

# contact

Vol. 4 No. 17

5c (6d)

7th SEPTEMBER 1961

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

**MOKHEHLE EXPLAINS**

**BREAK WITH**

**MANDELA**

— see page 3

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**

**“BRITAIN MUST  
CEDE  
SOVEREIGNTY  
NOW”**



**Cowen on Swaziland, Basutoland** — page 8

**P**ROFESSOR DENIS V. COWEN, the constitutional expert on whose advice was based the present Basutoland constitution, and who has been briefed by the Swaziland Progressive Party and the Eurafican Welfare Association of Swaziland to represent them in the current constitutional discussions in Swaziland, expresses, in an interview exclusive to “Contact”, his views on these two terri-

tories whose futures must profoundly influence the future of the whole of South Africa.

Professor Cowen believes that Britain must yield full sovereignty to the peoples of the High Commission Territories in the near future, while remaining, for the present, a protecting power. Read on page 8 some of his reasons for this view.

# contact

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.

## Open Letter to an English-speaking White S. African

THE government is arming to the teeth, and at the same time trying to totally disarm non-White South Africa. Peace-time training is being increased, the purchase of planes and armoured cars stepped up, and the manufacture of arms and ammunition proceeds on a scale previously unknown.

The enemy against whom this is being done is not chiefly the Red Army in Berlin; on 26th April the Minister of Defence, Mr. J. J. Fouché, said: "Internal security remains the first and foremost task of the Defence Force." In other words you are being armed against the day when the unbelievable patience of your non-White fellow-citizens is ended, when they have to be kept under by naked force.

If a clash were to come, you, the typical English-speaking South African, would become once more a very important person. Your technical skills, your money, your experience of modern warfare, would be essential to the Nationalists' plans. Above all, there could be no White laager if 40% of the Whites had no desire to fight. That is why for the first time the rabidly anti-English Afrikaner Nationalist Party is talking of getting an English South African into the cabinet.

You are thus faced with a decision: to go along with White supremacy, even to the edge of the valley of death, or to pull out and make White supremacy unworkable and undefendable.

Looked at calmly there is no doubt that you ought to refuse to travel any further along the White supremacy road. You are, after all, one of the three hundred million people in the world whose mother-tongue is English. As part of the English-speaking world you are heir to a great tradition. At its best that tradition is a tradition of liberty, of fair-play, and of racelessness. White supremacy is the opposite of all these things.

But until now you have travelled along this road of White supremacy, for it is by now obvious to all that the United Party, which you support, is as much a party of White supremacy as is the Nationalist Party. The only difference is that the United Party tries to conceal its White supremacy policy under vague words while, the other day, Dr. Verwoerd frankly announced his policy as being one of "Blanke heerskappy" (White supremacy).

But even if you believe that the United Party's policy is different from that of the Nationalists, the point here is that on matters of "defence", and "fighting for White South Africa", the two parties now stand absolutely together. So, judged on past form, you are at present committed to going along with Minister Fouché and his defence plans, even if to do so is to betray your best traditions.

Now I have enough faith in you, and in your traditions, to believe that in the final show-down you will abandon apartheid. Compromise is the heart of the English way of doing things, as you can see from recent history in England, Asia, and Africa. The settlers have accepted Kenyatta in Kenya. And when our government clashed with the Pondo people, most of English-speaking Pondo-

(Continued at foot of next column)

# Another Congo in the South Cameroons?

By HARRY JAGUAR

MR. JOHN FONCHA, Premier of the South Cameroons, said the other day that he had definite information that terrorists from the Cameroun republic planned to take over control of the country when the British left on 1st October. So far the British government has refused to grant his request that British troops should stay.

A few days after the Prime Minister spoke, British and Cameroun republic troops captured a terrorist camp at Mt. Kupe, 6,791 ft., high in the wild mountains on the Southern Cameroons eastern border. Less than a week later terrorists attacked a Cameroons Development Corporation camp at Abodo, also on the frontier, and killed twelve labourers.

## British Troops to Withdraw

These reports come on top of the news that British residents in the Cameroons are already sending their wives and children back home, and are arming themselves against terrorist attacks when the British troops withdraw their protection on October 1st. Mr. John Belsham, head of the C.D.C., has said he is sending home all his employees' families. Almost every other firm in the South Cameroons is doing the same.

