels downwards.

R. T. MCKINNEL,
Pietermaritzburg.

Bibles and sjamboks

SIR,—I greet you, and all readers, brothers both Black and White.

Here, too, we are having a hard fight against the hypocrites who under the camouflage of a bible on Sunday and a sjambok on Monday have the audacity to call themselves Christians.

I am a lover of the truth and a staunch defender of human rights and principles, so the authorities here are sending me back to Scotland.

The photograph was taken in Indo-China while I was fighting against atheistic communism.

Down with hypocrisy! Up with Christian democracy!



JAMES HORKINS,
Bulawayo.

Girl pen-friends wanted

SIR,—I have a good friend in Witten (Ruhr) way back in West Germany, by the name of Hans Peter Korte, who would also like to get in touch with some of our South African girls of whatever race, colour or creed.

As he is seventeen years of age, they should be girls between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. He has general interests, but he is most interested in collecting stamps and picture post cards.

Anyone who is interested in corresponding with him should get in touch with me.

ABEL N'KUNA,
P.O. Box 131, Tzaneen, Tvl.

Oppression in Mocambique

SIR,—What makes my heart go pit-pat is the propaganda made daily by the government of Mocambique trying to bluff the United Nations. The government prints papers and takes pictures showing Africans in protest against the United Nations for accusing Portugal of not giving political rights to Africans in their mother country.

I would like to advise the stupid government of Salazar to stop making all this nonsense. I know that there is not one African who likes that government which rules the country by force.

MOÇAMBIQUAN,
Bulawayo.

contact

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FORTNIGHT ENDING 17th DECEMBER

Vol. 3 No. 25

Progs.— the Truth



THEY SPEAK FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Seven of the petitioners from South West Africa photographed at the United Nations in New York. On the left are three members of the South West African National Union, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, the Reverend Marcus Kooper and Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi; in the centre is the Reverend Michael Scott, who has devoted his life to the liberation of South West Africa; and on the right are three members of the South West Africa People's Organization, Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, Mr. Ismael Fortune and Mr. Sam Nujoma.

(United Nations photo)

The "Labour Trade" in South West Africa

By the Editor

ONE of the biggest scandals in South Africa is the conditions of labour in the mandated territory of South West Africa, administered without clear title of law as a fifth province of the Union. Ovamboland is the most populous area of the whole territory. The Ovambo people have been virtually deprived of education, and laws and regulations have been made which make it virtually impossible for them to get work unless they sign a contract. Heavy fees are payable to the South West African Native Labour Association by employers for each person recruited—petitioners at the United Nations alleged as much as £13 to £18 per head. But the contracts, which last for at least eighteen months, give labourers the starvation wages of 1s. 3d. a day (about 18 United States cents).

At the recent (November) session of the Fourth Committee of the U.N. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (S.W.A.P.O.) exposed some of the terrible facts about labour conditions in his country.

The right to choose one's employment has been taken away from contract labourers: they are allocated to employers by officials of S.W.A.N.L.A. Mr. Nujoma gave the committee the following typical example: Mr. Andrias Shehama, a young contract labourer, was employed by a local hotel in Windhoek, the capital of South West Africa; when his contract expired, he returned to Ovamboland. In July, 1959, this man wanted to come back to his employer where he worked before, and on his arrival at the headquarters of the S.W.A.N.L.A. in Grootfontein he told the officer in charge that he wanted to return to his old employer and that he had money to pay his train fare from Grootfontein to Windhoek. His request was refused by S.W.A.N.L.A. Mr. Shehama bought a ticket and proceeded to Windhoek. On his arrival there, Mr. Shehama and his employer went to the Bantu Affairs Registration Office to renew their employment contract. Both

Mr. Shehama and his employer were informed that Mr. Shehama is a Bantu from the Native Reserve. He could only be employed in the police zone under the contract system. He was then given 24 hours to leave Windhoek and proceed to the headquarters of the S.W.A.N.L.A. in Grootfontein. His employer was informed by the Bantu Affairs Department that if he wished to employ Mr. Shehama he must send an amount of £18 to S.W.A.N.L.A. That is the only way an African from the Native Reserve outside the police zone could be employed in the police zone.

It is instructive to hear what the senior official in the South West administration has to say about labour conditions. In the course of a letter to the Johannesburg *Financial Mail* (2nd December) defending the system against certain criticisms that had been made, the Secretary for S.W.A. wrote:

"The work done in the factories in Walvis Bay by the Ovambo labour is regarded as light work; in fact, the work in the canneries is performed mainly by women in most other parts of the world. It is a known fact that

Ovambo labourers arrive in Walvis Bay appearing underweight and undernourished, but are fat and healthy when they leave.

"The contracts made with the Ovambo labour allow 48 hours a week in eight-hour shifts a day, at a minimum rate of 1s. 3d. a shift (day). This rate is, however, never adhered to and the minimum a shift is 1s. 6d., and when a labourer returns for a second term the minimum is 2s. For good work he gets a production bonus of 6d. a shift, as well as the basic increase of 3d. a shift after 12 months. Good labourers are often paid at 2s. 6d. and even 3s. 6d. a shift. They get 6d. an hour overtime.

"Normally Ovambo labour works an average of 12-14 hours a day for six days a week. Factories rarely engage in production activity on Sundays and such Ovambo personnel who are called upon to work on Sundays are mainly engaged in loading for shipments, cleaning etc. As the labour is not really hard work, it is interesting to know that all of them are quite keen to do any amount of overtime." (Our emphasis—Contact.)

The idyllic picture which the Secretary tried to paint does not match the facts. According to Mr. Nujoma, "on 11th May, 1953, one hundred contract Ovambos employed by a fish factory at Luderitz went on strike because they were forced to work overtime without pay."

The police were called in and used firearms against unarmed Africans. Mr. Ekandjo Kamati was killed on the spot and two others were badly wounded by bullets.

Swazis Need Leaders

From "Contact" Correspondent

BREMERSDORP: All is not well in Swaziland. Many people in Mbabane, the capital, Bremersdorp, and Stegi are paid £4 (U.S. \$11.20) monthly in cash, no rations being given. Poverty is general, and people cannot buy good food for their families, and cannot afford decent housing or schooling.

Jobs are scarce, and some of those on pick-and-shovel work are trained motor mechanics, builders and carpenters, and

others have completed their secondary education.

There is a desperate need for constructive political leadership. One leader recently said that he was not prepared to call for higher wages, as too many workers drank *amahewu* (sour porridge). When workers heard that he had said this, they felt their hearts break.

Local newspapers allow no space to political matters, and fill their columns with useless news.

There is a scandalous economic colour bar. Many White people are employed on the mines, forests, buildings, farms and stores. Some of them have gone no higher than Std. VI in school yet their wages are more than £50 a month, or eleven times as much as those of comparably-educated Swazi.

Despite great hardship, political consciousness is rising fast. Many Swazi are watching affairs in the Union, and in Africa as a whole. Many are planning to participate in boycotts of South African goods and many pray for unity between African states.

More than six are planning to go to the United States for business training, and one wishes to go to Ghana to study political science. All are knee-haltered by a total lack of funds.

There is one trained medical man who hopes to be able to go to England or America for further professional training, but even he cannot, for lack of funds.

Police at work

Scene in a Cape Town city street on a busy Saturday morning a few weeks before Christmas. A Coloured hawker, his barrow piled high with peaches, is doing a brisk business outside a big department store. He has pulled his barrow into a space between two parked cars and is obstructing no one. But he has broken some Municipal by-law; two police constables walk up, grab an arm apiece, and lead him away. The barrow is left unattended, the hawker's peaches waiting for the first person to help himself.

No Passport but Honours to Paton



ALAN PATON, President of the Liberal Party, who was forced by the government to hand back the passport they gave him two months ago, when he returned from England and America after a visit. He had gone over to receive the Freedom Award, and while there had addressed meetings, and helped raise money for victims of South African apartheid.

A few days after government took his passport away the South African Broadcasting Corporation, which has now degenerated into a semi-Nazi propaganda organization, bitterly attacked him for being unpatriotic, but refused to allow him to reply on their transmitters.

But Mr. Paton was fully able to defend himself through the press. He said that he did not identify the Nationalists with South Africa. "And I do not regard it as unpatriotic to criticize them abroad."

And then, ending a letter to the minister with a sentence which deserves to live in our history: "I hope," he wrote, "to have my passport returned in due course by a government fully representative of the people of South Africa".

CHEAP TRAVEL FOR WHITES ONLY

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The Overseas Visitors Club, London, has achieved a certain amount of publicity lately through having chartered whole ships from the Union Castle Company. Through its efficient bulk buying of travel and accommodation facilities it has been able to offer travel to Commonwealth visitors at unprecedentedly low prices. King-pin in South Africa: Mr. Max Wilson, brother of Progressive M.P., Boris Wilson.

Contact naturally wanted to know whether all visitors were accepted. I accordingly telephoned the Cape Town office.

C: Is membership confined to White people?

OVC: No.

C: May a Coloured person join?

OVC: If a Coloured person were to apply, the application would be forwarded to head office in London for consideration. . . . There is absolutely no discrimination because of colour.

C: May Africans join?

OVC: Owing to the fact that there are no accommodation facilities available in London, Africans are ineligible.

C: How about Africans from the Federation?

OVC: The position is the same for that territory.

The young lady at the other end of the telephone then made a remarkable statement. It is because Ghana is not included in present arrangements, she said, that they could not very well admit Africans to membership.

I understand that as far as Whites are concerned there are no difficulties of any kind, provided one has a South African or British passport, and that one is over 17 years of age.

Another Round in Pretoria Transport Struggle

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The City Council is continuing its persecution of African transport services, despite recent successful action taken by the Liberal Party to protect the people's interests.

In September the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party presented a petition signed by over 2,000 people asking the council not to proceed with its plan to abolish all non-White taxi ranks in the city (Contact, 8th October). As a result the recommendation was referred back to the committee that had put it forward.

Now the committee (Works and Traffic) has put up again virtually the same recommendation.

Under the new proposals taxi drivers will be able to stop for 15 minutes only (instead of five minutes as previously proposed) after off-loading passengers at the taxi stop; and a parking area will be provided within a mile from the off-loading point for the use of drivers who do not wish to return immediately to the locations.

The Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party has now written to the mayor explaining to him that the objections stated in the petitions are not met by the new proposals, and must stand, and suggesting that the Works and Traffic Committee should meet a delegation of the petitioners to discuss the proposals.

Meanwhile a new line of persecution has been opened up.

For years the distant locations of Atteridgeville and Saulsville have had a bus service. Recently the railways opened up a new railway line.

The railways do not like the competition of the buses. Also the bus terminus in Pretoria is in a "White" suburb, and near a crossing for school-children, and therefore "objectionable". For these two reasons the City Council has agreed to petition the National Transportation Commission to close down the bus service.

Residents are most dissatisfied because:

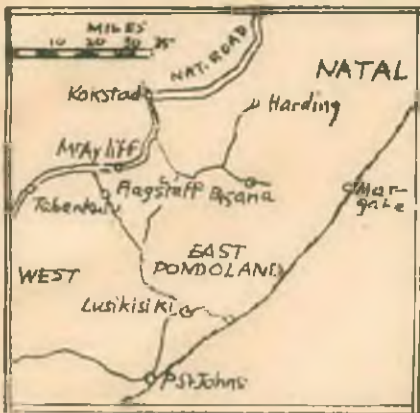
- 3,000 people use the bus service daily
- the bus fare is cheaper than the train fare
- washerwomen may take their bundles free by bus, but not by train
- at night it is safer to travel by bus, as the bus terminus is closer to their homes than the railway station.

The proposal was sprung on the City Council on an addendum to the agenda, so there was no time for a petition to be organized before the debate.

But since the debate the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party has sponsored a petition asking the National Transportation Commission to reject the Council's request.

The petition is at present out for signature.

Pondoland



This map shows Eastern Pondoland and the surrounding districts. The sea is on the right.

TEMBULAND SOLID AGAINST GOVERNMENT

Vast Crowd in Engcobo

By a Reporter

A NEW phase in the building up of resistance in Tembuland, in the Transkei, opened on 29th November when the main street of Engcobo was packed with well over 1,000 peaceful, well-controlled demonstrators. The occasion was the trial (on a charge of holding an illegal meeting) of Messrs. Anderson Delaguba Joyi, Wilmot Joyi and Mhlopekulu. The new phase begins with a wave of optimism and with high morale caused by the acquittal of the three accused and the total failure of the Crown witnesses to give the evidence required of them. Most important of all, there is a mood of confidence caused by the success of resistance leaders in pulling off this impressive demonstration of the Tembus' solidarity against the Government.

Eye-witnesses state that the Engcobo shops were shut all day (as on the previous Friday when 500 had gathered for the appearance of the accused on remand).

Buses brought demonstrators from Cala, Cofimvaba, Umtata, as well as

from the surrounding districts. Eight buses were counted, many of them hired from an Idutywa garage. Some of the buses made several journeys back and forth helping to swell the crowd.

SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS

There were several very significant aspects of this event:

- There were many women present, in contrast with the usual Transkeian custom in this respect.
- There was also an unusually high proportion of AmaQaba (red-blanketed people) present in the crowd. They have traditionally scorned the political affairs of their educated compatriots.
- While peace reigned throughout, groups of militant young men were to be seen, some only in loin-cloths and carrying battle-axes. They were very much under the control of the leaders of the demonstration.
- The only recorded utterances were shouts from a section of the crowd when the magistrate, Mr. Jordaan of Cofimvaba, appeared: "Convict them! Convict them! Then we shall show you!"

- The storm brewing around Chief Kaiser D. Matanzima, Bantu Authorities strongest Transkei supporter and Chief of the Emigrant Tembu (St. Marks, Qamata, Xalanga districts). There has been at least one assassination attempt against Chief Kaiser—an unsuccessful ambush near his Great Place at Qamatapoort. He is reported to be sleeping in a secret place in Queenstown, some 40 miles away. The burning of 54 kraals at Bolotwa, near Queenstown, on 9th December, can be taken as the first shots in a war between Chief Kaiser Matanzima and the anti-Bantu Authorities movement in his area of Tembuland.

- The increase in hut burning tactics against informers and collaborators, as in East Pondoland. The regent of the Qwati tribe in Tembuland, Chief Dalasile, is in hiding in Umzimkulu, his own place at Ntibani having been burnt out and his life threatened. Dalasile's uncle, Headman Spalding Matyile, the leading collaborator of the AmaQwati, has also been "burnt out". His place

PONDOLAND—Latest

DESPITE the government's news blackout over Pondoland, *Contact* has succeeded in persuading two informants to tell us what they know.

From "Contact" Correspondent

QAWUKENI: Pondoland is not quite as quiet as one is led to believe. The centre of disturbance has shifted to Flagstaff from Bizana. The Holy Cross hospital is not being boycotted (though the Roman Catholic hospital at Bizana is being boycotted, as the authorities allowed the police to camp in its grounds).

The resistance continues, and I do not see any signs of any weakening. There is a lot of hut burning.

There is going to be a big food problem. I do not think that any scheme for sending food in could work—it is too vast for anyone to handle. It would have to be done by government, departmentally.

There is not much Air Force activity. An occasional plane comes over.

The whole country is very disturbed. The boycott at Bizana continues unchanged.

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: On Sunday, 20th November, after Chief Vukayibambe Sigeau and two indunas were murdered in East Pondoland the attackers, numbering about one hundred men, went

about 1½ miles away to look for one of his chief indunas. The induna escaped in this way: he had heard that the impi was coming, so he hid in an underground hole, used for storing mealies. The impi arrived, and found he had gone. They combed all the surrounding fields and forests, but failed to find him.

Having failed to find him they did not burn his huts, because a rule of the struggle there is: "Don't burn down a home if you haven't found the target."

Government sympathisers are sleeping in forests, hidden in holes, anywhere but at their homes.

The impis spare women and children almost invariably. They tell the women and children to go away. "Go wherever you can, but leave this place".

An indication of how high tension and fear are running in East Pondoland is given by the refusal of a young man leaving Cape Town for his home there to take a parcel to a friend's kraal, some five miles from his own home. "People can hardly move half a mile from their homes," he explained.

The hundreds of police stay mainly in the towns. But they drive into the country in their vehicles whenever there has been an "incident"

CAPE TOWN: APARTHEID CRACKS

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The City Council open-air cafes were the latest target of the "sit-in" campaign started last month by a group of Cape Town Liberals. The council, whose members are elected on a non-racial roll, professes to an attitude of racial tolerance if not of active liberalism. But it generally backs down when it has to choose between non-racialism in the interests of its citizens, or segregation on the orders of the government and the provincial administration.

REFUSED

The result is a sort of "leave things alone until we are ordered to change them" attitude. Council halls are unsegregated; council cafes and restaurants seem to be accepted as "Whites only" establishments. But this was challenged on Sunday, 11th December, when a mixed group of Cape Town citizens went to the tables outside Sea Point's luxurious pavilion (built from rates paid by all citizens), sat down and asked to be served. Their orders were taken by the waitress but she was stopped by the manager. He was asked why service was refused and hurriedly replied: "Don't cross examine me. I am not making any statement." He did say that he was acting under specific orders from the Catering Department of the Council. "They may sit at the tables, but we may not serve them," he said.

The Catering Department is to be asked the reason why it refuses to serve

all citizens of the city at its cafes.

But the Department's orders had not, apparently, reached the Council's open-air cafe in the Cape Town Gardens. The same group went there on the same day, sat down and were served without question. The manageress said she was quite happy to serve any person who behaved properly. People at other tables seemed quite unconcerned at the break-down of apartheid in the cafe.

ANOTHER STAGE

These two "sit-ins" marked another stage in a campaign, started four weeks ago, which has been widely publicized in South Africa and overseas. Well-organized and with the simple objective of breaking the colour bar wherever it can be attacked, the campaign has been supported by many people who have welcomed the chance of working in a practical way against apartheid.

AMPLIFICATION

[IN our last issue Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi of Zululand was described as an opponent of Bantu Authorities. We would like to place the full position before our readers. His tribe, the Buthelezi tribe, like many others in Zululand, has not accepted Bantu Authorities. The people of this tribe are waiting to see how the system works in certain areas where it has been accepted. Chief Buthelezi has done no more than to inform the Government of the feelings of his people.

Liberals on Pondoland

COMMENTING on the events in Pondoland, Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, said:

"Only three months after lifting a general state of emergency which lasted five months the Government has been forced to impose a partial state of emergency in Pondoland. There could be no surer indication of its incompetence to govern and its inability to face properly the problems which are part of the pattern of a changing Africa.

"As Mr. Erasmus did earlier this year, Mr. De Wet Nel has put all the blame for the Pondoland troubles

on 'communists' and 'agitators'. Mr. Erasmus made no attempt to substantiate his charges and I do not expect Mr. de Wet Nel to do so either. Such charges are not intended to be substantiated but merely to provide a smoke screen behind which the apparatus of a police state can carefully be erected.

"When will Mr. de Wet Nel and his colleagues learn that the reason why their policies are consistently opposed wherever they are applied is a very simple and obvious one?"

"The people to whom they are applied don't like them."