Disorganized terrorism has been the bane of the Cameroun republic for over five years now, since the Union des Populations du Cameroun (U.P.C.) first declared war on the French administration on 12th July, 1956. The U.P.C., which first fought under the banner of African nationalism against the French, has continued to wage a civil war against the popularly elected government of Ahmadou Ahidjo.

Though the support of the terrorists now seems to be dwindling, the Ahidjo government has not been able to eradicate the guerrillas altogether. When Ahidjo came to power he offered an amnesty to all terrorists willing to surrender and, as a result, certain U.P.C. leaders such as Mayi Matip abandoned terrorism and decided to fight the government as a parliamentary opposition.

## French Troops

Ahidjo's amnesty was a fair and generous one, but he created much bad feeling by employing French troops to continue his fight against the remaining rebels.

The rebels first made their external headquarters in Cairo and later in Guinea. They supported the guerillas in the Cameroun republic with funds, arms and ammunition.

Since terrorism first started in the Cameroun republic there have been political developments of major importance:

- The Cameroun republic has become independent

(Continued from previous column) land blamed the crass stupidity of the apartheid policy for the troubles, and sympathized with the Pondo people.

Unfortunately I do not see a change of heart coming in time to prevent English South Africans from being integrated as allies, or at least as auxiliaries, of the apartheid army. Our towns resound already with bugles as schoolboys in nazi-type uniforms learn to drill and to bear arms.

And so until the day comes when you are true to the pattern upon which you yourself were formed, I can only voice this aspiration: that in the fight to maintain White supremacy, the most unjust fight in the modern world, you will be one of Dr. Verwoerd's most unreliable allies.



The South Cameroons is to become part of the Cameroun Republic on 1st October. The North Cameroons has become part of Nigeria.

- The people of the South Cameroons decided by a plebiscite of 11th February this year to unite with the republic

- a United Nations resolution has fixed the date for union on 1st October.

The British government has announced its willingness to hand over the trusteeship and has announced that all British troops will be withdrawn by then.

## Terrorists in Forests

The terrorists operate from the densely wooded mountains running almost the whole length of the border. So far the presence of British troops has restrained rebel activities on the South Cameroons side of the border. The question now is, what happens when the British withdraw?

The South Cameroons government has no defence force of its own and is reluctant to invite the republic to send French-speaking troops over, even if they could be spared.

The overwhelming plebiscite in favour of union with the Cameroun republic would seem to demonstrate a real desire for union obliterating all boundaries. But, in fact, it is just as much motivated by a fear of being swallowed up in Nigeria, as by a positive desire for union with the republic.

There have been at least four major conferences on how to federate the two territories but no clear ideas have emerged on how the South Cameroons will be defended. In fact, inter-governmental talks have gradually shown a number of other difficulties which will face the Federation.

Take some of the practical difficulties:

How is the French legal system to be integrated with the British? Which educational system will be put into effect? What about the teaching of languages? How will the South Cameroons achieve a smooth change from £ s. d. to French francs? How is the Cameroons Development Corporation to be financed when Britain goes?

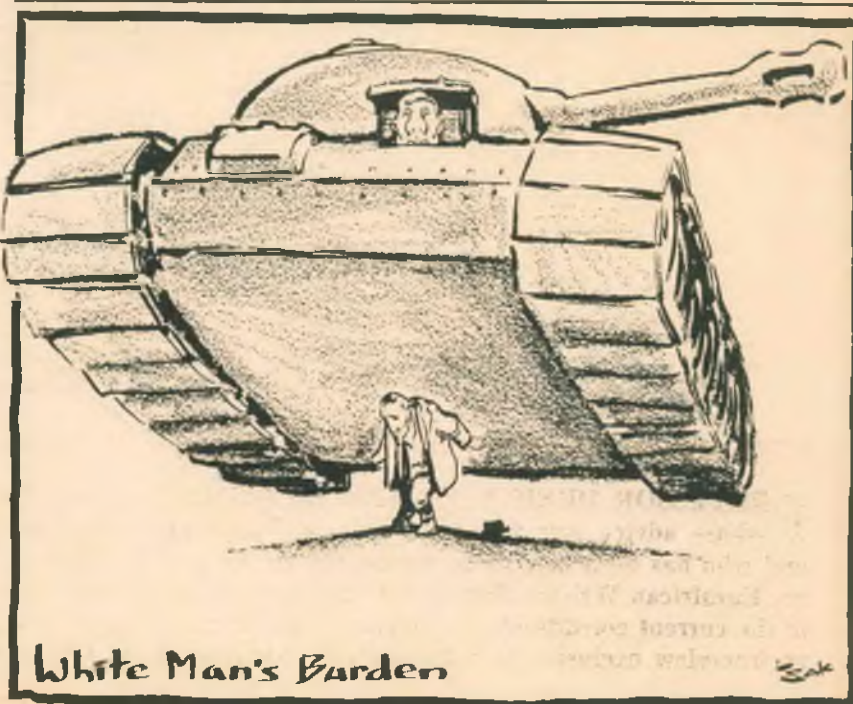
Many of these problems could be easily resolved if there were not underlying political realities which keep the leaders of the two territories apart. Foncha naturally fears that his country will be swallowed up in the larger republic. Ahidjo fears that the South Cameroons may ally themselves with the southerners in the Cameroun republic—with the Bamileke people, who support his political opponents, the U.P.C., both in violent and non-violent action.

Moreover there are vast differences in the development of the two territories. The Cameroun republic has made itself a viable economic unit with the £33 million French assistance each year. It has a good administration and draws much technical assistance from France. The South Cameroons, on the other hand, is much poorer. Bananas make up 60% of its exports—a crop which depends almost entirely on Commonwealth preference.

## Congo Problems

Very few of the Cameroonians themselves are able to fill the administrative and technical posts in their country. Of the 160 senior officers in the territory's administration only 30 are Cameroonian. Thus the Cameroons seem beset with almost every problem that faced the Congo last year. The main difference is that the Cameroons is a small country which is nevertheless slightly more politically mature. Mr. Foncha is faced with a strong opposition in the shape of Dr. E. M. L. Endeley's Cameroun People's National Convention, but it is an opposition that is prepared to work by constitutional means.

Maybe the difficult months ahead will unite the Cameroun people and encourage them to make a go of the new Federation. If Britain is prepared to give generous and disinterested assistance the country may then survive. But the first problem will be the one of defence. The last word may well be with the rebels lying in the forests along the frontier and planning to make a last desperate effort.



**MOKHEHLE DECLARES**

# “Communists Seek to Cripple African Nationalism”

*Hates Tricks, Infiltration*

From “Contact” Correspondent

MASERU: Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, has broken with the banned African National Congress of South Africa and with Mr. Nelson Mandela, of the National Action Council. He has accused the banned A.N.C., the National Action Council and communists of trying to dictate to and conquer the Basutoland Congress Party.

The pro-communist weekly, *New Age*, first reported the break in a dispatch from Maseru in which it described Mr. Mokhehle's announcement as a “vicious and crude attack” on the banned A.N.C. and on Mr. Mandela.

The dispatch referred to a speech made by Mr. Mokhehle to the B.C.P.'s Youth Conference early in August. (See *Contact* 17th August.)

In the following issue of *New Age* (24th August), Mr. Mandela replied to Mr. Mokhehle, “denounced” his attack and accused him of breaking faith with the banned A.N.C. On the same day the *Rand Daily Mail* carried an account of an interview with Mr. Mokhehle who disclosed that:

● The Communist Party of South Africa and the banned A.N.C. were trying to establish themselves in Basutoland apparently in an attempt to operate from there.

● The South African former A.N.C. was organizing cells in Basutoland and recruiting members from the Basutoland Congress Party “with the aim of taking it over”.

In an interview with *Contact*, Mr. Mokhehle explained why former members of the banned A.N.C. and *New Age* (which reflects the views of the Congress Alliance) had attacked him and were now bitter with him.

He had said in his Youth Conference

speech that these people had engineered the infiltration of the B.C.P. and were responsible for the Communist Party of Basutoland whose aim was the destruction of African nationalist organizations in the territory. (The Communist Party of Basutoland has its headquarters in Mafeteng and is led by Mr. John Motloheloa who is at present in Moscow.)

**Supports Pan-Africanism**

There has been doubt up to now, he said, as to which African nationalist organization in South Africa the B.C.P. would support, but in his speech to the Youth Conference it became clear that Mr. Mokhehle stands four square behind the policies of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress whose leader, Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, is at present in prison as a result of the P.A.C.'s 1960 campaign.

**Interference**

One of the charges Mr. Mokhehle makes against the former A.N.C. leadership is interference.