DEFENCE COUNSEL

In the case itself, the three accused named above were defended by, respectively, Messrs. R. S. Canca of Idutywa, R. D. Pilkington Jordan of Rose-Innes and Jordan, Cape Town, and Gibson of Engcobo. It is reported that after Mr. Canca's cross-examination of the chief Crown witness, the court adjourned. On reassembling, Mr. Jordan addressed the magistrate for two hours, applying on behalf of the defence team for the withdrawal of the charges against the accused. This was granted by the magistrate. Other Crown witnesses gave evidence that went back on their sworn statements to the police. Mr. McAttrick of Umtata prosecuted.

MONEY RETURNED

The Crown had also to return to Mr. Wilmot Joyi the sum of £138 7s. 1d. which had been collected from Tembus in various parts of the country to finance legal costs in connection with the four banished Tembu leaders, Messrs. Bangelizwe and Twalimfeni Joyi, Mgolombane and Nkosiyanane. Their deportation in 1958 has done much to unite the Tembus in detestation of the Government and all its works.

NEW PHASE

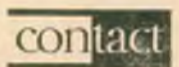
Other evidence of the new phase in this part of the Transkei is to be seen in:

of refuge was then found and also burnt out.

Reports are coming in from Tembuland echoing many accounts from East Pondoland, that every man returning from outside Tembuland is told to make his choice.

Footnote: The daily press seems to be closing its eyes to Tembuland events. It is known that one very powerful newspaper group obtained a full report of the Engcobo demonstration, but did not print it.

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African Conference

IT has been announced that Chief Lutuli, Professor Matthews and other African leaders are to call a consultative conference, this month, of Africans.

The conference will probably take the place of the normal annual conference of the now-banned A.N.C. It represents an attempt to draw together, under the aegis of the sort of men who led the A.N.C., a more representative movement.

It probably also represents a weakening of the "Congress Alliance". For the announcement was placed prominently in the daily press, but not in *New Age*, the leftist weekly that in the past has represented that alliance.

We wish the meeting well, and hope that it will strengthen the democratic movement, and shorten the path to a new, non-racial South Africa in which all, who have made their homes here, will be proud to call themselves Africans.

Double Roll

ONE of the most sickening pieces of doubletalk in the new Progressive franchise policy is the device of two voters' rolls.

One roll, the "A" roll, would elect some 135 members to parliament, and the other, the "B" roll, would elect some 15 members. If the Progressives were elected to power, by some magic process, to-morrow, the 135 "A" roll would contain nearly two million White voters, together with about 130,000 (or six per cent of the total) non-White voters. And the 15 "B" members would be voted for by several million non-Whites and virtually no Whites.

Not only is this, in our view, the

same in fact as Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid, but it sanctifies a stratagem which would permit first- and second-class status.

Of course the decencies are preserved. There is no explicit mention of "race" in the franchise proposals. But we would like to mention that in the colonial constitution of Natal, one of the greediest and most hypocritical constitutions ever devised, there was no mention of "race" either. South Africans of Indian origin lost their votes because no one whose forebears came from countries not enjoying parliamen-

tary democracy could ever be enfranchised. And other non-Whites had to pass through so many administrative mazes that no more than a handful of Zulus ever made it.

We would also like to mention that after World War II the French gave the Algerian people "the vote". But one chamber was elected almost entirely by the Muslims and the other almost entirely by the Whites. The stratagem took no one in.

Democrats demand the substance of equality, not just non-racial formulas concealing the fact that apartheid has been preserved.

UNCIVILIZED CANVASSERS?

Mr. J. P. Cope, M.P., . . . said that "B" roll people were not automatically entitled to qualify (for membership of the Progressive Party). . . . These people would be organized into branches, but not with the same powers as full members, for example, in respect of policy decisions . . . they would be permitted to take part in discussions and, if they wished, also in organizational activities such as canvassing. But they would not be allowed to vote on matters of policy. —"Cape Argus", 24th November, 1960.

WILL THE S.W.A. PROBLEM BE SOLVED HERE?



A view of the conference room of the United Nations Trusteeship Committee during the debate on South West Africa, 15th November, 1960. The petitioners are seated at the long table in front of the officers' desk. The windows in the wall behind the desk are those of rooms used by the interpreters.

(United Nations photo)

Sam Sly

THE most painful feeling that Jules Roy's *La Guerre d'Algerie* imparts is one of foreboding. There is the inescapable question whether a fate anything like Algeria's awaits the people of our country. M. Roy, a 53-year-old ex-army officer, son of Algerian colon parents, went to Algeria this year to make up his mind about the rights and wrongs of the six-year-old worse-than-war in Algeria. First the radical weekly *l'Express* printed extracts of the book he wrote. Then Julliard, Paris, published it as a whole, *The Observer*, London, are doing a series of translated passages from it, and other serious journals have dealt with it.

Minds must be made up here, too. I have no hope that the book, even in full English translation, will turn White South African colons and their non-White collaborators, aside from their goose-stepping progress to a South African Algeria. I don't know if anything will.

This is what Jules Roy decided, in words to an imaginary brother officer in Algeria, who pleads that the French army is fighting for Western Civilization:

"Between those who are hungry and those who could not eat all that was set in front of them, between those who bombed and those who lost their minds under the bombing, my choice was made . . . Captain . . . at the moment when the caricature of

negotiations which we witnessed this summer was just getting under way, I received a letter which spoke of you and your comrades saying they are desperate. . . . As desperate as these men whom I've seen? You make me laugh, Captain. . . . There is no longer anything in common between you and me . . . and if one day in the sights of your tanks and planes you make out among the rats [French slang for Algerians] in rags a big bastard of your own race with white hair, it will be me. Don't hesitate, push the firing button on your machine guns. You'll have accomplished a great deal that day for the cause of Western Civilization."

I know of a dozen other new books on Africa worth telling you about. One has been in *Contact* before. It is Anthony Barker's *Giving and Receiving*, the story of Dr. Barker's experience at the Charles Johnson Hospital, Nqutu, Zululand. The *Contact* reviewer (me) found the book: "An unanswerable exposition of the brotherhood of man, the oneness of humankind."

It reappears here because, after its rather retiring first publication by the (Anglican) Faith Press, it is now to be a Fontana paperback, a Reader's Union choice, and on a U.S. publishers' 1961 list under the (improved) title, *The Man Next to Me*. Anthony Barker's truths will be carried to many times more than the 100,000 who may buy the book in its new forms.

SOME of these new books are due before Christmas and the others will all be in shops and libraries by about March, 1961. Biography: I can warily recom-

mend *Nasser: the Rise to Power*, by an American journalist, Joachim Joesten. Its publishers, Odhams, say it contains exclusive information about this great man's antecedents and origins. Politics: *Zik*, speeches of the Rt. Hon. Nnamdi Azikiwe, governor-general of Nigeria; *Race and Nationalism*, by Thomas M. Franck on "race relations and the struggle for power in Rhodesia and Nyasaland". The same house, Allen & Unwin, is publishing *Government and Politics in Africa*, in which Dr. T. O. Elias pleads for the urgency of "reorganizing certain political forms introduced by the Europeans in keeping with African culture". A kind of religious counterpart to this important-sounding work is *East African Rebels*, in which F. B. Welbourne deals with some "independent" churches of Africa, based on the assumption that "while Christianity seems likely to be the religion of East Africa, it will not be a Christianity dominated by Western missionaries". Bishop Ambrose Reeves's *Shootings at Sharpeville or The Agony of South Africa* contains "24 pages of on-the-spot photographs" (Gollancz). Cambridge University Press, publishers of *Zik*, also announce *Art in Nigeria* (18s. 6d.) by that devoted and learned student of African art forms, Ulli Beier. (May Ulli Beier's *Black Orpheus* magazine prosper in 1961. He has asked me if I have any "gifted young authors to recommend": no, and not many gifted old ones either, but please send him stories and poems, if you suspect you are gifted — to P.O. Box 68, Oshogbo, Nigeria.)

Physical Africa: there is *White Nile* by Alan Moorehead (Hamish Hamilton) and *Saving the Game*, Anthony Cullen

and Sidney Downey's study of big game in East Africa and the ways of meeting the threat of extinction.

A novel about — guess where? — is called *My City Fears To-morrow*, by Peter Cranford, published by Jarrolds. More than any place this city of Johannesburg is what you make it. I dote on it, though not for the particular amenities that moved John X. Merriman to call it: "Monte Carlo superimposed on Sodom and Gomorrah." Every man to his taste.

SOUTH African publishers and booksellers mostly fill me with gloom. Their state of mind is displayed in "The Joint Memorandum of the South African Book Trade" on the Undesirable Commission's report (the basis of our coming internal censorship): "It is estimated that the annual retail purchases of publications in the Union of South Africa amount to £10,000,000. Taking the White population of approximately 3,000,000 this probably represents the highest consumption per capita in the world. . . ."

MUCH flesh crept when *Contact* reported, and other papers copied, the news that a Xesibe resistance movement in the Transkei was called "Congo". This word "Congo" is interchangeable with *Abafana basentabeni* or *Abafana bentaba* ("the Boys of the Hill" — or as sub-editors have cut it down, "the Hill"), as the name for the resistance leadership in Eastern Pondoland. The Pondos took the name from the AmaXesibe, who have been using it since they started to oppose the "rehabilitation scheme" — in 1949 to be precise.

HOW PROGRESSIVES WEAKEN STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

IS it possible for a party to find a formula which will at the same time draw loyalty and support from the oppressed people, and win elections in the all-White parliament? If it is possible, has the Progressive Party found it? *Contact* believes that there is no such formula, and that to seek it is as useless as research into perpetual motion or squaring the circle. *Contact* believes that the Progressives are too late. It *might* have been possible to find such a formula sixty years ago, but it is to-day quite pointless.

It is pointless because to-day the oppressed people ask for, and will insist on, full democracy and equality, while the oppressing, possessing White minority is determined that they shall not have it.

Why does *Contact* attack the Progressives? After all, *Contact* stands for straight democracy. Surely, it might be said, the Progressives are on the same path. Surely they deserve our support.

Contact was indeed pleased when the Progressive Party was formed. And for over a year, as we read statements that this new party stood for "merit, not colour", we wished them well.

But we feel so no longer. The Molteno Report, read with the decisions of the Progressive congress of October, is a sickening document. It has proved that the slogan "merit, not colour" was a lie.

Furthermore, the report clearly implies that 98% of all non-Whites in South Africa are irresponsible and uncivilized (see below). Anyone who thus slanders the majority of the South African people has an enemy in *Contact*.

Again, the report suggests to Whites that the times do not really

demand sacrifice, do not really demand a principled stand against racialism, and that it is not really necessary for Whites to support full democracy. The Progressive case has been put forward with smoothness, and with plenty of money, and some radicals and Liberals have fallen for it, and slid backwards. **Each such back-sliding is a disservice to South Africa.**

The truth is that the times are desperate. The settlement of 1910 is already doomed. The very possibility of the co-existence of White and non-White is now in question. Nothing can now save the South African nation, and especially the South African minorities, but a fearless adherence to principle by South Africans of all races. **It is because the Progressives have had some success in confusing this central issue that they are a danger to the future of the South African minorities.**

For a century the political history of this land has been marked by one sordid trick after the other aimed at keeping the majority of the people from their birthright, which is full political, social, and economic equality in the land in which they were born.

After reading this pretentious and ambiguous document we are convinced that the Molteno plan is just another of these tortuous devices for maintaining, behind a democratic-looking mask, the substance of White privilege, White wealth, and White power.

The following pages document our charges, and a final editorial places the emergence of this new party in its true setting against the sombre backdrop of history.

In these four pages "Contact" speaks solely on behalf of its own editorial board.

**KEY SENTENCE SHOWS THAT
PROGRESSIVES PREFER
APARTHEID AND
BAASSKAP TO FULL
DEMOCRACY**

On this basis, the Nationalist Party are right in seeking White self-preservation along the lines of dominance, or apartheid, or a combination of the two.

—Photographic facsimile from the Molteno Report (p. 13). The "basis" spoken of is the loss of "self-determination for White South Africans" which, the commission says, will result from adult suffrage. See over for the full quotation under the headline "Adult Suffrage Rejected".

"ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO WHITE SUPREMACY"

AT its first annual congress in 1959 the Progressive Party rejected the idea of adult suffrage (one - person - one - vote). They appointed a commission to work out proposals for a constitution and also for a franchise "to enable suitably qualified citizens of a defined degree of civilization . . . to participate in the government of the country . . ." (page 8).

According to the terms of reference this constitution should "contain adequate safeguards for each of our racial communities against domination by any other, will accord to each a share in

government, will guarantee the fundamental human rights and liberties of the individual, irrespective of race or colour, and will decentralize legislative and executive power in the interests of a reasonable degree of provincial and local self-government" (page 5).

The commission has now published the first volume of its report, covering franchise and constitutional safeguards "to prevent the exercise of unchecked power by any group in order to dominate any other group, White or non-White" (page 5).

Introducing this first volume, Dr. Jan Steytler, leader of the Progressive Party, says: "Cutting across the habits of thought of an age that is past, these proposals indicate a realistic and peace-

ful path for our future development. I am convinced that they offer the only alternative to the traditional policy of White supremacy, and the only means of achieving a true national unity in which the culture and beliefs of Western civilization will be shared by all our people" (page 3).

Dr. Steytler claims that the reasoning of the report is "brilliant and lucid", admits that there are minority reports, but claims that "there is complete unanimity among the commissioners about the principles upon which the report is based" (pages 2, 3).

The above description might well lead a member of the oppressed people of South Africa to believe that the report presses for full democracy.

Such a person would be disappointed after reading the report, for in it are three barriers erected by the commission against the aspirations of the oppressed, and, in particular, of the African people.

The barriers are: (1) the franchise, which would enfranchise less than 2% of the non-White population; (2) the senate, which would allow any of the three minority "races" to veto the will of the majority; and (3) the "Bill of Rights" which would permit a Progressive government to continue to keep non-Whites from living in "White" areas, to continue to have segregated trains and buses and schools, and so forth. Let us see what the report itself says about these three barriers.

WHAT MOLTENO REPORT AND CONGRESS PROPOSE

1. Franchise

THE commission accepted that its task was to recommend "the general qualifications for a non-racial franchise" which would "produce a responsible electorate" (page 9).

The commission chose a path between the Scylla of qualifications which might be too high, and the Charybdis of adult suffrage. (page 9).

The qualifications chosen would, the commission hoped, "embrace those elements of the population that have attained an economic level or a degree of sophistication such as to enable them to feel sufficient identification with society as a whole—to possess sufficient 'stake in the country'—not to fall prey to totalitarian illusions" (page 10).

The commission then proposed that only persons with the following qualifications would have the vote under a Progressive government, and that this vote would be on a single common roll:

- (1) Union citizenship, to be defined by law and entrenched in the Constitution.
- (2) Attainment of the age of 21 years, irrespective of sex.

(3) (a) Passing Std. IV, or its equivalent, together with

(i) either an income for at least two years in cash and/or kind of at least £25 per month;

(ii) or occupation or ownership for at least two years of fixed property to the value of at least £500;

OR

(b) passing Std. VIII or its equivalent;

OR

(c) have literacy, according to an objective test to be prescribed, together with an income for at least two years of £500 per annum;

OR

(d) marriage to a person having the income or property qualifications mentioned in (a) or (c), together with the required educational qualifications in each case;

OR

(e) registration at any time in the past in any list of voters for election of members of the House of Assembly.

The October Congress found that the above proposals were too radical, and made the following decision:

"A" ROLL:

Apart from being a Union citizen, and having attained the age of 21, a person would not qualify for the ordinary common roll unless he or she had a Std. VI certificate or equivalent, together with an income for two consecutive years of at least £300, or occupation or control for at least two consecutive years of fixed property to the value of at least £500.

Another qualification which would place a person on the common roll would be literacy in an official language, together with ownership of fixed property of at least £500, or literacy in an official language together with an income for at least two consecutive years (cash or kind) of at least £500 a year.

Any South African citizen, over 21, with Standard VIII would qualify for the ordinary roll.

"B" ROLL:

People who do not qualify for the ordinary roll would be registered on a special roll if they are Union citizens, are 21, and are literate in an official language. These people would be able to elect only ten per cent of all Members of Parliament.

In *Contact* (3rd December) an estimate of the number of non-Whites who would qualify for the "A" roll was made by an authoritative political observer. The estimate was 130,000. That estimate has not been contradicted by the Progressive Party. As there are about eight million adult non-Whites, just under 2% of them would get a full vote under the Progressive Party's plan. They would number about 6% of the total electorate.

(Movements such as the P.A.C. and the Liberal Party which believe in adult suffrage would enfranchise all eight million adult non-Whites.)

2. The Senate

THE aim in setting up a new senate was to provide a "safeguard for racial minorities against domination by a possible majority of the House of Assembly representing a particular racial community with preponderating voting strength among the electorate" (page 18).

With this in mind the commission recommended: "a senate directly elected by the Parliamentary voters on the common roll in specially delimited constituencies by a method which ensures that no senator shall be returned who does not enjoy at least some consider-

able measure of support among the members of each racial community whose votes form a significant proportion of those cast in his constituency. The suggested method is that the candidate at a senate election who receives the largest number of votes shall be declared elected, provided that his votes include at least one-fifth of the total votes cast by members of each community. This would ensure that no candidate who fought a racial campaign aimed at a minority would be likely to be elected" (page 19).

The report recommends giving the senate real teeth—power to veto lawmaking, not, as at present, merely to delay lawmaking.

The report admits (page 26) that "our proposal, although it discards the principle of communal representation, does involve the racial classification of voters", but claims that "the stubborn facts of our society make this necessary to-day".

The report claims that this new method of electing senators would

encourage candidates of "racial moderation".

The principle effect of this plan, it is apparent, would be that even if African voters became a majority and were able to elect a largely African government on a programme of radical reform, the senate would be able to block the programme, for no one would be elected to the senate who had not managed to attract one-fifth of the total White votes, and members of the radical, largely African party, would be unlikely to have won so many White votes.

3. Bill of Rights

THE commission found that "there is a special danger of (adverse discrimination against any group . . . or denial to individuals . . . of their fundamental rights or freedoms) in a plural society. Such at all events, has been the lesson of White domination since Union. Such, possibly, would be the result of ultimate non-White dominance on a common electoral roll" (page 61).

To safeguard Progressive South Africa from the "worst results" of non-White dominance, "an entrenched bill of rights,

therefore, is a categorical imperative" (page 61).

The proposed bill of rights would guarantee to individuals most of the rights promised in the constitutions of many countries in various parts of the world.

Perhaps the first right guaranteed is the most important. It reads: "(1) Every person shall be equal before the law and shall not be denied the equal protection of the laws, irrespective of race, colour, sex, home language, religion, opinions, or other arbitrary

criterion. Provided that (our emphasis) (a) it shall be permissible for the State, or other public authority, to provide out of public funds separate schools, housing, transport facilities, hospitals, places of detention or any other service, amenity or public institution whatsoever for the exclusive use or benefit of different classes [this includes, of course, races — "Contact"] of the community, provided that corresponding fair and equal facilities are at the same time provided or are available for the rest of the community . . ."