Mr. Mokhehle disclosed that four former leaders of the banned A.N.C., Dr. Arthur Letele, and Messrs. Moses Kotane, Joe Matthews and Walter Sisulu, had had a meeting with him and the executive of the Basutoland Congress Party at which they had asked:

● that the B.C.P. assist them in the May anti-republic demonstrations, by sending letters to the press in support of the organizers of the cam-



Mr. Mokhehle in the Basutoland Congress Party office.

paid (an unsigned draft of a letter prepared by Mr. Matthews was handed to Mr. Mokhehle)

- that the B.C.P. and former members of the banned A.N.C. jointly start a printing press in Basutoland on the understanding that it be not used for printing Pan-Africanist literature
- that the B.C.P. organize demonstrations and stay-at-homes towards the end of May
- that the B.C.P. ignore constitutional developments in Basutoland and demand immediate independence (and not merely responsible government).

**No Pact**

Mr. Mokhehle felt that these requests constituted interference and refused them all.

He denied that he had formed a pact with the outlawed A.N.C., as alleged by Mr. Nelson Mandela. He

declared, “I hate these so-called freedom fighters who are mostly communist-inspired and are interested in crippling nationalist movements by their tricks and infiltration.”

Most top leaders of the B.C.P. are solidly behind Mr. Mokhehle, and even those who have formed splinter groups are tending to close ranks with him as a result of the stand he is taking against communist infiltration in his party.

An influential leader, Mr. Jack Mosiane, the trade unionist who had been reported by *New Age* (17th August) to have “announced plans to hold a series of meetings to deliver a counter-attack” on Mr. Mokhehle, has now promised Mr. Mokhehle his support. At a large meeting in Maseru he has denied that he has any connection with the communists.

## LIBERAL CANDIDATES

The Liberal Party has announced two of its candidates in the 18th October general election.

**Transvaal: Hillbrow**

From “Contact” Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A woman known to hundreds of Transvaal detainees for her ceaseless work on their behalf during last year's State of Emergency.



MRS. WALKER

will be the Liberal Party candidate in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, in the general election.

The woman is Mrs. Mary Walker, who served as secretary of the Defence and Aid Fund in Johannesburg throughout the Emergency. She is a popular and leading figure in the Liberal Party's women's division, and is also a Transvaal executive member of the Black Sash.

Until six years ago, Mrs. Walker was

an everyday housewife. Then came the Senate Act crisis, involving the voting rights of the Coloured people. Stirred to action, she joined the Black Sash, and since then has done sterling work behind the scenes arranging publicity for Sash campaigns.

She joined the Liberal Party in 1956.

Opposing her in the election will be the sitting United Party member, Dr. L. Steenkamp.

**“Party of the Future”**

“I am standing for the party of the future—and I will therefore concentrate on the young, forward-looking people in Hillbrow.”

In accordance with Liberal policy, Mrs. Walker's election campaign will be fought on a non-racial basis—the first time that this will be done in any Transvaal election.

Mrs. Walker is 33, is married and has two children, aged 14 and 12.

**Cape: Constantia**  
By the Editor

ONE of the most remarkable of all young South Africans is the Liberal Party's choice in the Constantia (Cape) constituency. He is Mr. Randolph Vigne, a journalist and publisher by profession, and a member of a family that came to the eastern Cape over a hundred years ago.

What is so remarkable about Randolph Vigne? It is the way in which he has, more than anyone else I know, maintained links and friendships over the whole wide spectrum of South



Mr. Vigne (left) with an interpreter addressing a meeting.

African society. His many friends come from all the layers, poor and rich, White and Black, radical and conservative, town and country.

It is as if Randolph Vigne were trying by a superhuman effort of his own being to hold together the society that so many divisive influences are eagerly working to disintegrate.

And this is, of course, precisely what he is trying to do, and what he, and thousands like him believe they will succeed in doing.

“How do you justify participating in these racially-segregated elections?” I asked him. “I am utterly opposed to them,” he replied, “but I believe it is vital for the party's voice to be heard at this time, and for as many as possible to hear the party's policies.”

**Register Faith**

“If I can get thousands of Whites to register their faith in one-man-one-vote, and in favour of a new non-racial South Africa, I think this can work towards achieving a peaceful change-over to the

non-racial democracy which is my party's goal.”

An enthusiastic party worker for the past six years, Mr. Vigne was elected Cape Provincial vice-chairman at the first meeting held after last year's Emergency. This was specifically for his services to the party during Cape Town's days of crisis in March-April, 1960. Since then he has taken on the post of Provincial Secretary, and has worked hard for the party, from the Western Cape to the Transkei.

Mr. Vigne was educated in South Africa and England. He left St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, in 1945 for Oxford, where he studied for three years, before making his home in Cape Town. He is interested in adult education, especially for Africa, and in community development in general.

His wife, who is also a member of the Liberal Party, will be helping him in the election. They have two children.

His opponent is Mr. S. F. Waterson, the United Party sitting member for the constituency.



## N.D.P.'s AFRICAN SOCIALISM

IN an interview with the Dakar (Senegal) weekly newspaper, *Afrique Nouvelle* (28th June), Mr. Leopold Takawira, Secretary for External Relations of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, outlined the political situation in the territory and stated his party's policy both domestic and foreign.

Mr. Takawira said, "The first objective of the N.D.P. is to obtain universal adult suffrage. But our party is also a socialist party. Our people have always been socialists. Our party wants to establish in Southern Rhodesia a real democracy; this does not mean that we want to copy what the West means by the term 'democracy'. Democracy in Africa should adapt itself to our way of thought, and take account of our traditions."

Mr. Takawira went on to say that before the arrival of Whites in Africa, the system of private property did not exist. Africa was the land of socialism. He added that it was regrettable that the Russians and the communists had taken over the word "socialism" and given it a special meaning.

Speaking of the foreign policy of the N.D.P., Mr. Takawira said that the Party believed in the liberty and unity of all states of Africa, according to the principles laid out by Dr. Nkrumah and George Padmore. For this reason, the N.D.P. was a member of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa and looked forward to the time when all countries which were members of that organization would be joined in a federation.

In conclusion he declared: "The N.D.P. believes in total and complete neutrality."

## Swapo Leaders Deported

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Members of the South West African People's Organization (Swapo), both in South Africa and in South West, continue to suffer political persecution.

Members have been deported from Upington and Walvis Bay to Ovamboland, and in Ovamboland itself the regional chairman of Swapo has been fined £70.

Four Swapo men in Upington, Cape Province, Messrs. T. J. Kambonde, E. Ngila, A. Kapena and J. H. Mongui, had Swapo stationery and savings book confiscated by the police who told them that the goods would be returned in Ovamboland where the men are being deported.

They will be tried by the chief from whose area they came originally.

### Walvis Bay

Two residents of Walvis Bay, Messrs. Christof Nakanyala and Petrus Nanyemba, both Swapo office bearers, have been fined R40 each and deported to Ovamboland where they are being held in detention by chief Martin Ashikoto, a government supporter.

Messrs. Nakanyala and Nanyemba are old residents of Walvis Bay, married with children.

Mr. Adolph Elijah, of Eko, near Onguediva mission in Ovamboland, has been fined R140 for holding an illegal meeting.

Mr. Elijah is the Ovamboland regional chairman of Swapo, and is still in detention at the kraal of chief Ashikoto.

Mr. Elijah, who is about 45 years old, is the best carpenter and builder in Ovamboland. Most of the best mission

## "SOAPY" WILLIAMS IN SALISBURY

From "Contact" Correspondent  
SALISBURY: Speaking in Salisbury during a visit here while on his second tour of Africa, the American Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams, said that people the world over want governments of their own choosing.

They want a better life for themselves and their children and want to enjoy the full recognition of their dignity as human beings.

Commenting on his visits to newly independent African countries, Mr. Williams said he was impressed by the sincerity and conviction of African nationalist leaders who had told him their aspirations.

First among these was the desire to be free from any form of outside domination, to be independent in the fullest sense.

Speaking of Southern Africa, Mr. Williams said that where preparations for inevitable change have not yet begun, the hour is dangerously late.



Mr. G. Mennen Williams, United States Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, talking to Mr. Joshua Nkomo, President of the National Democratic Party, during Mr. Williams's recent visit to Salisbury.

## SWAZILAND TELLS BRITAIN

### "We are Allies for Democracy"

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: An appeal to Britain to co-operate with the Swaziland Progressive Party in establishing democracy in the territory was made by party leaders when they met Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P., the U.K. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

During Mr. Braine's recent visit to Swaziland, he met leading members of the party, including the president, Mr. J. J. Nquku; the secretary, Dr. A. P.

Zwane; and Mr. MacDonald Maseko, Mrs. R. D. Twala and Mr. G. M. Mabuza.

They presented a memorandum to him dealing with the Swaziland situation and giving their views on the Constitutional Reforms committee which is sitting at present.

#### "Cannot Compromise"

In a welcoming address, Dr. Zwane assured Mr. Braine that the S.P.P. would always assist in the maintenance of good order and government.