Right (11) reads: "Every person shall have the right to acquire, hold, inherit, or dispose of property . . ." and Right (13) reads: "Every person shall be entitled to reside and settle in any part of the Union . . ."

It is of interest that Mr. Oppenheimer and Dr. De Beer, in signing the report, stipulated that "In so far as (11) and (13) might be construed as prohibiting compulsory racial zoning for residential purposes, they dissent therefrom" (page 67).

ADULT SUFFRAGE REJECTED—THE REASONS

THE Progressives, rather than face the loss of "self-determination" on the part of White South Africans which, they say, would result from the grant of adult suffrage, would turn to apartheid and baasskap.

The report says (page 13):

"For non-White nationalism, from its nature, must seek to dominate the White minority, just as White nationalism, from its nature, must and does seek to dominate the non-White majority. For White South Africans therefore, the issue would not be merely surrender of their dominance over others but surrender

of their own self-determination.

"This is something that no national or religious minority in a plural society has ever been prepared to do. Faced with such an issue White South Africa would fight, since all incentive to seek an agreed solution would be lacking, and even defeat could hardly have worse conse-

quences than immediate surrender.

On this basis, the Nationalist Party are right in seeking White self-preservation along the lines of dominance, or apartheid, or a combination of the two."

The report then turns to an examination of White nationalism

WHO SIGNED WHAT?

NOT ONE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER AMONG THEM

DR. STEYTLER claims that the members of the commission "include some of the country's most brilliant constitutional lawyers".

If, as is usual, one uses the term constitutional lawyer to mean a professionally qualified lawyer who is recognized by the profession, and in the world of learning, as a person with specialized knowledge of that particular branch of law, and known by reason of serious published work on the subject, then there is **not one** constitutional lawyer on the commission. And from this point of view, Dr. L. I. Coertze, M.P., himself an expert professor of constitutional law, was right when he said in the House of Assembly on the 5th

February, 1960, that he "was not impressed by the list of names". It is, of course, true that several of the signatories are distinguished in other fields.

But, what is more serious, "the experts" were not free agents, and some of them can hardly be said to be impartial. Several of the commissioners, including the chairman, are leading — indeed foundation — members of the Progressive Party itself.

In addition, most of the White members of the commission were known to be openly hostile to the principle of adult suffrage, and several had said so publicly.

Bearing in mind these facts, it may be asked why the commission was appointed at all? The probable purpose, it seems,

was to give the appearance of authority and respectability to decisions which had been cut and dried by the party in advance.

Small wonder, then, that there is not to be found among the list of experts one constitutional lawyer of real standing who might have been expected to show independent thought, and disagree with the party line. Persons with greater claims than the commissioners to the title of "brilliant constitutional lawyer", like Dr. J. P. Verloren van Themaat, a professor of the subject who has also written a book on it, H. J. May, the author of a leading South African textbook on the subject, Professor Ellison Kahn who (with Professor Hahlo) has just published a book on the subject, and Pro-

fessor D. V. Cowen, who, in addition to other qualifications, has had practical experience in the drafting of the new Basutoland Constitution—are all conspicuously absent.

The Commissioners

Chairman: Mr. Donald B. Molteno, Q.C. Members: Hon. Leslie Blackwell (Former M.P. and Judge of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court); Professor Edgar H. Brookes (Professor of History and Political Science, Natal University); Dr. S. Cooppan (Department of Economics, Natal University); Hon. A. van der Sandt Centlivres (Ex-Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa); Dr. Z. J. de Beer, M.P. (Chairman of the National Executive of the Progressive Party); Mr. Kenneth Heard (Senior Lecturer in Political Science, Natal University); Professor J. S. Marais (Professor of History, University of the Witwatersrand); Mr. Selby Ngcobo (Lecturer in Economics, University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland); Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer (Former M.P. and Director of Companies); Mr. Arthur Suzman, Q.C.; Professor L. M. Thompson (Professor of History, University of Cape Town); Dr. R. F. van der Ross (Principal of Batswood Training College, C.P.). Honorary Secretary: Miss Yvonne M. de Villiers.

WHAT THEY SIGNED NO UNANIMITY

Dr. Steytler claims in his introduction that "the minority reports indicate the minor differences of opinion—for example different educational standards—but there is complete unanimity among the Commissioners about the principles upon which the Report is based".

Let us examine this claim. It seems to us that there are three things that the Report sets out to do. It seeks to bar African aspirations to freedom by (1) weighting the franchise against Africans, (2) setting up a senate which would have the effect of preventing, for instance, an (African) majority from voting on what the White minority believed to be the rights of the White minority, and (3) building into the constitution a "bill of rights" which would permit, for instance, trains and suburbs to be segregated against Africans.

On no one of these three things is there any unanimity.

THE FRANCHISE

On the franchise all three "non-White" commissioners say that they believe in adult suffrage. Dr. Van der Ross says: "It is to be made clear that I favour adult suffrage, and that I only discuss the other alternatives and sign the report because the terms of reference exclude it . . ."

Mr. Selby Ngcobo "personally favours the ideal and principle of adult suffrage and in the meantime prefers two voters' rolls on the lines recommended by Dr. De Beer and Mr. Oppenheimer, provided the qualifications are so fixed as to give effective power to the groups concerned." (Now that Mr. Ngcobo knows that some 2% of the non-Whites would get the vote on the ordinary roll it would be interesting to hear his views.)

Dr. Cooppan says: "I think the suggestions made violate the universally accepted principles and fundamental human rights (which the Progressive Party congress, by the resolution em-

bodying the terms of reference, is convinced of the need to uphold) without gaining anything by the sacrifice thereof." Dr. Cooppan quotes article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which calls for "universal and equal suffrage" and adds: "Any departure from these fundamental rights of man cannot be convincingly justified on grounds of inherent virtue,

Blackwell "was not able to remain until the conclusion of the discussions on the Senate" though he apparently agreed with the majority view on the franchise, though this is not made clear.

THE RACIAL SENATE

The majority wanted, as is shown elsewhere, a communal or racial senate. But Dr. Van

der Ross "was not able to remain until the conclusion of the discussions on the Senate" though he apparently agreed with the majority view on the franchise, though this is not made clear.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

This remarkable document not only guarantees some of the rights normally found in bills of rights, but it also specifically permits government to use public funds to run segregated trains, establish segregated suburbs and schools and all other facilities and amenities.

Dr. Cooppan qualifies his signature of this bill by saying that "the power to provide separate services, amenities, or institutions from public funds should be subjected to a general policy directive in favour of the promotion of national unity."

Professor Marais and Mr. Suzman "have certain reservations in regard to details". Dr. Van der Ross "dissents from the explicit grant of power to provide out of public funds separate services, amenities or public institutions for the exclusive use or benefit of different classes of the community". He also disagrees with the approval given to separate schools.

Dr. De Beer and Mr. Oppenheimer do not think that the bill of rights takes away enough rights, for they say: "In so far as paragraphs 16(11) and (13) might be construed as prohibiting compulsory racial zoning for residential purposes, they dissent therefrom."

As there is nothing in the report, and no resolution of Congress, that construes anything as prohibiting "compulsory racial zoning for residential purposes" it must be assumed that the Progressive Party is in favour of a residential Group Areas Act, the only effective measure ever devised in South Africa for compulsory racial zoning.

Thus on each of the three measures taken to block African aspirations we find a large measure of disagreement. Where is Dr. Steytler's "complete unanimity"?

98% OF NON-WHITES ARE IRRESPONSIBLE, UNCIVILIZED, implies the Report

The Molteno Report, read together with the decisions of the Progressive Party congress, accuses some 98% of all non-White South Africans of being uncivilized and irresponsible.

Here are the relevant passages. They can bear no other meaning.

On page 10 of the report appears a section headed "Test of Civilization". The first paragraph reads: "Such qualifications should embrace those elements of the population that have attained an economic level or a degree of sophistication such as to enable them to feel sufficient identification with society as a whole — to possess sufficient 'stake in the country' — not to fall prey to totalitarian illusions. This is the only realistic test of 'civilization' that we can conceive of."

There follow the qualifications that the report recommended. Congress amended them as quali-

fications for the "A" roll. The only possible meaning that these words can carry is that those not so qualified are uncivilized.

On page 9 occur these words: "The function of the qualifications is to produce a responsible electorate". It follows that those who do not qualify are not, in the eyes of the Progressive Party, responsible.

There are 8 million adult non-Whites in South Africa. *Contact*, in the last issue, calculated that some 130,000 non-Whites (or 2% of the above) would be enfranchised on the "A" roll by the Molteno Report, read together with the decisions of the congress. It follows irresistibly that just under 98% of South Africa's non-White citizens are, in the eyes of the Progressives, irresponsible and uncivilized.

Contact rejects this almost unbelievable insult to the overwhelming majority of South Africa's citizens.

but, frankly, on grounds of expediency alone."

The majority report urged that the principal qualification be Standard IV on one roll. The following agreed with this recommendation: The Chairman, Dr. Brookes, Mr. Heard, Mr. Centlivres, Professor Marais, and Professor Thompson.

Dr. De Beer, Mr. Suzman and Mr. Oppenheimer wanted Standard VIII, and two rolls. Mr.

der Ross says: "The idea of communal representation at any level is unacceptable." Mr. Suzman says: "I am opposed to racial group-representation . . . I consider that the proposals in the Majority Report relating to the election of Senators implicitly give undue emphasis to conflicting racial group interests. Both the Majority and the other Minority Report furthermore presuppose a continuance of the

FALSE RELIANCE ON U.S. PRECEDENTS

THE Molteno Report and the Party Congress give their blessing to the notorious principle of "separate but equal". Nothing in their Bill of Rights, which is made to appear as if it stands for the equal protection of the laws, is to be allowed to stand in the way of "separate but equal" schools, railways, etc.; nothing to stand in the way of attempts to ensure that White residential areas will remain White.

In order to give this policy decision the appearance of respectability, the Molteno Report actually seeks to rely on the example of the United States. Thus it says, "In the United States it has been held that although the provision of separate services or amenities out of public funds for separate classes amounts to denial of 'equal protection of the laws' if on an unequal basis, separation coupled with genuine equality does not offend against this constitutional guarantee. The comparatively recent school integration cases are not really inconsistent with this latter principle, since the Court held that, in the circumstances prevailing in the United States, separate schools for Negroes necessarily involved adverse discrimination against them in the educational field."

This is a very misleading statement, and in charity one must assume that the commission in this, as in several other basic matters, acted in ignorance and not with the deliberate will to deceive. What are the real facts?

In 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U.S. 537) the United States Supreme Court gave formal approval to the separate but equal doctrine, upholding separate but equal facilities on railroads as a measure designed to preserve public peace and good order. But even at that comparatively recent date, there was a courageous dissent by Mr. Justice Harlan, who felt that the "thin disguise of equal accommodations" misled no one. The Progressive Party, its supporters, and particularly its commission of

"experts", would do well to read every word of that judgment. Here is the relevant passage:

"The White race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country [i.e. America.] And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be . . . if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is colour-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his colour when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.

"In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. It was adjudged in that case that the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country and sold as slaves were not included nor intended to be included under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution." [The *Dred Scott* case led to the Civil War.]

Nor should these experts in the Progressive Party deceive either themselves or others by pretending that the great decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954 in the *Brown* case (the *Public Schools* case) is "not really inconsistent with" separate but equal; and due only to "the particular circumstances prevailing in the United States".

Especially, they should not give the impression that the decision which shattered "separate but equal" in the field of public education is limited to that field only.

For here again, what are the facts? In the *Brown* case, the Court said, "in the field of public education the doctrine or 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

DE BEER THANKS ERIC LOUW AND BRAND FOURIE

"Mr. Louw was at pains to show that South Africa is not the only country practising racial discrimination. But his was not an easy task. Perhaps even more difficult is the task of the permanent South African delegates at the United Nations. I think these men deserve the thanks of all South Africans for the manner in which they do their duty." — Dr. Zac de Beer, M.P., in an article in the "Cape Times", 27th October, 1960.

Other activities have been similarly affected. The right of Negroes to admission on the same basis as White persons to a *municipal golf course* was upheld by the Supreme Court in *Holmes v. Atlanta* (1955). Similarly, the right to use *public bathing facilities* was maintained in *Dawson v. Baltimore* (1955).

These two examples may hurt people who can't really face up to the implications of the "merit not colour" slogan which they bandy about. But there are even harder truths for them to get used to.

It is necessary that the public be informed of what has happened under the United States Constitution in regard to the ticklish question of *residential areas*. The Progressive Party would

apparently like "nice" group areas, maintained by restrictive covenants or agreements. But in 1948 in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the "judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants denied the equal protection of the laws", and could not stand.

There is indeed no comfort for these people in the United States Constitution: in 1917 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the provisions of a city ordinance which denied to Negroes the right to occupy houses in blocks in which the greater number of houses were occupied by White persons and which imposed similar restrictions on White persons with respect to blocks where the greater number of houses were occupied by Negroes. Equal protection of the law meant that non-Whites should not be prevented from acquiring property solely because of colour (*Buchanan v. Warley*, 1917).

Ten years later the Court declared invalid an ordinance which forbade Negroes to establish a home on any property in a White community (or any White person to establish a home in a Negro community) "except on the written consent of the persons of the opposite race inhabiting such community or portion of the city to be affected".

No doubt the Progressive Party and its experts will find a way around all this and would so hedge about their bill of rights with racial exceptions that it might just as well read "All animals are equal, but some are more equal than others".

The Nationalists have been accused of constitutional "doubleface" but this Molteno Report takes some beating. "Separate but equal" is, of course, a summary in three words of the apartheid doctrine. It is based on similar racial thinking. The main difference is that Dr. Verwoerd thinks and speaks clearly. His premises are wrong but he does not draw the wrong conclusions.

SPECIAL contact EDITORIAL

PROGRESSIVES TRY TO STIFLE POWER OF OPPRESSED

THE great crisis of South African history is already upon us. The crisis opened with the P.A.C. campaign of 1960, which was the greatest challenge up to date to White domination.

What is the inner meaning of this crisis? It is just this: that the era of White supremacy is dying, and that its legacy—control over South Africa's future—is contested by two great new ideas. These ideas are the "free single-nation idea" and the "split-nation idea". They are already locked in combat.

Up till now all South African history has been a history of White domination. Conquest by Whites has been followed by incorporation of the conquered, unification into a single state, and exploitation in a single market. The system had two aims: cheap labour and domination, as analysed by Hoernlé all those years ago.

Nineteen-sixty marked the beginning of the end of the age of White domination, because in 1960, for the first time, real power was developed by the oppressed. Never before had real power been developed by them. Over the generations there had been protests, both from the oppressed themselves and from "liberal" Whites. But the protests remained mere pleas.

Now, for the first time, a democratic movement is being shaped, and is drawing into itself the most resolute elements both from the earlier liberal circles and from the movements thrown up by the oppressed. Although it has as yet little formal organization, this movement has demonstrated its real power against the oppressors in the following ways:

- The P.A.C. showed the power of a non-violent pass campaign and

stay-at-home, and forced the declaration of an emergency.

- The Pondos have gone into unconquerable opposition.

And, outside the country, the forces of world radicalism have acted in concert with the democratic movement here. Power has been used against "South Africa" (actually against apartheid, but Mr. Eric Louw delights in imagining that he really represents South Africa.) In particular:

- The limited boycott (of one or two months only) of South African exports jolted business men

AGAINST BOYCOTT

Dr. Steytler (commenting on the Ghana boycott) said: "We have consistently condemned boycotts. . . . It is clear that the first people who are going to be affected by this boycott will be the non-Europeans."
—"Pretoria News", 2nd August, 1960.

and gave the government a foretaste of possible world-wide sanctions against apartheid.

- There is a move to expel Dr. Verwoerd's government from the Commonwealth.
- The illegal occupation of South West Africa seems to be nearing its end.
- The Union government is totally isolated at the United Nations.

As a result of this use of power, thinking White South Africans now know that White domination is dying.

Of the two ideas that are struggling to inherit mastery, the "free single-nation" idea is in line with the broad sweep of South African history, for that history has been a growing process of amalgamation and integration. The democratic movement believes in the single-nation idea. Within that single nation the democratic movement claims full equality, social, economic, and political. It bases its claim on the simple fact that since all have equally striven to build, all should equally share the comfort and power which our common society produces.

If Whites cannot face such a prospect, because of a belief that their nationality is forever irreconcilable with that of the oppressed people, then they will have to cut South Africa in two. The logical and far-sighted prime minister himself sees that this is so. He is having great difficulty in persuading his comfort-loving supporters of the need to back his revolutionary plans for partition. But he is in control of the unified police and army, and he should not be underestimated. It is our view that he is fanatically determined TO PRESERVE A "WHITE" NATION AT ALL COSTS IN MONEY, LIFE OR LAND.

If the democratic movement fails at this stage to develop its power rapidly, then it is our view that Dr. Verwoerd will succeed in partitioning our country, and that he will partition it in such a way as to damage seriously the lives and happiness of all the fifteen million citizens of our land. In particular the non-Whites would suffer.

If the democratic movement succeeds in developing its power, then Dr. Ver-

woerd can be prevented, by internal and external pressures, from partitioning our country. Or, if he cannot be absolutely prevented from partitioning it, his partition can be limited to a tiny "Whitestan" in the west of the Cape Province.

The central question, then, is the degree to which the democrats are able to develop their power.

DURING THEIR SHORT EXISTENCE THE PROGRESSIVES HAVE TRIED TO STIFLE THE GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE DEMOCRATS IN ALMOST EVERY RESPECT.

For instance:

- They have come up with this report which would keep unenfranchised over 98% of all non-Whites.
- They condemned the overseas boycott.
- Dr. De Beer, Executive Chairman, has been trying overseas to keep "South Africa" in the Commonwealth.
- At the United Nations Dr. De Beer is on the side of Mr. Eric Louw.
- During the P.A.C. stay-at-home the Progressives refused to help feed the beleaguered Cape townships.

Thus the Progressives have tried to block the growing power of the oppressed. They have done so perhaps ignorantly, but certainly irresponsibly.

That is why, regretfully, for there are many good people among the Progressives, *Contact* has been obliged to attack them.

PETER BROWN . . . takes the long view

Granite Walls

THE draft Republican Constitution will be out by the time this article appears. I don't know what its details will be but, from what Dr. Verwoerd has let leak out about it, its basis will be just as expected. He says that there is no intention of letting any concession to "integration" slip into the Constitution and that he and his people will have to be "as unyielding as granite" to growing internal and external pressures against their policies. Dr. Verwoerd has not budged an inch. He still steadfastly maintains that, once one concession has been made to the "integrationists", all will be lost.

"Death-wish"

Sometimes one hears of a person obsessed by a "death-wish". Sometimes one feels that Dr. Verwoerd has one, not only for himself but for his people



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party

too. His elaborate arguments that his is the only way to save the Afrikaner people may induce a passing feeling of confidence in some of the people who listen to him. His assertions of complete faith in the policies for which he stands may sound convincing enough in the artificially stimulating atmosphere of a Nationalist Party meeting. But no sober observer can see any other end to what Dr. Verwoerd offers as the "solution" to his people's problems than the very result he fears most—the destruction of everything they hold most dear.

Will Not Deviate

Dr. Verwoerd has announced that he will not deviate one step from his chosen path at a time when South Africa is on the mat at the United Nations over her administration of South West Africa, when she is facing a case on the same question before the International Court, when her continued membership of the Commonwealth is still very much in doubt and when the threat of large-scale boycott and trade sanctions is more potent than ever. One gets the impression that these are things the Prime Minister doesn't really care about. If he had a stable society and a flourishing and self-supporting economy at home this attitude might be understandable. But he has neither. He has an economic system which is almost entirely dependent on the goodwill of the outside world if it is to prosper. That it is not prospering as well as it might is plain from the sudden re-imposition of import control. And he has on his hands a country which, only three months after the lifting of a general State of Emergency which lasted five months, has now had re-imposed on part of it—Pondoland—a partial state of emergency. The Government is no longer able to contain the opposition to some of its policies. It is practice for the Ministers who impose emergencies, whether they are Mr. Erasmus or Mr. De Wet Nel, to blame "communists" and "agitators" when anyone objects to the imposition of their policies. There is, of course, a much simpler explanation than that. The people on whom the policies are imposed don't like the policies which are imposed upon them.

So they protest against them and resist their implementation.

Hopelessness

Dr. Verwoerd intends to be *as unyielding as granite*. There are times when this would be an admirable enough attitude but this is not one of them. It is simply an admission of hopelessness. There would be no need for the South African Government to talk of being *as unyielding as granite* if the whole world, the whole of this continent, and most of the people it must govern, were not opposed to everything it stands for. And when the whole world, the whole of the African continent and the majority of the people of South Africa are against what one stands for it does not help one little bit to be *as unyielding as granite*. Because neither walls or granite nor anything else will ultimately be able to contain the pressures which will build up against Dr. Verwoerd, inside his country and outside it. If he were not obsessed he might see this and start now to lead his people out of the isolated kraal which he pretends will offer them a sanctuary in a hostile world, but which in reality only puts up a thin and insubstantial screen between them and it. He may delay the day when they will have to face the facts of life but what does that help? Sooner or later they must be faced, and the sooner the easier.

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

LIES ABOUT AFRICA

AN African student was exercising in the Moscow University Gym. A Russian student photographed the African in a boxing pose. A few weeks later the Soviet *New Times* produced a full-page picture of the African student. He was still shown in the boxing pose. "But now the Soviet propagandists had blatantly dubbed in broken chains on his wrists and a White man with a whip falling back in terror." Needless to say this propaganda construction appeared in a number of Communist magazines throughout the world.

I quote this incident from a recent "Open Letter to African Governments" drawn up by Africans who had studied in Moscow (see *Contact*, 8th October). It illustrates vividly Soviet methods of propaganda. It illustrates the methods and intentions of this latest book by Professor Potekhin and his colleagues, *Rasovaya Diskriminatsiya V Stranakh Afriki* (Racial Discrimination in African Countries—A Collection of Essays edited by Professor I. I. Potekhin, Moscow, 1960).

He informs us that this collection is "the response of Soviet Africanist Scholars" to the resolution against racial discrimination taken at the Accra conference in 1958. It is obvious now that there is a nucleus of these "Africanist Scholars". A. B. Davidson, for instance, has written on Rhodesia and South Africa; L. D. Yablochikov on the Federation and Central Africa; R. N. Ismigailov on Kenya and Tanganyika. In style and intention, however, there is very little difference between these writers. Starting with the longest article by Davidson on South Africa and

ending with a brief review of Tanganyika the same kind of distortion and deliberate omission occur. Based on the proposition that colonialism and racialism are inseparable, we are subjected to an unceasing theme of hatred in the name of friendship from "the progressive forces of the world".

The record of the Colonial Powers in Africa is open to attack. But they are getting out of Africa now; in most cases with the friendship of Africans. In South Africa we are still fighting a desperate battle for freedom. We know this because it is our country; we know of the daily humiliations of our fellow countrymen. But that does not give others the right to exploit our battles, to distort the objectives which are very real to us. South Africans will be glad to know that Professor Potekhin's "scholarship" and interference have already aroused the anger of Ghanaians. A book written by him, after a fortnight's visit, "painted such a false picture of Ghana and displayed such ignorance of the African situation that West African students came to Moscow from Britain to correct him. Neither the Soviet Press or Mr. Potekhin himself took any notice of their comments."

It is obvious that Moscow wants one "truth" about Africa. Moscow wants "facts" that suit her own ends. To fight this we, in Africa, must bring Communism out into the open. These books should be translated and discussed. We have nothing to fear. The Soviet approach is crude and alien to men who want freedom. We know enough about Police State methods, doctrinaire fanatics, and the propaganda of hate to recognize the same mentality behind these "Soviet Africanists". It must be made clear to these "scholars" that Africa will not change one form of colonialism for another, which is far more ruthless. It is our freedom and our struggle. We must keep it that way.

PATRICK CULLINAN.



POTEKHIN

South Africa and the next Olympic Games

By DENNIS BRUTUS

to make this claim: admission would have brought South Africa's expulsion.

On the strength of his assurance the I.O.C. professed itself satisfied, but bluntly warned South Africa that racial



G. K. Rangasamy, known as "Chief" to all his associates, is President of the most powerful sporting body in the country, the South African Sports Association, which is supported by eight non-racial national sporting bodies and about 70,000 sportsmen.

discrimination would not be tolerated.

The stage was thus set for the next round of the fight for international recognition. It took place at Rome in August this year. Here S.A.S.A. presented a charge that the S.A. Olympic Association was guilty of violating the Olympic Charter in that it practised racial discrimination. Although S.A.S.A. has no standing with the I.O.C., the matter was discussed by the Executive, the charge being supported by Rev

Michael Scott and Mr. Nana Mahomo. Mr. Reg Honey replied. The finding of the Executive was that White and non-racial bodies should be more co-operative in working out a solution. It must be said, with due respect to those who represented S.A.S.A., that we were badly handicapped by the inability of the elected delegates to be present. (One was refused a passport, the other informed that he could get a passport in future—after the Games had started!)

But the important fact emerging from the Rome Olympics in this: the minutes of the discussion on South Africa will come before the full congress of the I.O.C. at Athens next year.

S.A.S.A. will also present these points to the Congress:

- In spite of denials by Mr. Honey, racial discrimination is deliberately practised in South African sport; non-Whites may not join White sports clubs, and non-racial sports associations may not be affiliated to provincial associations, thus making it impossible for non-Whites to be chosen for provincial teams or for national teams.
- The government interferes in South African sport—the Minister of the Interior wrote to the Secretary of the all-White South African Cricket Association as follows: "The government does not favour inter-racial team competitions within the borders of the Union and will discourage such competitions . . . The inclusion of different races in the same team would . . . be contrary to established and accepted custom."

The I.O.C. is against race discrimination and against government interference in sport. A full-scale battle will be fought and won in Athens—before the 1964 Olympics to be held in Tokyo.

HOW far have we got in the fight for the inclusion of Non-Whites in South Africa's Olympic team? What justification is there for the claim by the South African Sports Association (S.A.S.A.) that there will never again be a S.A. Olympic team selected on colour and not on merit?

The progress over the past two years must be assessed to form a true picture.

Merely to have brought the matter to the notice of the International Olympic Committee (governing body and the most powerful sports organization in the world with 99 member-countries) since there is no non-racial body which is recognized by the I.O.C., is an achievement.

But this has been done by approaches to President Avery Brundage in Chicago, U.S.A., and Chancellor Otto Meyer in Lausanne, Switzerland, as well as the members of the I.O.C., and by the combined pressure of S.A.S.A., the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport (Britain) and the American Committee on Africa (U.S.A.).

Thus the matter was raised at Rome in May, 1959, in the Executive and, a little later, at Munich by the Rev. Michael Scott, acting on behalf of S.A.S.A.

Last year there were two interesting developments: the all-White governing bodies in South Africa scuttled frantically to dump their "Whites-only" membership clauses and Mr. Reg Honey, representative of the I.O.C. in South Africa, startled the world with his claim at Rome: "There is no racial discrimination in South African sport". In truth, Mr. Honey had no option but

THE FEDERATION'S

"Contact" interviews Banda, Kaunda, Nkomo, in London

The Solution?

From "Contact" Correspondent by cable

LONDON: The big three African leaders from Central Africa — Kaunda, Nkomo and Banda — are having big treatment in London during the Lancaster House conferences — the Federation and territorial constitution conferences.

I have just interviewed them. They are of course bound to secrecy about the conferences but they could tell me how they see the future of their countries.

Thirty-six-year-old Kenneth Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, told me, "We, in Northern Rhodesia, could be the key to the future of Southern Africa."

"Unlike Tanganyika, unlike Congo, we are industrialized, we have settled Whites and we have Africans experienced politically and in trade unions."

"Since federation our voting rights have decreased. We want one man, one vote, and we want elections soon."



KAUNDA

WHITES' FEARS GROUNDLESS

"We would have a Parliament of 61 members. The Executive or Cabinet would have twelve seats—nine to the winning party and three to appointed White officials from the Colonial Office."

"That is: (1) a Minister of Mines and Power from the Colonial Office. That should satisfy White fears about the copper mines. (2) A Minister of Law from the Colonial Office. (3) A Minister for Finance from the Colonial Office."

"In addition there could be, to start with, a British Governor with the usual power of veto."

"Now we have three million Africans and 72,000 Whites and we feel these proposals are very reasonable. We recognize White fears. We feel they are groundless. But we feel they must be faced."

He is quite certain that the present Federation will break up. The most important thing for his territory is "quickly and gracefully acquired self-government".

"We are not opposed to Federation in principle if it is one we choose," he said, smiling. "Why, we would even federate with South Africa—once they put their house in democratic order."

MILKED FOR FEDERATION

"The same goes for Southern Rhodesia. But we in Northern Rhodesia have been milked for federation. Where did Sir Roy get £3,000,000 sterling for his Federal Army? What does he want so many guns for? Is he planning a big elephant hunt?"



NKOMO

Joshua Nkomo, President of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, shares Kaunda's suspicion of Sir Roy's guns.

"We support the break-up of Federation," Nkomo told me, "because the Federal economy is used

to bolster and arm White domination."

He prophesies an African-controlled democracy in Southern Rhodesia in two years. He wants immediate improvements to African franchise and it is clear that if the Whites force a show-down he is hoping for active British intervention—suspension of the Constitution. I predict that as a gesture of goodwill the 49 Africans detained

for two years without trial in Southern Rhodesia will be freed before Christmas.

Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, whose health is said to have been poor since his release from Gwelo Jail this April was confined to bed when I saw him. His publicity in the British press has been flamboyantly theatrical but he spoke to me with quiet firmness.

"I shall spend Christmas in Blantyre. I have made it clear that I want to secede right now from this stupid Federation which has embittered race relations almost irreparably."

"I cannot say whether I will return to the talks."

But I want elections soon. We do not rule out federation with other African territories once we are free to decide ourselves.

"But there is no reason why Nyasaland cannot manage alone. Smaller lands such as Somalia have independence. We need capital development, of course. I have proposed a transitional constitution which retains some measure of British control—a British Chief Secretary, British Financial Secretary and British Attorney-General."

"I only came to this conference because I respect that true Christian gentleman, Macleod. Now either the British Government and the White settlers come to terms with the 'wind of change' or I will not be able to prevent it turning into a hurricane."



BANDA



WRITING in "The Observer" (London, 27th November), Mr. Colin Legum suggests a possible solution to the dilemma facing both the British government and the leaders in the Central African Federation.

He suggests that the Rhodesian Federation merge into the East African Federation (Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar) proposed by Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika. To do so would create a country of vast potential, rivalling Nigeria in population and exceeding it in development potential.

Two territories which at present hinder the growth of the new Federation are Uganda, split by tribal differences, and Southern Rhodesia, but the latter might eventually find it economically and politically wise to cast in its lot with this Federation. If the new Federation can show that it is able to provide security and opportunity for Whites, as Tanganyika has done, the natural fears among Whites in Rhodesia are likely to diminish.

The new association, unlike Central Africa's would not seek to create a single political union. It would probably begin as a loose association of equal member-States, each of which would retain its own Parliament and Government, surrendering limited powers to a weak political centre. The central authority would co-ordinate economic and trade policies, provide common technical and defence services, and develop an agreed foreign policy.

In the next decade, all African States are bound to undergo serious internal upheavals before they can consolidate their independence. It is essential that they should be able to settle their internal problems without outside interference. That would be impossible if a centralized Federation were to be established too soon.

BAROTSELAND TO SECEDE?

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: There is a growing rumour in Northern Rhodesia that Barotseland, the vast "Protectorate-within-a-Protectorate" on the upper Zambezi River, will try to break away if Northern Rhodesia's Africans win a parliamentary majority at the London talks.

In an unguarded moment Mr. Martin Wray, Chief Secretary, let the cat out of the bag in the debate on the Monckton Commission here during November. He said that the Paramount Chief of Barotseland, Sir Mwanawina Lewanika,

had asked Britain to be allowed to secede. Africans here are sharply critical of this move, and condemn it as "stupid". Some fear that the troubles

And, to build opposition against secession, a new organization, the Barotse Anti-Secession Movement, has been formed here. No leader has yet been elected, but a committee has been formed. The movement enjoys the support of the powerful United National Independence Party.



LEWANIKA

in Buganda, where a king opposes the local democratic movement, may be repeated.

The most representative movement among the Barotse, the Barotse National Society, which is specially strong in the towns along the line of rail, is particularly critical of Sir Mwanawina.



Barotseland lies on the West of Northern Rhodesia and on the East of Angola.

M.C.P. HELPS VACCINATION

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIMBE: Last month many people believed a story that the Malawi Congress in Nyasaland had sabotaged a government anti-smallpox vaccination campaign.

Now the Publicity Secretary of the Malawi Congress Party, Mr. M. W. Kanyama Chiume, has officially denied that there is any truth in the story. In a statement issued on 15th November he admitted that some propaganda had been made against the campaign in the Central Province, but claimed that the person responsible had been a supporter of Sir Roy Welensky's Federal Party. When this happened, said Mr. Chiume, "our Provincial chairman . . . hired a taxi with a Malawi flag which carried the vaccination team to start its work in the area."

FUTURE IS IN THE BALANCE

Alternatives are Secession or Violence

From TITUS MUKUPO

LUSAKA: The 14 million eyes of Central Africa are now looking towards London and are focussed on the eighteenth century building, Lancaster House. For there to-day one of the most historic constitutional conferences is in progress—the Federal Review conference. There, the future of Central Africa is being planned.

On Tuesday, 13th December, yet two more conferences started. These two are considered by Africans of Northern and Southern Rhodesia as even more important. They are the conferences on the constitutions of the two countries.

For Northern Rhodesia, the talks are expected to set the protectorate on the road to African self-government. Hence the importance attached to them. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda said before he left that he was going to London mainly because he hoped he would manage to persuade Mr. Macleod, the British Colonial Secretary, to hold Northern Rhodesia talks before Christmas. That he has done.

For Southern Rhodesia Africans, the forthcoming talks on the Southern Rhodesia constitution are expected to open the Southern Rhodesia parliament to Africans as members, for the first time.

EXCITEMENT, ANXIETY

There is excitement here as well as anxiety. Because in the general picture the result of the three constitutional conferences will mean a considerable shift of political power from Whites to Africans in Central Africa.

The Federal Review conference was opened last week by Mr. Harold Macmillan, the British premier. Mr. Macmillan told the 72 delegates there that there was no easy "painless solution" to Central Africa.

Opinions between the key men from Central Africa differ greatly. Sir Roy Welensky is determined to make sure government does not pass out of his "White civilized" hands. He wants Federation to continue more or less as it is. He is backed



WELENSKY

by Southern Rhodesia's head-in-the-sand prime minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead.

SUPPORT FROM CHIEFS

On the other hand the key African Nationalist leaders, Dr. Banda, Kenneth Kaunda and Joshua Nkomo, are agreed that Federation must die now and are receiving strong backing from Chiefs.

Before he left Salisbury for London, Sir Edgar Whitehead sent off all his Christmas cards because he said he would not have time to do so in London. He was quite right. As a matter of fact, the conference will not only provide plenty of work, but difficult work.

"Goliath" Sir Roy has threatened that whoever breads Federation risks his "sword". And indeed, "little David" Dr. Banda has also warned that if Federation continues "violence cannot be ruled out".

Will it work out straight as the Biblical David and Goliath story? Britain could let Sir Roy continue with

his so-called "civilized government". But, quite apart from risking intensified African opposition, would Britain have the courage to do that in 1960?

A big question-mark now hangs over Central Africa. What will the New Year bring?

"To Frustrate N.D.P."

From ENOS NDOLOU

SALISBURY: While the constitutional conference on the future of the Central African Federation—comprising Nyasaland, North and Southern Rhodesia—is going on in London, the all-White Southern Rhodesian Parliament has introduced a new law, the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, 1960, to control what the Government has described as "country-wide lawlessness".

According to prominent observers here, this law will undermine individual liberties, deny the people of the country freedom of assembly and speech, and will create a police state atmosphere.

Commenting on this law Mr. Morton Malianga, deputy president of the National Democratic Party,

said that the law had been made to frustrate the activities and the growth of the N.D.P. Mr. Malianga maintained that only a panic-stricken government could introduce such a stringent law in an attempt to patch up what he called the "dilapidating house" of White supremacy.

He added: "Such a house is bound, sooner or later, to collapse out of existence. Law and order can be sufficiently maintained if the Government in power can enjoy the goodwill and the mandate of all the people of Southern Rhodesia regardless of colour and origin."



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STRONG FEELINGS

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIMBE: The latest issue of *Malawi News* indicates the tremendous volume and intensity of anti-Federation feeling in Nyasaland. Observers are beginning to believe that unless secession is conceded to Nyasaland at the London talks, the Malawi Congress Party will be strong enough to seize it. An editorial states: "We shall not accept any compromise from the London conference. . . Federation must be broken; there are no two ways about it. . . The whole future relations between the people of Malawi and those of Britain will depend upon whether Mr. Macmillan will accept that. . . We are not going to surrender an inch. . . of Malawi to a foreigner even if he has the backing of the British Prime Minister."

And a typical message from a rural area came in from Bwengo. It said: "We pray for Kamuzu now in England to bury the Federation NOW."

PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

ACCRA: The third All-African People's Conference will be held in Cairo (United Arab Republic) from 10th to 20th May, 1961, according to Mr. Abdoulaye Diallo, General Secretary. All-African People's Conference. The conference will be preceded by a meeting of the All-African People's Conference Steering Committee which will be held in Dar-es-Salaam from 12th to 15th January, 1961. The agenda of the Steering Committee meeting will include:—

1. Evolution of the situation in Africa:
 - (a) Congo
 - (b) Algeria
 - (c) South Africa
 - (d) Eastern and Central countries of Africa
2. Budget of 1961.
3. Preparation of the Annual Conference:
 - (a) Agenda
 - (b) Various questions.

The Steering Committee of the All-African People's Conference consists, among other people, of Mr. Kojo Botsio (President Nkrumah's right-hand man), Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Dr. Fuad Galal (Cairo), Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Mr. Tennyson Makiwane (South Africa), and Mr. M. W. Kanyama Chiume (Malawi).

U.N.I.P. EXCITEMENT



AS the vital London conference on the future of the Federation enters its second week, news has come to "Contact" from the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt which shows that there is a political ferment without precedent.

Up till 14th November, Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party was a banned organization on the Copperbelt. On that day the ban was taken off. During the following days and weeks immense rallies and meetings were held demonstrating that the U.N.I.P. has completely replaced the old A.N.C. in the affections of the people.

60,000 People

On Thursday, 17th November, large meetings were held in most of the Copperbelt towns, and on Sunday, 20th, some 60,000 people attended a rally in Kaunda Square, Chifubu Township, Ndola.

Our correspondent reports that the whole Copperbelt was suffused with enthusiasm at the revival of U.N.I.P. When the columns reached points four miles from Ndola U.N.I.P. officials made everyone present take off their ties. Our correspondent was told that ties were not worn by workers.

Back to Railways

The vast crowd responded with wild cheering to the speakers' attacks on Federation. Mr. Sipalo raised a hearty laugh when he asked the press to inform Sir Roy Welensky that his old job on the railways was being kept for him.

On Thursday, 23rd, the new Northern Rhodesia Liberal Party held a meeting in Mufulira. The Rev. Colin Morris spoke of the inevitable transition, which they were witnessing, to African government.

On 30th November, more great meetings were held. At one, in Kamwala suburb, Lusaka, the Rev. Merfyn Temple, one of the 100-odd White members of U.N.I.P. spoke, as shown in the picture. And the same meeting was also addressed by another White member, Mr. James Skinner.

These passionate expressions of the people's demand for an end to Federation must strengthen the hands of U.N.I.P.'s leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, at the London talks.

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Unfair to Progressives

SIR,—As a former member of the Liberal Party and a reader of your journal since its inception, I am sorry that *Contact* (3rd December) should go to such extreme lengths in an attempt to discredit the Progressive Party.

The headlines of the three separate articles to which I refer, speak for themselves—"Votes for the few" (by Peter Brown), "6 per cent of the votes . . .", and "Is dual roll anti-African?"

Mr. Brown, who says, "Universal suffrage is the universal demand of non-White people who count in South Africa", should know that there are non-White people in the Liberal Party itself who do not believe in universal adult suffrage. There are certainly many other "non-White people who count" (some of them already members of the Progressive Party) who have no faith in universal suffrage.

Mr. Donald Molteno, Chairman of the Progressive Party's Franchise Commission, has said that it is not possible to calculate accurately the number of extra voters who would come on to the common roll, but "Richard Radex" (whom you describe as "one of South Africa's acutest political observers") apparently has no difficulty in determining that it will be "in the region of about 130,000". Where does he get his figures from?

The Liberal Party, instead of going out of its way to criticize, should welcome the Progressive Party's genuine attempt to bring Whites and non-Whites together on the basis of a policy which calls for sacrifices from both sides. If Whites can be persuaded to move in large numbers from the racist parties into the Progressive Party, there would be a much greater chance of an answering move from the non-Whites.

The fact that one of South Africa's greatest liberals, Dr. Oscar Wollheim, has welcomed the Progressive Party's franchise policy is indeed a good omen for the future.

LIBERAL PROGRESSIVE,
Kenilworth, Cape.

What is Tshombe up to?

SIR.—We are very sorry to hear from your non-racial paper that refugees from South Africa were deported to Cape Town.

We, the readers of Lichtenburg, strongly oppose action taken by Mr. Tshombe, president of the breakaway Katanga, against P.A.C. leaders.

We wonder, when other leaders think of relieving Africa's suffering, why Mr. Tshombe should be different and difficult.



PETER KOARAI,
Lichtenburg, Tvl.

"Kaffir" and "Native"

SIR.—In reply to "Anti-Apartheid" of Piggs Peak, I would like to put a few words of common sense to his question in *Contact* (19th November). He wants readers to give him an idea about "kaffir" and "native".

From my dictionary I find that the word "kaffir" does not refer to Africans as used by Europeans when referring to Africans. It means a person who is an unbeliever. The word "native" is also used when referring to Africans. The word means "of a nation" or "national". To-day I hear of the White Africans. What is White African and what is a Black African?

This is Africa for Africans except it was taken from us by strong arms—what we call in Xhosa "oongalo nkulu".

What could the Whites do if we were to go back to "our areas"? Could they do their jobs themselves? No, they could not, for if they were able to, they would not go and fetch us from "our areas". Even those which they call "urban areas" also belong to us, for this is not Europe. How can they make boundaries in our world?

We do not want this property or that: we want the whole of Africa; that must be clear. We do not like fighting: we just want to be one. As God says, "Be one for I am one".

Is there any heaven ready "for Europeans only" as it is on earth? If not, how can the frog stay with the snake in one place?

Now why do Whites treat us like enemies when we work for them? And I do not agree that only the Afrikaners are to blame. When there is something wrong, what do the English say? Beware of snakes!

Why do I ask what the English say? Because they do all things and enact the laws together with the Afrikaners. No Africans have any part in enacting these laws.

D. E. M.,
Upington, Cape.

Takes no notice

SIR.—I am very sorry to give you a bit of sad news, but I really did not know better as I have been in a great hurry to sell my last few *Contact* which sold like hot cakes in Pretoria and everywhere else.

I went from Pretoria to Roodepoort by train, and before reaching Germiston I sold *Contact* on the train.

I thought that the ticket examiner did not take any notice, but when we reached Germiston, the examiner handed me over to the police.

I was charged with breaking railway regulations and was sentenced to fourteen days. The magistrate said that I should keep clear of such newspapers as *Contact*, but I don't take any notice of that. I told them that the news in *Contact* is clean and very true, and that it is our newspaper which has already been sold in Cambridge and also in Oxford.

J. S. NEL,
Pretoria.

De Wet Nel blinded

SIR.—The B.A.D. Minister, Mr. De Wet Nel, attributes the uprisings in Pondoland to the work of agitators or subversive agents, but I wish to point out to him that he has blinded himself in this regard.

I do not wish to claim first-hand knowledge of the facts underlying the unrest, but the Transkei is my home, and I have spoken to people, and they are not likely to be reconciled to the following ways in which their liberties are threatened:—

1. In the education of their children.
2. In the ownership of land.
3. In the ownership of livestock.

These things are threatened in two pernicious laws—the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.

I am convinced, as everyone should be, that these Acts and their implementation, were the origin of resistance amongst the people in the Transkei. There has been fierce resentment which is now getting out of control.

Nothing short of the total repeal of the two Acts will bring the situation back to normal. The banishments which appear to be the government's weapon can only aggravate the situation.

ZWANE KUBEKELI,
Transkei.

To all readers of "Contact"

- Please keep on writing letters for this page
- Let's share opinions, exchange views and think up new ideas here
- Let's have facts as well! Tell us things our readers should know—facts that other newspapers may hush up
- Always send your correct name and address with your letter
- Send a photograph too if you like
- Keep your letters short—but keep on writing!

Non-racialism

SIR.—In South Africa racialism permeates the national consciousness. Economics, social science, politics, art, and all human relations are infected with the sickness of racialism. The great majority of the nation, consciously or unconsciously, think in racial terms, in the face of the findings of science which has proved conclusively that all theories about racial superiority or inferiority are ridiculous. But, notwithstanding the conclusions of science, racial beliefs and prejudices still persist (although diminishing in influence) especially in our country where it has taken on the most farcical forms. How comes it that such insupportable nonsense is so widely accepted, often with the calmest and gravest equanimity?

The key to the riddle is that "race" is an economic factor and that all "racial" assertions, programmes and policies have strong, if hidden, economic motivations and up to now have conjured forth fabulous material rewards. The central economic factor has become heavily shrouded and obscured by ideological deceptions which divert attention away from the essence of the problem. However, the ideological falsities have been exposed by political science and the positive result that has developed out of scientific analysis has been the non-racial democratic theory which is destined to usher in the next phase of South Africa's growth to modern nationhood.

The adoption of the non-racial democratic concept requires the acceptance of its substance and spirit, not the facile acceptance of the phrases that adorn the concept while rejecting its

rich content. The non-racial democratic theory expresses the needs of a new, a modern and a great South Africa.

K. CAIRCROSS,
Wetton, Cape.

Let all unite

SIR.—Now that the "Whites" have "united" under the banner of a republic, I think it is about time that all the liberatory movements (A.N.C., P.A.C., S.A. Indian Congress, Non-European Unity Movement, Liberal Party and associated bodies) should call a summit conference and that the prospects of unity be discussed. I am well aware of the existing differences among these organizations, yet all have something in common, and that is freedom for the people of South Africa.

Let us no longer rely on U.N. and other forces as God helps those who help themselves. Let us forget our theories and strive for our vital goal through practical non-violent action.

Yours in the struggle for freedom.
MASTER A. SALIE,
Cape Town.

Racialism at R.C. mission

SIR.—A letter headed "Reply to *Malawi News*" in *Contact* (19th November), has attracted my attention. Mr. Murray writes thus: "In the field of human affairs she (the R.C. Church) is in the vanguard of the fight against racialism." South Africa offers the best arena for racial clashes.

In many instances when all churches take a united stand against racial laws in South Africa, the Catholic Church does not join hands with them.

Whatever the case may be, I have a ready example of a Catholic mission which practises racialism to an extent of which Mr. Murray would be ashamed. And there are no laws which enforce apartheid in Bechuanaland.

W. MZONDEKI,
Gaberones, B.P.

"Contact"—man

"Contact" agent
Mr. Nelson Mzinzi
on the way to his
selling place in
Cape Town.



Swaziland sit-in

SIR.—Like many writers, I would like to throw a word in the spring of African life which is *Contact*.

I have been warned by a certain White man that I must zip my mouth because the Union has now become a republic. Since then anyone who opens his mouth will be sent to prison.

As for my part, it will take the whole lot of the republicans of South Africa to zip my mouth against speaking what I see is right or wrong.

Recently I was shocked to find myself standing before the District Commissioner just because I refused to get out of a certain café.

This is how it happened:

I came to a café and bought myself a bottle of cold drink. I sat on one of the chairs provided therein. No sooner had I done so than the White woman's anger was

aroused. She told me the seats are for Whites only. Whereupon I asked if there was any notice outside that forbade non-Whites to sit inside, to which she told me that I was a 'silly kaffir' to question her thus.

We argued for a few minutes, then seeing that I resisted, she phoned the police and they too failed. Lastly she phoned the District Commissioner who, on his arrival, asked me the same questions as those asked me by the White woman.

I boldly told him that I had paid for the drinks; if then the woman wants me to pay for the seat too, I could gladly pay her.

The D.C., finding that I spoke reasonably, rushed out of the café and made for his office.

I sat there and told the mother that so long as I pleased to stay there I would.

HOWLER,
Piggs Peak, Swaziland.

contact

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Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

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Vol. 3 No. 26

AFRICAN LEADERS' CONFERENCE

—see page 3



SÉKOU TOURÉ

President of Guinea, who leads his country forward along the razor's edge between East and West.

HOW IT ALL HAPPENED

VICTORY FOR S.W.A. AT U.N.

By SEAN BOUD, Special "Contact" correspondent accredited to the U.N.

THE view of New York City in the grey and cold of autumn, from the thirty-third floor of the United Nations Secretariat building overlooking Manhattan, is one of the most magnificent there is. The people who work there are likely to enjoy it for some time to come. They are the members of the U.N. South West African Committee who for the last three weeks of November watched in a large formal conference room with lime-green curtains and caged translators the discussion of S.W.A. before mankind's highest tribunal.

At 8.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 6th December, their efforts were rewarded when the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee of the U.N. resolved among other things to send a special group composed of members of the S.W.A. Committee into the territory "with a view to ascertaining and submitting to the General Assembly (a) The conditions for restoring a climate of peace and security for the indigenous inhabitants and (b) The steps which would enable the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa to achieve a wide measure of internal self-government designed to lead them to complete independence as soon as possible."

This break-through of decisive action on the part of the U.N. is but the latest step in a fifteen-year struggle on the part of the South West African people to throw off the yoke of apartheid. But although the mission is most unlikely to be allowed to visit South West, the resolution will almost certainly hasten the day when the territory will enjoy the "material and moral well-being and social progress" that was solemnly pledged it by the Union Government in terms of the original mandate of the League of Nations in 1920.

Whatever the immediate fate of the resolution may be, the day of action has been brought nearer. This action could be either in the form of economic sanctions or the intervention of a U.N. military force to supervise the administration of the territory in accordance with the mandate which the Union has so consistently betrayed.

INTERNATIONAL COURT

Furthermore two member nations of the old League of Nations (Liberia and Ethiopia) have recently charged South Africa before the International Court of Justice with violating the mandate agreement which the League and South Africa agreed upon. An advisory opinion which the International Court gave in 1950 at the request of the General Assembly determined that the U.N. was legally qualified to exercise the supervision previously exercised by the League and the Union Government was under an obligation to submit to the control of the General Assembly.

In the light of this and the report that the S.W.A. Committee presented to the current Fourth Committee Assembly clearly setting out the evils committed against the S.W. Africans, it would seem probable that the International Court will declare categorically that the Union Government, having violated the mandate, must submit to the decisions of the General Assembly.

That is the hope for the future to which this most recent resolution will contribute largely, and which, when the melancholy history of this period in S.W.A.'s history is written, will figure as of major importance.

Important as it is, the present victory was not won without a fight. It started with an abortive attempt on the part of Mr. Eric Louw to have the whole matter shelved as it was *sub judice* in the International Court of Justice. His stand—sprinkled with charges that the petitioners from S.W.A. appearing before the Assembly had "Communist associations" and were "supported by

subversive organizations"—was rejected by a resounding majority vote including the United States, and the Committee proceeded to hear the seven petitioners give accounts of their own experiences of conditions there.

SOUTH AFRICA WITHDRAWS

At that stage the South African delegation walked out in a huff, withdrawing to the Press Gallery to join their friend the reporter from the *Windhoek Advertiser*, whose visit they had sponsored.

It must have been with rare discomfort that for once in their lives they heard non-Whites give their side of the story before an impartial assembly.

The first petitioner, Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, hastened to dismiss the charges of the Minister of External Affairs that the petitioners had Communist associations and went on to say that "the time is long overdue for United Nations intervention in S.W.A.: the presence of the U.N. can no longer be delayed". He asked that "a Committee of African States be entrusted with the administration of S.W.A." and that "we further wish that a way be found by which the people of South West Africa could have access to the many opportunities, educational and otherwise, provided under the U.N. or by member states".

He was followed in succeeding days by the other six petitioners: the Rev. Marcus Kooper, the Rev. Michael Scott, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, Mr. Ismail Fortune, Mr. Oliver Tambo, Mr. Jacob Kuhungua and Mr. Sam Nujoma.

Kuhungua described in moving terms how after the Windhoek shootings of December last year he was "placed under house arrest with my legs and arms chained together every night, and every day ploughing the fields for my food".

OLIVER TAMBO

Oliver Tambo summed up the position of the petitioners and rallied the sympathies of the assembly behind them when he declared at the conclusion of his statement: "Must Chief Hosea, that old and outstanding leader of men, submit yet another petition, reporting yet another murder? Is Rev. Michael Scott to come back yet again in the company of more exiles—survivors of a campaign of liquidation—from that tortured territory. The United Nations is not powerless to act effectively. In the name of the millions of Black people in Africa and their friends in Asia, in the name of the millions who gave their lives to defeat Nazism only two decades ago I plead for intervention now, as an alternative to mass massacres later".

The general debate by member states that followed the petitioners soon showed that under the surface of self-deprecating euphemisms of diplomacy, support was firmly on the side of the petitioners.

The tense faces of the petitioners

CORRECTION

"Contact" has been requested to publish the following statement:

"The report in 'Contact' of 19th November to the effect that Dr. M. B. Naidoo, Vice-Principal of Sastri College, has mooted the idea of a boycott of the proposed Indian University and that he is approaching overseas universities for the provision of alternative courses, is incorrect.

Dr. Naidoo has made no such statement to any reporter or reporters."

After investigating the matter we have ascertained that our reporter was not telling the truth in making his report, and we will never again accept news from him. We regret any inconvenience caused to Dr. Naidoo.—Editor.

relaxed when the vote was eventually taken late on the Tuesday evening—in proportion to the hardening of the faces of the South African delegation at the same instant.

THE VOTE TAKEN

Passed by a vote of 65 for, none against, 13 abstentions, 20 absent, and South Africa not voting, the resolution (Doc. A/C.4/L.653/Rev.2 as amended) would have the Assembly:

1. Regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa has so far failed to respond to the repeated appeals of the General Assembly asking it to revise a policy which infringes the fundamental rights and freedoms of the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa and imposes upon them disabilities of various kinds, hindering their political, economic, educational and social advancement;

2. Deplore and disapprove the policy practiced by the Government of the Union of South Africa contrary to its obligations under the international mandate of 17 December, 1920, for South West Africa.

3. Deprecate the application, in the territory of South Africa, of the policy of apartheid and call upon the Government of the Union to revoke or rescind immediately all laws and regulations based on that policy;

4. Invite the Committee on South

West Africa, in addition to its normal tasks, to go to South West Africa immediately to investigate the situation prevailing in the territory and to ascertain and make proposals to the General Assembly on:

(a) The conditions for restoring a climate of peace and security;

(b) The steps which would enable the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa to achieve a wide measure of internal self-government designed to lead them to complete independence as soon as possible;

5. Urge the Government of the Union of South Africa to facilitate the mission of the Committee on South West Africa;

6. Request the Committee on South West Africa to make a preliminary report on the implementation of this resolution to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session;

7. Request the Secretary-General to provide facilities for the execution of this resolution.

It was won. It was over. But as Kuhungua said to me as we gathered up our papers to leave the conference room for the crisp night air of New York, "This is just the beginning".

The beginning of enough time for the South West African Committee to enjoy that view from the 33rd floor for many months to come.

Aleke Banda, Malawi Freedom Fighter



ALEKE BANDA, the deputy secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, Nyasaland's million-member political movement, is twenty-one years old. He was born of Nyasa parents in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia.

He started politics while still at primary school in Que Que, when at the age of 16 he was elected vice-secretary of the local branch of the now-banned Nyasaland African Congress.

It was in this organization that he became politically conscious, and when he went on to the secondary school in Bulawayo, the feeling of nationalism was deeply rooted in him.

At school in Bulawayo he organized a group known as the "Central African Youth Secretariat Movement", the purpose of which was to educate his fellow-schoolboys politically so that they would be able to play an active part in the freedom movement in Central Africa.

Just as the group of schoolboys was finalizing its plans and drawing up a constitution for the Youth Secretariat, the 1959 disturbances erupted in Nyasaland; Congress was banned, and many of the leaders were put in detention. Aleke Banda was one of them. He was arrested in the classroom, taken to Khami Prison with other detainees and was held for three months before being deported to Nyasaland.

When he arrived there, he continued to study privately and sat for examinations last year in which he passed his senior certificate with good results.

When the Malawi Congress Party was formed, he was appointed acting secretary-general. At the annual conference of the Party this year (see "Contact", 22nd October), he was elected deputy secretary-general, as well as editor of "Malawi News", the weekly M.C.P. news bulletin.

His ambition is to become a lawyer or a journalist, and he will be leaving soon for Ghana where he will study journalism.

His spare time is spent reading; particularly in economics, political science and English history. He neither smokes nor drinks, and is a great lover of music.

He is of Sir Isaac Newton's type, for he sometimes forgets to go for lunch until someone reminds him.

ORLANDO CONFERENCE CALLS FOR "NATIONAL CONVENTION"

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: At the end of the Consultative Conference of African leaders, held in the Donaldson Community Centre, Orlando, Johannesburg, on 16th and 17th December, 1960, a continuation committee was elected with a mandate to prepare for a further conference before the end of February, 1961.

It is intended that the second conference be larger and more representative. A third conference, which would be "multi-racial", is planned to take place at a later stage.

Thirty-six delegates from all over the Union attended the Orlando conference last week, invited by the conveners, Chief Albert Lutuli, Adv. Duma Nokwe, Prof. Z. K. Matthews, Mr. W. B. Ngakane, and Rev. N. B. Tantsi.

Among those attending were former members of the banned African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress, businessmen, sportsmen and clergymen.

Among them were Mr. Paul Mosaka, President of the Johannesburg African Chamber of Commerce; Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe, President of the African National Congress in the Cape during the 1952 "defiance campaign", who came from Matatiele; Mr. Jordan Ngubane, vice-President of the Liberal Party, from Durban; Mr. S. Sikakane, a Johannesburg attorney and leading sportsman; Mrs. Viola Hashe, vice-President of the South African Congress of Trade Unions; Mr. Dan Poho, Secretary of the Union for Southern African Artists; the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, Methodist Minister from Kroonstad, who is President of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation; the original sponsor of the meeting, the Rev. N. B. Tantsi, of Orlando; Mr. J. R. Rathebe, Mrs. A. E. Letele, Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, Rev. B. S. Rajuli, Mr. G. Pitje, Mr. Z. B. Molete, Mr. J. Molefe, Mr. Francis Mbelu, Mr. J. Nkatlo (vice-Chairman, Liberal Party, Cape), Mr. Govan Mbeki, Mr. Mark Shope, and Mr. Bill Bhengu (Natal Liberal Party).

Many of those whose names were on the list of delegates were not present. Messrs. Canca, Tsotsi and Honono could not be there as they are in detention in the Transkei under the emergency regulations.

The only sponsors present were Mr. Ngakane and Rev. Tantsi. Mr. Nokwe and Chief Lutuli are banned. Professor Matthews was at home "for business reasons".

CAPE DELEGATION

The Cape Town delegation consisted of Mr. J. Nkatlo, who had received an invitation, and Mr. Francis Mbelu, who was representing Mr. Philip Kgosana. They were driven by car to the conference by two members of the Liberal Party, Mr. T. Holmes and Mr. K. Hendrickse, who were given permission to attend the conference by the chairman, Rev. N. B. Tantsi, as part of the delegation from the Cape.

When the conference opened, Mr. Ngakane, the recording secretary and one of the sponsors, drew attention to their presence.

Delegates asked how they came to be there if they had not been invited. It then became apparent that many of the delegates present were not on the official list.

A long debate on procedural matters followed. During the debate it became clear that the conference was divided on the attendance of Messrs. Holmes and Hendrickse. Many delegates did not wish to see them excluded on grounds of race.

Messrs. Molete and Molefe, former members of the banned P.A.C. threatened to leave if they stayed, and Mr. Ngakane threatened to resign as sponsor.

At this stage, Mr. Govan Mbeki demanded that they leave, alleging that they were deliberately trying to sabotage the conference.

The Chairman, Rev. Tantsi, ruled that they should leave, which they did when it was made quite clear that they

were being excluded because they were not Black.

When they had left, the business of the conference began.

Committees were elected, the agenda was approved, and the Chairman gave his address. He said that since the banning of the people's political organizations—the P.A.C. and A.N.C.—in March 1960, a void had been left in African political life.

At the end of the Chairman's address, Dr. W. Z. Conco spoke. He called for "maximum unity of the African people".

Mr. Govan Mbeki was then asked to speak on Pondoland. He showed that the root cause of the Pondoland troubles was "the replacement of the natural and democratic law of the people by fake and fraudulent Bantu Authorities".

Mr. Mbeki urged that the struggle in the rural areas be linked up with the struggle in the towns.

Open discussion began when the conference resumed next morning.

Mr. Paul Mosaka said, "Unity must be achieved at all costs. We should no longer cry for equality, but we must say 'We want to rule'."

Mr. Jordan Ngubane said: "This conference should be a forerunner to a bigger conference which will mould the future of our children."

In the course of the afternoon, the conference was raided by the police.

All delegates were searched, and all notes and records confiscated.

RESOLUTIONS

After the raid resolutions were adopted. They are as follows:

● This conference agrees on the urgent need for African unity and pledges itself to work for it on the basis of the following broad principles:

(a) The removal of the scourge of

apartheid from every sphere of national life;

(b) The immediate establishment of a non-racial democracy;

(c) The effective use of non-violent pressures against apartheid.

● This conference of the African leaders from many walks of life has examined carefully the grave problems facing our country. Convinced that the absence of fundamental rights and in particular the right to have a say in the affairs of the country is the basic cause of the suffering, strife, racial tension and conflict in the country; convinced also that the situation is further aggravated by the efforts of the Government to muzzle the political expression of the African people by banning the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress; convinced further that the imposition of a new constitution for a Nationalist republic with contemptuous disregard for the views of the African people is the climax to the process of deterioration, this conference places on record its view that the developments in South Africa are diametrically opposed to those in the rest of Africa—wherefore conference wishes to warn that the situation in our country has created an atmosphere charged with the possibility of an eruption unless all sections of the people of our country halt this development. To this end the African leaders here assembled consider that the African people are the most vital potent force to direct changes in the country and that their unity is essential.

NATIONAL CONVENTION

With this in mind the conference resolves that because the African people were denied participation in the republican referendum they do not accept the result. This conference therefore calls on the African people to attend an all-in conference representative of African

people in urban and rural areas to:

(a) demand the calling of a national convention representing all the people of South Africa wherein the fundamental rights of the people will be considered;

(b) consolidate the unity of the African people.

● That to further the above ends a continuation committee be appointed which will make arrangements for an all-in conference which must meet not later than the end of February.

● This conference is alarmed at the sending of military units to Pondoland and calls upon the Government to withdraw them forthwith, stop the butcheries and pass prosecutions so that an atmosphere can be created for action to be taken to redress the just grievances of the people whose existence was admitted by a Commission recently.

● This conference hails the struggle of the Pondo people who have by their courage and determination opposed the hypocrisy which suggest that the Bantu Authorities are acceptable to the African people both in the urban and rural areas.

● This conference calls upon the African people and democrats in the other racial groups to regard the Pondos' resistance to Bantu Authorities as an integral part of the fight against apartheid.

● This conference appeals to the U.N.O. to send a Commission of Enquiry to Pondoland, and to use its office to curb the alarming military opposition against defenceless people which is a threat to peace in Africa.

● This conference of African leaders welcomes the resolution of the Security Council of U.N.O. and in particular the visit of the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, but urges that in order to have a clear view of the situation in the country he must meet African leaders.

● This conference wishes to place on record that the raid carried out by the police on the African leaders present demonstrates clearly the extent to which freedom of expression is being muzzled.

MASS ARRESTS IN TRANSKEI

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The first emergency arrests have been made in the Transkei. It is estimated that hundreds of tribesmen, their lawyers, and leaders were arrested in the mass dawn swoop on Wednesday, 14th December.

Senior police officers refused to disclose the exact number of people arrested in the emergency area, but said that 88 people—among them four members of the All-African Convention—had been arrested in areas on the fringes of the reserve.

This "blitz"—under the broad provisions of the emergency regulations—is the spearhead of what is reported to be a protracted Defence and Police offensive against the Pondos.

The number of police and soldiers in the area has been doubled, and extra jet aircraft have been added to the force already there.

Among those arrested are: Mr. Richard Canca, an attorney practising in Idutywa, and his two partners Messrs. Digby Koyana and H. Ntloko, who is a former lecturer at Fort Hare. These men had defended Pondo tribesmen in their arson trials. Also detained is Mr. N. T. Honono, an insurance agent from Umtata, and President of the All-African Convention. Mr. Honono is also President of the Cape African Teachers' Association and a treasurer of the Non-European Unity Movement.

None of the detainees has been allowed to consult legal advisers. At the time of going to press a Durban firm of attorneys told *Contact* that they were studying the "legality of the pro-

clamations with the intention of making an urgent habeas corpus application".

During Christmas week, a large contingent of troops, driving in a half-mile long column along the Natal national highway, were believed to have headed for Pondoland.

A legal expert told me: "Under the new emergency even soldiers have powers of summary arrest. People arrested in terms of these regulations may be detained and questioned until they give a true account of themselves. If the authorities are satisfied with their replies they may be released."

Among those arrested in Pondoland, I reliably learnt, were headmen, school-teachers, and ordinary tribesmen. Some were arrested for failing to produce passes, whilst others were believed to have participated "in subversive activities".

By the Editor

Further investigations have been made into the mass arrests. Another representative of *Contact* was given the following additional list by a person in close touch with a Transkeian magistrate. When I rang the Chief Information Officer, Bantu Administration and Development Department, Pretoria, on 21st December, I was unable to check the list as there was no one responsible in the office.

Similarly, the Secretary of the Department, Mr. Young, was away on holiday, as was his deputy, Mr. van Schalkwyk.

We therefore give our readers the list, warning them that though we have done our best to check it for them, we have not been able to find any person able to speak with authority.

Umtata: Mr. A. Delaguba Joyi
Mr. Mgolombane

Mr. Lufefeni Joyi

Engcobo: Chief Shepherd Sandile

Mt. Frere: Mr. Nogatizwe, insurance salesman

Libode: Mr. Njamela, articled clerk

Tsolo: Mr. Templeton Tsotsi

Kentani: Mr. Vanda

East London: Mr. Mtshizana, attorney.

While police and army clamp down on all news from the troubled areas Minister De Wet Nel has made a remarkable statement in *Die Burger* (14th December): "If it is true that the people of the Transkei are against the system of Bantu Authorities it would be foolishness to force it on them. In such a case an administrative system would have to be worked out by the people themselves."

This statement would appear to open the door to determined demands from the people of the area for radical change.

We very much regret that no further news is forthcoming from the Transkei, their key area of the freedom struggle. Several representatives of our paper were at the time of going to press in the Transkei, but no dispatches had come from them in time to be printed before the holidays.

contact

Freedom in Four Years

SOME weeks ago we suggested that the time had come to say: "Freedom within four years," instead of "Freedom within five years" as many people have been saying throughout 1960.

The New Year is a good time to make this change.

As an insert in this issue of *Contact* we are giving our readers a "Freedom Calendar". The main item on it is a map of Africa showing how the area of freedom is expanding and how the area of domination is contracting. This movement is happening fast.

Other items on our calendar are portraits of some freedom fighters, and a 1961 calendar in the shape of a big "L" for Liberal.

If each reader fastens his calendar on his wall he will be reminded of the freedom struggle for 365 days.

If he crosses off each day as it passes he will be reminding himself that each mark brings freedom nearer by one day.

Each of us can do our bit to speed up the arrival of freedom, and the end of domination, by holding fast on to the knowledge that freedom is coming . . . within four years.

Success to Selassie

WE congratulate Emperor Haile Selassie on his success in suppressing the revolt against his authority.

One of the great men of Africa, he has personally lived through the enslavement of his country by imperialistic forces, personally, with Commonwealth aid, liberated it from those forces, and has personally directed it on the path of progress since its liberation.

Now, by determined and decisive action, he returned to his country from Brazil, half-way round the world, to restore law and order and his own rule. He can have arrived only just in time to save his kingdom, for the brutal usurper Workneh Gebeyehu had succeeded in massacring 10 loyal ministers and the uprising had caused some 2,000 deaths in the streets of Addis Ababa.

We wish His Imperial Majesty many years of rule and ever greater success in the task to which he has devoted his life—the modernization of his country.

Fighting for Justice

WE salute those Capetonians who have been challenging apartheid in department stores and restaurants.

They have found a practical way of fighting for justice.

In our last issue we reported that one group was served in the restaurant in the Public Gardens. Unfortunately

pressure by the City Council has caused the manageress to turn away later groups. But it is quite possible that the campaign will have a successful outcome. It is quite possible that all Capetonians will be served in the restaurants of the department stores in the near future.

But even if this were not to happen, the campaign is laying the foundations of later massive victories. It brings together the anti-apartheid forces. It puts the supporters of apartheid on to the defensive. And it has had a remarkable effect on the consciences of the people who control Cape Town.

The White rulers of Cape Town may not yet understand that colour discrimination anywhere is an evil. But they all, without exception, guiltily acknowledge that except for one dirty government teashop there is nowhere in the whole of central Cape Town where a majority of the town's citizens can get a cup of tea.

This is a small gain. But victory will, in the end, be built out of many small local gains such as this.

Demolition of Federation

THE precise meaning of the closing down of the Federal Review and Territorial Conferences in London is not yet clear.

At the same time the broad outlines

of the position are becoming quite evident. They are these: that White supremacy has been definitely halted at the Zambezi: all change in Northern Rhodesia will henceforward be change in the direction of freedom, and it is clear that change is coming fast.

In Nyasaland matters are even further advanced. There the people have turned away from the Federal idea so that Dr. Banda is not exaggerating when he says that Federation is already dead. The only decision left to make is this: is Federation to be decently buried by its parent, Sir Roy Welensky? Or is it to be thrown rudely into its grave against Welensky's will?

In Southern Rhodesia, too, freedom is coming. It is probably now too late for the reactionary forces within the Federal Party to reverse the small beginnings made toward de-segregation. It is unlikely that Mr. Harper's ill-organized Dominion Party will defeat the Federal Party at the White dominated polls in 1961. But even if it were to do so it is doubtful if Southern Rhodesian White supremacy retains enough strength to take away from the freedom forces what has already been conceded. For these reasons Southern Rhodesia has had the honour to be coloured red on our 1961 Freedom Calendar—red for those countries "approaching freedom".

In broad outline, then, the London conferences have marked a speed-up in the demolition of Federation and in the establishment of Central African freedom.

GUINEA—EAST OR WEST?

SEKOU TOURE, Head of Government, Foreign and Defence Minister of Guinea, led his country to independence from France when it voted "No" to the De Gaulle plan for Africa in 1958.

France replied to this rebuff by withdrawing all French technicians, all French equipment and all French aid.

Sékou Touré was left with a poverty-stricken country. He appealed to the United States for aid, but out of deference to France, this was refused. Later, after long negotiations, Guinea began to receive aid from the Soviet Union and other communist bloc countries.

Since then it has seemed that Guinea has been slipping closer and closer into the communist orbit. Before deciding whether this is so, it is necessary to examine the political situation in Guinea.

WHEN THE FRENCH LEFT

When the French left, power passed to the "Parti démocratique de Guinée", and a strictly disciplined central apparatus, the "Political committee" of the Party took over supreme command. Gradually the most radical politicians have come to occupy the leading posts in the Party: Diallo Saifoulaye, the political Party Secretary and Parliamentary Chairman, Keita N'Famara and Ismael Touré, the President's brother, who are respectively Organization Secretary and Planning Chief. Unlike the more pragmatic Sékou Touré these three leading officials must be regarded as orthodox Marxist-Leninists in the strictest sense. Their influence has risen as the separation from France and the first encroachments on the previous social and economic structure have led to economic setbacks.

Owing to the fact that economic negotiations with Guinea's Western partners were developing so slowly—above all because Guinea refuses to give guarantees for the protection of investments—Diallo Saifoulaye in the late summer of last year made a journey to the satellite states and the Soviet Union where he negotiated a 140 million rouble credit.

To begin with, however, and contrary to Guinea's expectations, the promised aid from Russia failed to materialize.

The first change was brought about in the negotiations which Sékou Touré

conducted with Khrushchev in Moscow in November, after he had been received with all official honours in Washington, London and Bonn. Khrushchev proposed to his guest that the possibilities of using the money should be examined by groups of specialists. Peking and the European satellites offered the same "concession". Since the economic crisis in Guinea had meanwhile become even more intense and, in addition, some of Sékou Touré's own people, above all Diallo Saifoulaye, received these proposals with enthusiasm, Sékou Touré accepted the suggestion. The Eastern bloc had thereby obtained an all-

TOURE'S POSITION

This article is published to show the extent to which Communist countries are trying to penetrate Africa. President Touré is primarily an African nationalist, and his first interest is in the development of his country and people.

Faced with the problems left him by the French, he had no choice but to take help from whoever was willing to give it.

"Contact" hopes that President Touré will be able to prevent his country sliding into the Communist orbit and help it to maintain its position of positive neutrality expounded by him at the United Nations this year, when he followed Mr. Khrushchev in the debate on colonialism.

important lever by which to influence the course of events in Guinea, which was running in its favour anyway.

Conakry has experienced a real invasion of Communist "advisers" and "specialists". Russians, Chinese, Rumanians, Hungarians and delegates from other states of the Eastern bloc dominate the scene. Talking to them one notices at once the difference between them and the few Western businessmen one meets here. Whereas the man from the West is usually confined exclusively to representing his own firm, the experts from the East, whether they are specialists in agriculture, veterinary science, the utilization of fish and so on—are primarily political bureaucrats, for whom private affairs do not apparently exist at all. They deal

with their problems, as they put it, in a "complex" way—all projects are judged principally by their "political content".

Two extreme examples may illustrate the point. The Hungarian government has sent six sport trainers to Conakry "to strengthen the ties of friendship". They are all officials of the Hungarian Communist party. They have arranged that more and more sport groups shall be invited from Communist countries and that every event shall be introduced and closed with "addresses of friendship" and political demonstrations. In the second case, agricultural "advisers" from Communist China have proposed, arising from their "investigations", the creation of agricultural collectives in the style of the "people's communes".

MARXIST CADRES

Once again under the influence of its own Marxist cadres, the political bureau of the P.D.G. gave its consent. The formation of the first of these "communes" promised well. Supported by Soviet agrarian specialists the Chinese officials then declared that Guinea's economic impasses could be overcome only by a swift and universal transfer to a collective economy. The political bureau of the P.D.G. had tied itself down so clearly in this matter that there was now no going back. In the further formation of kolkhozes, however, serious disturbances took place among the agricultural workers in the area of Kékédou-Kissidou, which the P.D.G. naturally ascribed to "colonialist machinations". A punitive expedition succeeded in restoring order and meanwhile further agricultural experts have arrived from Peking.

Communist influence in the Guinea army shows how far the field has already been opened to the Eastern emissaries. Since the summer of last year a Czechoslovak military mission has been stationed in Conakry, the officers of which have reorganized, re-uniformed, armed and trained the local army units. As a result of a recently signed agreement the majority of all Guinea's N.C.O.'s will undergo a training course for officers in Czechoslovakia during the present year.

This survey would not be complete if we failed to mention the man who was appointed the new Soviet ambassador in Conakry at the beginning of

January: Daniel S. Solod. The former head of the Near East department of the Foreign Ministry in Moscow is a well-known figure on the diplomatic scene. From 1944 to 1950 he was in Beirut and then from 1953 to 1956 in Cairo as *chef de mission*, minister and ambassador—and succeeded in making these places key positions for Communist action in the Levant. Solod comes from the Ukraine; he speaks Arabic, English and French. His transfer to Conakry offers perhaps the clearest evidence of the importance which Moscow attaches to young Guinea and how much it is out to develop this state into a bridgehead for the Communist penetration of West Africa.

PROPAGANDA

That this is taking place not merely by the traditional methods becomes evident when one visits Government offices, Party headquarters, schools and other State and "social" institutions in Conakry. In nearly all the ministries those who wait—and Western visitors have to wait a long time—can pass the time reading Communist propaganda. *News from Moscow*, information sheets of the Communist World Trade Union Association, propaganda pamphlets from the various Eastern bloc countries and productions of the Moscow State Printing Office have displaced all Western publications in a bookshop run by the State Youth Association in Conakry. The members of the State Party, the J.R.D.A. and the administration also receive Khrushchev's speeches, Lenin's *What Shall We Do?* and similar publications from their own distributing organization to which all 42 sections of the P.D.G.—including those in the remotest spots of Guinea—belong. In view of all this it is not surprising that a kind of regular political instruction is given in the schools in Conakry, which differs only in small details from the "social" training in the countries of the Eastern bloc.

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

PETER BROWN . . . takes the long view

YEAR OF CRISIS

SOMETIME after nine o'clock on the morning of Monday, 5th December, Alan Paton emerged from the gloomy caverns beneath Jan Smuts Airport minus his passport. He was just back from a visit to the United States, Canada, Europe and Britain. In the United States he received the Freedom Award in recognition of his fight for basic human rights in South Africa. He joined the company of Winston Churchill, General Eisenhower, Dag Hammarskjöld and the Hungarian freedom fighters.

In the United States, Canada and Britain people who count and who are seriously concerned about the future of Africa listened to his views with the serious attention they deserved and

its various members have reacted to them. The Emergency came first and with it the detention of African, Indian and White members of the Party and the deportation of one of them, Hannah Stanton. The reason for these actions was undoubtedly that the Liberal Party, by its very non-racial character, was offensive to apartheid. The objective was undoubtedly to intimidate. If we are offensive to apartheid we are glad of it. If the Government set out to intimidate us then it certainly failed. Not only did the Party operate at a high level of activity during the emergency but the response at its meetings which I have attended since the emergency ended shows quite clearly that membership and interest in what the Party stands for is growing steadily. Activities may not be as spectacular as they were during the high excitement of April and May and members may not join as easily as some of our more ambitious members might wish but they come steadily, and that is what the government does not want.

While the emergency lasted *Contact* stood out for its courage and its persistence in publishing what it believed to be the true picture of what was happening in South Africa. It has now paid the price. Patrick Duncan refused to reveal the sources of information on which he had based reports in his paper and he paid the price for that refusal in the Roeland Street Gaol. Alan Paton has insisted on speaking the truth as he sees it and now he, too, must pay the penalty.

Nineteen-sixty has been a year of crisis in South Africa. Critics of the Liberal Party have often told it that, when the crisis came, there would be no place for anyone who held the views it holds. Other critics told it that, when things got hot, it would get cold feet. Both kinds have had their answer this year. When the crisis came we played a vitally important rôle. I am convinced that the existence of the Liberal Party, the message which it had been putting out for years and the part which it played in the Emergency was a decisive factor in preventing a large-scale drift towards intransigent racialism on both sides of the colour line this year. In April anything could have happened. That the drift did not go further than it did was at least partly due to the fact that the Liberal Party was prepared to support what it regarded as the just demands of the African people, and to the moderate and determined manner in which it conducted itself in those days. Its conduct during the emergency and since has opened a great many White eyes, which were not prepared to look before, to the fact that what the Liberal Party has to offer them is not hare-brained, or irresponsible, or dangerous, but a serious—perhaps the only serious—attempts by a political party in South Africa to come to grips with the facts of life on the African continent.

The Liberal Party, by its very nature, has always had and will always have, a particularly difficult row to hoe. It must oppose the easy calls of racialism on all sides. It must persuade Black, White and Brown that a non-racial society is a real possibility. It must show them, within its own body, that non-racialism can become a vital, living and driving force in South Africa. It must continue to address its appeal to all South Africans and to present itself to them as a responsible, mature and determined opponent of apartheid. It must persuade all South Africans that in it, and in nothing else, lies their best hope for the future.

We look back with some pride on our adventures in 1960. We look forward to 1961. We commiserate with Alan Paton on the loss of his passport. But we congratulate him too. Nationalist persecution has become our badge of honour in South Africa.



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party

acclaimed them. This was too much for the small men in Union Buildings. Acclamation for Alan Paton was more than they could bear. They took away his passport, confined him to South Africa and showed us once again what a liability they are to the West and the Commonwealth. For Alan Paton stands in the best tradition of the West. And the best the Union Government can do is persecute him.

Looking back over the past year this attack on Alan Paton can be seen as the last in a long series of attacks on the fundamental rights of individual members of the Liberal Party. And looking back over these various assaults I think the Party can be satisfied with the way

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Tirade Against Progs?

SIR,—There seems little point in replying to the tirades in your issue of 17th December against the Progressive Party and the members of its Constitutional and Franchise Commission. The use of such intemperate language in itself exposes the weakness of your case. Besides, all that that case really amounts to is that you are opposed to the Progressive Party's policy of a qualified franchise, and there is nothing in all this raving that carries it further than Mr. Peter Brown did in his fair and rational article in your issue of 3rd December. To him I replied on 5th December. You have thus far seen fit to suppress that reply. I now again ask you to publish it. It reads as follows:

May I reply to the criticisms of the Molteno Report and the decisions thereon of the Progressive Party Congress by Mr. Peter Brown in your issue of 3rd December, 1960?

Mr. Brown, in his article, "Votes for the Few", discusses the subject with his usual fairness and objectivity. Nevertheless his approach shows a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of the Commission's recommendations and the Congress decisions. "I will not discuss the merits of the reformed Senate the Progressives want," he writes. "Nor will I say much about their Bill of Rights. . . . What I would like to discuss . . . are the Commission's franchise recommendations and the Progressive reaction to them. He then criticises the failure of the Congress to proclaim adult suffrage as the Party's objective and observes: "As long as a large body of people are excluded from the franchise they cannot effectively protect their interests."

Now in considering the Progressives' franchise policy it is essential to do so in the context of the Party's proposals for a Bill of Rights and for the composition and functions of the Senate. because these are designed to provide safeguards for minorities. Within the framework of the existing Constitution, with its "sovereign" Parliament, Mr. Brown's case for adult suffrage is surely as follows: White domination, ensured by the effective limitation of the franchise to White people, has led to discrimination against and exploitation of the non-White peoples. A qualified franchise, such as formerly existed in the Cape, would still leave the non-White in a minority and hence involve continued White domination with its traditional consequences. If the numbers of non-White voters showed signs of overtaking the White, the qualifications would surely be raised, as happened in the Cape Colony. Therefore the only guarantee against White domination is adult suffrage, ensuring a non-White electoral majority. White fears of non-White domination in such an event, it is suggested, are groundless.

Under the Progressive policy of a qualified franchise the non-White voters would admittedly be in a minority initially. But Parliament would no longer be empowered to pass legislation discriminating adversely against anyone on grounds of race, colour or any other arbitrary criterion. That would be precluded by the Bill of Rights. The latter also would guarantee to all the opportunity to qualify for the franchise: discrimination in regard to property rights, wages and employment opportunities would be outlawed and free primary education for all guaranteed. No longer could more public money be spent on the education of a White child than on that of a non-White child. And any "law" that purported to authorise this would be declared invalid by the Courts. Moreover, even non-discriminatory measures to which the minority objected would stand little chance of being passed. For, even if agreed to by the Assembly, the Senate could reject them. And each Senator, in order to be elected, would have to secure a substantial measure of support from non-

White voters, even if they were in a minority. Once non-White voters became a majority, these safeguards would, of course, equally operate in favour of the White minority if this were to prove necessary.

Within such a constitutional framework, therefore, the disadvantages of being in an electoral minority would be reduced to the barest minimum conceivable, and both non-White objections to a qualified franchise and White fears of the consequences of an ultimate non-White electoral majority would appear to lack rational foundation.

Mr. Brown's objection to a qualified franchise on the ground that those not qualified "cannot effectively protect their interests" is ambiguous. If he is referring to protection against racial discrimination, then the answer has already been given. If he is referring to the social and economic interests of those not qualified, as compared with those of voters, whether White or non-White, this criticism would only be valid if the qualifications had been set at a level corresponding to some real dividing line between functional class interests—e.g. as was the case in Britain prior to 1832. But this is not so, even under contemporary conditions. Moreover education for all up to Standard VI is surely within sight. Earnings of £25 per month are scarcely above the poverty datum line for an industrial worker and his family and well below the minimum wage demand not only of the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. but also of the Trade Union Congress. Both are objectives of Progressive Party policy.

The purpose of any franchise is not to enable any class in society to promote its own immediate interests to an unlimited extent. Any attempt at such promotion to the point of overwhelming all other interests would destroy the fabric of society itself, which underpins all particular interests. The purpose of the franchise is rather to secure a just balance between the various interests necessarily existing in a diversified society so as to promote the harmony and progress of that society as a whole. In the conditions of our own complex plural society, we in the Progressive Party believe that an approximation to that result is more likely to be achieved through a qualified franchise than through adult suffrage. The task is, in any case, a formidable one. The numerous instances, even in the present century, in which democratic systems have broken down altogether provide ample evidence of that. Despite Mr. Brown's evident admiration for the system of adult suffrage anywhere and under any conditions, it still remains to be seen whether the future of the continent of Africa in this regard will prove any happier than the comparatively recent past of, say, southern and central Europe or Latin America. Contemporary events in the Sudan, for instance, or even Ghana, give little ground for optimism that it will.

DONALD B. MOLTENO
(Chairman, Progressive Party
Constitutional and Franchise
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Trade Union Dispute Resolved

By ALAN RAKE

TOP level trade union discussions between John Tettegah, Secretary-General of the Ghana T.U.C., and Tom Mboya of the Kenya Federation of Labour, have resulted in broad agreement. The result is of profound significance for the whole future of trade-unionism in Africa.

Previously Ghana and Kenya had been poles apart in Africa's trade union world. Tettegah was a militant champion of the All African Trade Union Federation, which claims 1,600,000 members in Africa, and Tom Mboya was an equally steadfast exponent of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, claiming a membership of 1½ million.

Ghana wanted the trade unions of all African countries to affiliate to the A.A.T.U.F. and to drop their connections with international trade union bodies. Numerous other African unions, including those of Nigeria, Kenya and Tunisia, were opposed to the Ghana line. The question at issue was whether or not African trade unions could affiliate to both the A.A.T.U.F. and the I.C.F.T.U. (or other international trade union bodies).

As a result of a recent visit of Ghana trade unionists to Kenya, a compromise has been reached in the interests of African unity. The Nigerian trades union leader, Mr. L. L. Borah, Secretary-General of the Nigeria T.U.C., has now given his blessing to the agreement

reached between the Kenya and Ghana leaders. Other African supporters of the I.C.F.T.U. are likely to give the new compromise their blessing.

Broadly speaking, the compromise declaration is that all African unions should give their support to the A.A.T.U.F. but that they should be able to retain membership of the I.C.F.T.U.

Former trade-union opponents Mr. Tom Mboya of Kenya and Mr. John Tettegah of Ghana have reached an important agreement. Here's the story, how it happened and what it means.

or any other international trades union body should they so wish.

As a result of this decision it is likely that the A.A.T.U.F. conference due to be held in Casablanca in the near future (the date is not yet fixed) will be the largest gathering of African

trade unionists ever to be held on the continent. The continental movement of pan-Africanism will be strengthened by this coming together of African labour forces.

Apart from the decision on affiliations, numerous other points were drawn up in the joint declaration signed by Tom Mboya and John Tettegah. The declaration emphasized that the trade union centres in different countries should be entirely autonomous and that the setting up of the A.A.T.U.F. should not encroach upon the local unions.

The unions of different countries should be able to affiliate to whatever international bodies they chose, but the A.A.T.U.F. itself, as a co-ordinating body, would not affiliate to any international union. It was also agreed that the trade unions of Africa should take part in the independence struggles in their different countries. Once independence had been gained, unions "must respond to the immediate needs of their new country in an effort to help consolidate the independence gained, as well as help translate into tangible terms the new benefits that workers look forward to after independence". This emphasis on the trade union role as a "consolidator of independence" is evidently a gesture to satisfy Ghana, where unions have been harnessed to act in the interests of the state.

Shortly after the meeting of Mboya and Tettegah, Mboya met L. L. Borah of Nigeria. They both affirmed their belief that the affiliation of their two centres to the I.C.F.T.U. was in no conflict with the establishment of the A.A.T.U.F., which they both agree to support.

The Kenya and Nigeria unions also noted the cordial relations which existed between them and confidently hoped that these would continue in the future.

INTEGRATION IN KENYA

NAIROBI: On 2nd December the Delamere "European" Boys' High School Board made the dramatic announcement that when the new school year starts in January, two African and three Asian boys will line up with 240 European pupils for the first time in the Colony's history.

The general feeling among Whites all over Kenya is one of acceptance without enthusiasm except on the part of a few. Amongst the few was the Anglican archbishop of East Africa, Dr. Leonard Beecher. Speaking at the prize-giving ceremony at Hospital Hill School, Nairobi, on 2nd December, he said that understanding could have been fostered in Kenya many years ago had a more liberal attitude been taken towards non-racial education. "We must see the abandonment once and for all of arrogances and privileges based on colour, race or language, on creed or caste, on the rights of men as opposed to women, on welfare or position."

There was no reason, said the archbishop, why steps should not be taken to ensure a common syllabus for all elementary schools and the three racial Kenya Preliminary examinations. To do this would be to help African scholars who were clearly at a disadvantage. Neither by preparation in the classroom on a different syllabus from that in other schools nor by examination of a different order would they be able to take advantage of the type of secondary education which was becoming open to them through the de-segregation of schools.

On the same day de-segregation was extended to all Kenya's hitherto "Whites-Only" schools, according to an announcement by the chairman of the board of governors. As from April, 1961, any child may apply irrespective of his origin.

SIBANYE!



Mrs. Ethel Dhlamini, who coined the Liberal Party's non-racial slogan — "SIBANYE!" (we are one!) — with grandson Zancwonga.

PARTNERSHIP?

RECENTLY Mr. John Sholto Douglas, British scientist well known for his work on research on the growing of oil-producing plants, arrived in Nyasaland. He offered his services to the Nyasaland government, believing from what he had seen in the country that it would be possible to revolutionize the position of peasant farmers by teaching them to cultivate oil-producing plants, more than a hundred varieties of which grow in Nyasaland. Some of these crops can bring in as much as £300 profit per acre per year.

Mr. Sholto Douglas was offered a job by the Nyasaland government, but had to obtain a residence permit from the Federal Immigration Department. This was refused.

He asked if he might have a visitor's permit, so as to be able to stay at a friend's farm to experiment privately with oil-producing plants.

This was also refused and he was ordered to leave Nyasaland.

No reasons were given, but there is a possible explanation: Mr. Sholto Douglas is married to an African woman.

The "partnership" Federal government does not approve of "mixed" marriages.

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DEPORTEE AND FRIEND



Mr. James Horkins, with Mr. John C. Takurah, "Contact's" representative in Bulawayo.

James Horkins ("Don't call me Mister, just say Jim"), ex-legionnaire, poet and paid-up member of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, has been deported from the country.

In an interview before he left for England, he told Mr. Takurah that the reason for his deportation was "because I tell the truth—like Barbara Castle". He said that he was not at all worried about being deported — "I am only worried about freedom—human freedom".

James Horkins lived simply—in a small hut in the Forestvale area, his main income derived from a War Disability pension (he was held prisoner of war by the Japanese and slaved for four and a half years on the "Siam Death Railway").

"In all my life," he said, "I have never experienced a colour bar before in a so-called Christian country. After all, this is African country; I am only a lodger here, but I have learned to love the Africans (Black and White). I will come back one day, when government changes hands."

He has been nicknamed "Iqawe" (Hero) by local people. His own motto is: "Ngizakufa ngifela iqiniso" (I will die for the truth).

TO ALL OVER 40 NU-CELL

ANDREAS DE PARE (SWITZERLAND)

COMPLETE REJUVENATION, PUTTING TIME BACK 25 TO 30 YEARS

YOU DON'T BELIEVE THIS—then write for proof to NU-CELL Laboratories

who will send you comments from the National Press. You can be young again—Scientific Research over the years has lengthened the span of life to 70 years—in William Shakespeare's time the average span was 35—not so very long ago. You can be young again and the time will soon come when the life span will be 150 to 200 years—you don't believe this—then read the medical journals—and the National Press, where an article was written by a famous medical man saying: "The time will soon be here when the average life span will be from 150 to 200 years." These are not our words. Today you can be young at 70 and in possession of all your faculties. Research has proved decay is caused through glands and lack of hormones. You are invited to write for latest data, Press reports and literature, which you will find of interest.

SECRETARY, NU-CELL LABORATORIES, P.O. Box 819, Dept. CON, Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia

Govt. Kills Natal Health Scheme

DURBAN: Under the United Party government Dr. Henry Gluckman, Minister of Health, and a brilliant young medical planner, Dr. Sidney L. Kark, planned and founded a comprehensive health scheme which would by now have included the whole people of South Africa, rural and urban.

But when the Nationalists came to power in 1948 they did what they could to kill the scheme.

Polela Health Centre was slowly starved of funds. The same happened to the others, such as Springfield, Durban, and Grassy Park, Cape Town.

Now, according to *The Graphic*, the Institute of Family and Community Health at Merebank, Natal, associated with the University of Natal where Dr. Kark is now a professor, is to be closed on 1st February, 1961, thus depriving some 25,000 of Natal's poorest people of a unique health service.

Health educators who have undergone years of training and have worked here for over 12 years do not know what plans the Provincial Administration has for them.

Professor Kark said that the Department of Social, Family and Preventive Medicine will be incorporated by the Department of Medicine.

The Department of Social, Preventive and Family Medicine has been financed for five years by the Rockefeller Foundation. The grant having now ended, the Provincial Administration has decided to close the Department.

Mr. R. P. Soni, principal of the Merebank School, described the closing of the Institute at Merebank as a "catastrophe" and said it was an "irreplaceable"

institution which is providing the best health service to the poorest of the poor in the community". He said that the closing will mean a deterioration in the state of health of the people who were helped by it in all their illnesses.

The Institute, he said, provided his school with a medical service which was very much needed. Over one thousand children were examined recently. The school was helped with its school feeding scheme, children were immunized and treated for all types of complaints.

NO MIXING IN THE SUBWAY

CAPE TOWN: According to the *Cape Times*, the South African Railways have continued to find new ways of enforcing apartheid. Not satisfied with separating the races on its trains and buses, on its station benches and at its bookstalls, the Railways have now taken steps to implement subterranean apartheid.

At a cost of several thousands of pounds a new subway for railway workers has been built to connect Salt River Station with the Salt River Railway workshops.

The tunnel will enable White workers and non-White workers to arrive at the workshops and leave them without racial mixing.

But having arrived through their different subways, White and non-White workers will continue to work side by side inside the workshop.

Mystery Surrounds Murder of Young Pondo Chief

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ST. JOHNS: The mystery behind the murder of young athletic Chief Stanford Nomagwathekana of the Imizizi tribe deepens. The Chief and four aides, who acted as his bodyguard were surprised late on Friday night, 2nd December, hacked and assegai-ed to death by an unknown band of "rebels".

As an observer who spent practically the latter end of the few months before the curtain went down on Pondoland, I find it difficult to say who could have killed the young chief.

Firstly, his stand against the Government was a known one. He had declared at a meeting of "the Hill", held at his great place in October, and attended by Pondos from as far afield as Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town: "My father before me had never accepted things without first consulting his people; I also will not accept anything without asking the people for guidance. I do not want the Bantu Authorities Act."

These were bold words from a Chief. At the same time there was rumour in the week preceding his death, that Stanford had indicated to the Government that he was in favour of the proposed Pondo Home Guard. This was taken as a sign that he was playing a double game.

Stanford had not yet been officially installed as Chief—that is, he had not yet undergone the full treatment of briefcase and carross-draping. Stanford was then Chief only by hereditary right, and in the "Bantu homelands" of Verwoerd, it does not necessarily follow that an heir to the tribal throne is necessarily the recognized Chief by the B.A.D.

Some four days before his death, and a day after his emotion-charged anti-Government speech at Imizizi, Stanford and I had a three-hour interview. Over a drink, the dry-eyed crack footballer, cricketer and tennis player told me: "Let's face it, Bantu Authorities are 'ingane kwane' (a myth)."

This was the Stanford I knew. Perhaps

the diligent investigation which the police are now carrying out in the area will provide the answer to the question: "Why was the Chief murdered?" But the Government, it seems, will never answer his pointed question he himself asked of them: "What has turned Pondoland into a land where brother can kill brother?"

Liberals Attend Summer School

From ROBIN FARQUHARSON

century economics. Both agreed that the Liberal Party, while remaining resolutely anti-Communist, should avoid being committed to Left or Right.

In discussion, Mr. Jacob Lebele said: "The Government sits in parliament and does nothing but tighten the rope around the Africans' neck day by day." Miss Edith Sophazi said: "The Liberal Party and the concept of Natural Law, Mill on Liberty, the Reformation and finally involves the brotherhood of all men".

Briefing sessions ranged widely: Mr. Dennis Kiley spoke on "Emergent Africa", Miss Margaret MacKenzie on "The U.N.", Mr. Martin Beyer on "The Declaration of Human Rights".

Finally Mr. Jock Isacowitz spoke on "How to achieve a liberal S.A.—the mechanics of change". He said that revolution could not succeed in South Africa, and that if it did it would leave no place for liberalism. The situation called for firm, militant mass action, based on non-violence and not to be intimidated by violence. In 1961, four factors would be important in weakening the Nationalist Government's position, in order of importance:

Had Tickets, But Mixed Group Not Allowed into Durban Theatre

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: This is the fourth South African city to have segregation of amenities challenged.

Following the "sit-ins" in Cape Town and Johannesburg, a "mixed" group of young people this month attempted to gain entrance to the Alhambra Theatre where Dame Flora Robson was performing in *The Aspern Papers*.

The group of five Whites, two Indians and three Africans—some of them Liberals, others Congress supporters and some non-political—entered the foyer of the theatre shortly before the performance began. They walked to the doorman and asked to be shown to their seats—already paid for. The doorman refused.

The manager was called and said the house was full. He was told it couldn't be completely full because the group had tickets. He replied, "As far as you are concerned it is a full house".

Members of the group then pointed out that Dame Flora was an international star who had signed the declaration by Actors' Equity rejecting artistic apartheid. They said to reserve plays

for "Europeans only" was shameful in any circumstances, but more so because of this declaration.

Several White theatregoers detached themselves from their parties to say how much they sympathized with the group.

After the play had been running for 20 minutes the group left. A White member slipped inside and left a placard bearing the quotation "Look not upon me for I am black" on a reserved seat.

A member of the group then sent a bouquet to Dame Flora's dressing room with a note signed by all participants. The note said the signatories were sorry to have missed the play "for reasons of which you may not be aware" and wished Dame Flora luck for her final performance.

A spokesman for the group said: "The reaction of the theatregoers was encouraging. People I have never seen before seemed indignant at our exclusion and in this there is hope."

FOOTNOTE: The incident was reported under a double-column headline—with two photographs—in the *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg).

N.R. "Eurafricans" Back Kaunda

THE Northern Rhodesian Eurafrican Association has been dissolved. Its 3,000 members have been advised to "join the party which commands the support of the majority".

That party would be an African Nationalist organization, admitted Mr. G. S. Cornhill, the Association's secretary-general in Ndola. The Association had been dissolved because: "We have now broken the artificial barrier that had been created by the Government between the African and ourselves." Mr. Cornhill declared: "We are now officially Africans." The Association had divided the loyalty of its members. "We cannot have divided loyalty."

Mr. Cornhill explained: "The Association was formed to get the Government to recognize Eurafricans as a separate entity. The Government has refused to do this—and we have established that Eurafricans are Africans in law. We must now throw in our lot with the Africans and work for our common goal." The decision to dissolve the organisation was a unanimous one, taken at a special meeting of Northern Rhodesian delegates.

The delegates agreed to send a cable to Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party, wishing him success in his London talks and urging him to press "uncompromisingly" for a majority in the Territory's Legislative Council. The cable told Mr. Kaunda that the Association's leaders were at his disposal.

Arid Zone Institute

THE Republic of the Niger has offered to create, with Unesco assistance, an international arid zone institute for African countries south of the Sahara, particularly in the Sahel region encompassing Mali, Niger, Mauritania and the Chad.

The proposal was made in the Programme Commission of the Unesco General Conference meeting in Paris by Dr. Francis Borrey of the Niger delegation. The institute, he suggested, could be located in the region of Agades and would be in contact with Saharan areas of North Africa as well. It would serve as a centre for research, training, teaching and exchange of information.

1. non-White resistance, which alone could not bring the government down, but which was important in bringing into play other forces—it was the spur which brought about outside action. "If the Africans remain quiescent, we shall be in the political doldrums and nothing will happen";

2. pressure from outside and the U.N., which would show itself sharply over S.W.A.;

3. the economic factor: economic integration had increased, economic pressure was increasing from outside while the internal economic situation deteriorated. A recession would sharpen the political situation here very much;

4. White resistance, which alone could never topple the government unless other forces were brought into play.

He ended: "Our precise job is not to take the huge granite-like structure of the Nat. government and push it over; but only to widen the cracks already showing in it, increasing the pressure until the whole thing falls apart."

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

"Progs—the Truth"

We have had so many long letters protesting against our criticism of the Progressives that we are unable to do more than to publish Mr. Molteno's in full on page 5 and points from other letters which we do below.

SIR, — Your contributor, "Richard Radex", writes in *Contact* of 3rd December, 1960:

"A notable omission from the bill of rights in the Molteno report is the right to form trade unions. (This right is, of course, included in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.) This omission is no accident. The clue is provided on page 14 of the Molteno Report, where it is indicated that the Progressives' aim is to give the vote only to the 'stabilized semi-skilled working class'."

There is hardly a word in this passage that does not amount to a misrepresentation. The right to form trade unions is not omitted from the Bill of Rights in the Molteno report. The right to freedom of association for all lawful purposes is specifically included therein. This, of course, includes freedom to form trade unions. As for the Declaration of Human Rights, this is a much longer and more detailed document than an ordinary bill of rights embodied in a democratic constitution. If "Radex" would take the trouble to peruse the constitutions of the states of Western Europe he would find that, save in the cases of West Germany and Italy, the right to form trade unions is not specifically guaranteed, but, where the subject is dealt with at all, the general right of freedom of association is guaranteed.

★ ★ ★

By all means, Mr. Editor, criticize the proposals in this report on their merits. They have been widely published for the very purpose of inviting discussion and criticism. But do not adopt the United Party method of putting up anonymous contributors to misrepresent them.

YVONNE M. DE VILLIERS,
Cape Town.

Progressive News (No. 2, Nov. 1959) says: "The Party stands for . . . the restoration of freedom to the trade unions and the extension to certain African employees of full trade union rights ("Contact's" emphasis). Why not all African employees? In our view "Richard Radex" was justified in commenting as he did.—Editor.

★ ★ ★

SIR,—Among the many misrepresentations of fact which embellish your attacks upon the Progressive Party and the Molteno Commission in your issue of 17th December, there are two that particularly necessitate exposure.

The first of these consists in your quotation of what you call a "key sentence" in the Commission's First Interim Report, which, you say, "shows that Progressives prefer apartheid and baasskap to full democracy" (by "full democracy", incidentally, you apparently mean adult suffrage, which, historically, has more often provided a foundation for tyranny than for democracy of any kind—but let that pass). The sentence in question reads: "On this basis (i.e. surrender of the White minority to non-White nationalism), the Nationalist Party are right in seeking White self-preservation along the lines of dominance, or apartheid, or a combination of the two". But don't you think it would have been fairer to have quoted the corresponding "key sentence" a few lines later under the heading "White Nationalism"? That reads: "On this basis (i.e. White Nationalist intransigence, manifesting itself in baasskap and apartheid) the only hope for the non-White peoples would seem to be in organizations prepared to adopt the methods and techniques such as those recently employed by the Pan-African Congress". If you had done so it would

at once have been apparent to the reader that it is as true to say that the Progressives prefer the policy of the P.A.C. (which is, of course, adult suffrage) to apartheid-baasskap as to say we prefer the latter to "full democracy" (adult suffrage). The actual truth, of course, is, as you well know, that the Progressive Party is opposed both to apartheid-baasskap and to adult suffrage, and your attempt to represent that we prefer the former to the latter is disingenuous.

★ ★ ★
WALTER STANFORD,
Acting Chairman,
Cape Western Region,
Progressive Party.

Has adult suffrage "more often provided a foundation for tyranny than for democracy of any kind"? Surely not. On this sort of unjustified generalization is built the whole Progressive bag of tricks.—Editor.

Totalitarianism

SIR,—I read that "Contact" is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism and communism".

Obviously you have forgotten the worst form of totalitarianism. I mean apartheid with its long and bad record: Group Areas Act, Bantu Education, Immorality Act, Sharpeville, Cato Manor, police brutality, Pass laws, starvation wages, indoctrination, etc.

Yes, I mean Afrikaner nationalism, a totalitarianism in our midst.

L. BERKENBOSCH,
Maseru.

(Readers will see that we have amended our statement as suggested by our correspondent.—Editor.)

We shall march

SIR,—The withdrawal of Alan Paton's passport shows completely "the lunacy at its highest intensity" of the South African government. How long is this kind of government going to be allowed to exploit the indigenous Africans and Whites who stand for peace and justice.

The world has got the right to intervene in South Africa's affairs by now. It has gone beyond what people can tolerate. I must warn the Nationalist regime that independent African states

To all readers of "Contact"

- 1961 will be an interesting year for all of us, so let's share opinions, exchange views and think up new ideas here.
- Let's have facts as well! Tell us things our readers should know—facts that other newspapers may hush up.
- Always send your correct name and address with your letter.
- Send a photograph too if you like.
- Keep your letters short—but keep on writing!

shall not tolerate this Verwoerd type of government. As soon as we in Central Africa are free, we shall march into South Africa, even by force if necessary, to liberate our brothers and sisters who are made to suffer in the land of their birth. They know no other country in the world they can claim, apart from South Africa. But you Verwoerd and your Nationalist kinsmen you have Holland to claim. Pack up and go and live in your canal boat country; leave Africans and sensible Whites to live in harmony.

For a long time sons and daughters of South Africa have been dilly-dallying with you Nationalists: hands off South Africa, you fascists, dictators in disguise.

Release Mangaliso Sobukwe immediately and other African freedom fighters in South Africa.

Down with Verwoerd and his henchmen!

NAMAKANDO VICTOR ZAZA,
Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia.

I am a kaffir

SIR,— "Anti-Apartheid" (*Contact*, 19th November) has asked the meaning of the words "kaffir" and "native". The writer was correct in assuming that the word "native" means a person born in that place. The word "kaffir" means a non-believer in the Moslem faith. But as it is usually used in scorn of Africans it should be abolished.

Africans Must Unite

SIR,—The problem in South Africa is essentially the struggle between a ruling minority of White people and an underprivileged and economically exploited majority of Black people.

Cemented unity of the Black people as a group is the first and foremost requirement. This is urgent and its attainment would be a stepping-stone to national unity.

On the Day of the Covenant (formerly called Dingaan's Day) African leaders gathered in Johannesburg to discuss this urgent requirement. The outcome of their deliberations are expected to be historic and significant and are awaited by other African leaders outside South Africa.

There are three kinds of unity:—

1. Unity for the bad, which can be described as destructive unity.
2. Unity for nothing, this is non-directional unity.
3. Unity for the good; this is lasting unity having as its foundation interests of the oppressed and dispossessed.

Lasting unity can only be enhanced by love of a special kind.

It is a known fact that any mother will feed her own children first before she can offer food to the neighbour's children. Also if James is to spend a week-end with John, John's people must be agreed on the matter otherwise James will spend a week-end of friction.

Maximum unity among the African leaders is the cry of the day. Leaders then must personally love each other and as a whole have deep love for the majority oppressed.

This attitude can by no means be construed to be racialism but instead it is a stepping-stone to national unity.

It is my contention that the initiative should lie with the leaders of the oppressed. It is the leaders of the oppressed who should be completely agreed as to whether to harness true democrats who because of the colour of their skin are grouped with the oppressors. It is in this light that the African leaders' conference should be viewed.

The voting of this country into a republic brings with it a new era in the struggles of the oppressed. African leaders must now overlook their ideological differences and demand in one voice a democratic government now.

F. M. MBELU,
Cape Town.

I deeply sympathize with the writer and all other Africans. Theirs is not an easy life, theirs is a life of hardship, bitterness and tragedy. But let us make an effort to overcome this. In my opinion it is not a crime to call a White an African. I am White, I am also proud to call myself an African. I am White, I am an African, I am a South African, I am a native of Africa and I am a kaffir. Of these I am truly proud. And, above all, I am proud to be able to call myself an African patriot along with all other African patriots whether they are White, Black, Yellow or Brown.

PATRICK WEECH
George.

End Federation—or else!

SIR,—We find no reason why British people discuss the affairs of our country behind our backs. We are protected people, according to an agreement with Queen Victoria of England made of our own free will, not forced on to us.

Why then is the British government trying to betray the promise made by Queen Victoria and our forefathers and follow the lost man Roy Welensky?

Surely we will not allow this man to swallow us up. To hell with his nascent federation—or else we die in thousands.

I appeal to the British government through this paper to quit the protectorate if they are tired of protecting us.

Africa for Africans!

C. NKARA MSISKA,
Karonga, Nyasaland.

"Catholic Danger?"

SIR,—The letter headed "Catholic Danger?" (*Contact*, 3rd December) alleges that the Catholic Church is a grave threat to liberal values.

The opposite is the truth. Unless her voice is heeded, liberal values become tyrannical ones. When belief in God, in a Moral Law and in man's special dignity as a son of God is abandoned the logical consequence is Nazism and Communism.

When liberal values are divorced from obedience to the Moral Law it is a short step from birth-control clinics to Hitler's human stud-farms, from psychiatry to brain-washing from legitimate medical experiment to the inhuman vivisections of Belsen.

The Church moreover has no power other than to appeal to the free consciences of men.

Regarding psychoanalysis, your correspondents are surely confusing the Church with the Soviet Union. It is the latter which bans psychoanalysis. The Church has merely warned against certain dangers in it.

ANDREW MURRAY
Rondebosch, Cap.

★ ★ ★

SIR,—The diatribe delivered against the Catholic Church by G. G. Michaelides and three others (*Contact*, 3rd December) proves once again, proof is needed, what an ugly thing group hatred is.

Your correspondents do not seek to deny the Church's services to Africa, but resort rather to Hitler's method of flinging mud in the hope that some, at least, will stick. The Church's social activities and its non-racialism are simply dismissed as deriving from "motives of prudence".

Portugal and its colonies are among the worst governed areas on earth and the Church realises this. Attacks on the régime's denial of human dignity recently caused President Salazar to threaten, in a radio broadcast, to imprison the Cardinal of Lisbon.

BRIAN F. BISHOP
Sea Point, Cap.

contact

FREEDOM CALENDAR

1961

MESSAGE FROM ALAN PATON, WINNER OF 1960 FREEDOM AWARD

I am confident this year will see political developments favourable to our just cause.



Free Countries
 Countries approaching freedom
 Dominated countries

Some freedom leaders
NYERERE



KAUNDA



PATON



SOBUKWE



JANUARY

SUN	1	8	15	22	29
MON	2	9	16	23	30
TUES	3	10	17	24	31
WED	4	11	18	25	
THUR	5	12	19	26	
FRI	6	13	20	27	
SAT	7	14	21	28	

FEBRUARY

SUN	5	12	19	26
MON	6	13	20	27
TUES	7	14	21	28
WED	1	8	15	22
THUR	2	9	16	23
FRI	3	10	17	24
SAT	4	11	18	25

MARCH

SUN	5	12	19	26
MON	6	13	20	27
TUES	7	14	21	28
WED	1	8	15	22
THUR	2	9	16	23
FRI	3	10	17	24
SAT	4	11	18	25

APRIL

SUN	2	9	16	23	30
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TUES	4	11	18	25	
WED	5	12	19	26	
THUR	6	13	20	27	
FRI	7	14	21	28	
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MAY

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MON	1	8	15	22	29
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JUNE

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JULY

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TUES	4	11	18	25	
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THUR	6	13	20	27	
FRI	7	14	21	28	
SAT	1	8	15	22	29

AUGUST

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MON	7	14	21	28	
TUES	1	8	15	22	29
WED	2	9	16	23	30
THUR	3	10	17	24	31
FRI	4	11	18	25	
SAT	5	12	19	26	

SEPTEMBER

SUN	3	10	17	24	
MON	4	11	18	25	
TUES	5	12	19	26	
WED	6	13	20	27	
THUR	7	14	21	28	
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SAT	2	9	16	23	30

OCTOBER

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WED	4	11	18	25	
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NOVEMBER

SUN	5	12	19	26	
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TUES	7	14	21	28	
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SAT	4	11	18	25	

DECEMBER

SUN	3	10	17	24	31
MON	4	11	18	25	
TUES	5	12	19	26	
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Collection Number: AD2533

Collection Name: South African Institute of Race Relations, Collection of publications, 1932-1979

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

Location: Johannesburg

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