"We cannot, however, compromise on principles," he said. "Our stand here is for the establishment of democracy. In this respect we expect Britain to co-operate with us and not to thwart our ambitions relentlessly."

"We are aware that democracy as a way of life is being challenged by several forms of totalitarianism. In this great battle of ideologies, it is our firm hope that you will regard the Swaziland Progressive Party not as an enemy but as an ally."

Dr. Zwane said that, primarily, the S.P.P. stood for the establishment of a non-racial democracy in Swaziland. To bring this about, the party insisted on universal adult suffrage.

"This does not necessarily mean that the Whites will be swamped in the forthcoming Legislative Council, as the reserved seat technique could be employed."

#### Whites Won't be Swamped

At the same time, the S.P.P. was opposed to communal representation based on racial lines — because this was "nothing but apartheid in disguise".

Dr. Zwane added: "Wherever possible,

one should avoid stereotyping and perpetuating existing racial divisions and thinking. This is perhaps the main reason for rejecting the principle of communal or separate representation whereby the community is divided into separate electorates registered on separate rolls."

He asked Mr. Braine to use his influence "to enable the people of Swaziland to enjoy a non-racial constitution", similar to that extended to Kenya, Basutoland and Tanganyika.

## Non-racial Club Formed

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: Africans, Coloureds and Whites have come together in Swaziland to form the territory's first non-racial social and sports club. Its aim: to foster better race relations.

Called the uNgwane (Swazilander) Club, the inaugural meeting was recently held at an hotel in Mbabane.

The meeting elected Mr. MacDonald Maseko, well-known Swazi leader, as chairman, with Mr. Lucas Abner, an assistant storekeeper, as vice-chairman. The committee includes members of all races.

With membership open to all, the club's first activity will be the organizing of a talent contest. This will be held in all the main centres of the territory.

Also planned are sporting events, including boxing tournaments, and art functions.

## S.A. NYASAS TO CELEBRATE

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Nyasas living in South Africa joyfully greeted the news of Dr. Hastings Banda's recent mammoth election victory in Nyasaland.

Mr. Nkaramba C. Kaunda, chairman of the Malawi Congress Party in South Africa, sent a cable to the Great Kamuzu congratulating him "on our victory".

The cable added: "Secession from Federation."

Mr. Kaunda also asked Malawi branches throughout South Africa to hold celebration gatherings in private homes.

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance

P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Krui / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829

Leads Struggle  
Swapo continues to lead the struggle of the South West African peoples for freedom. After Professor Enrique Fabregat, chairman of the United Nations Committee on South West Africa, issued his call for the termination of the mandate, Mr. Kerina, in a statement on behalf of Swapo, said: "Swapo calls upon the Security Council or the General Assembly this year to intervene in the situation in our country and to terminate the mandate forthwith."

Mr. Kerina further called for the establishment of a United Nations Police Force in the event of the revocation of the mandate, for independence, and for the holding of free elections.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## Modern farming methods needed

**S**IR.—The dispatch from your correspondent in Moletsi, which you published under the heading "A Country Campaign Against Cattle Culling", is, as you say, "a valuable first-hand account", but I would add "of how people in the Reserves are living in a dream world".

We are critical of the B.A.D. Department because it is trying to perpetuate an ancient and played-out system of rule by chiefs (now Government controlled), because it is trying to drive people back to tribalism in this year of grace 1961. But your correspondent J.M. wants to go further back still.

He says: "The men of Moletsi . . . still hope to bring about the total abolition of the trust cancel system, and to be free to own land and cattle as before, perhaps even to re-live the plentiful days when a year's harvest outlived two summers, when a man could not count his livestock."

Earlier in his dispatch he says: "Plots have been, and still are, being reduced to negligible size as the sons and daughters of the nation bud from the family tree to become land owners. Today the possession in land of a family is barely 12 yards in breadth and hardly 150 yards in length." One sympathizes with J.M.'s desire for more land and would support the wish of the Bapedi to have access to land outside the Reserves which is now monopolized by Whites. But this is not the whole story.

Nowhere in J.M.'s account do we learn why the authorities are trying to cull the cattle. Nowhere does he tell us what the trust cancel system aims at doing. He objects to the outlawing of donkeys and goats, but does not tell us why they have been outlawed.

It may be that the B.A.D. Department is carrying out its policy with a heavy hand. It may be that African tribalists feel that it is not their government. Nevertheless the trust cancel system is based on a sound idea: that people should only be allowed to occupy land on condition that they use it properly; that the number of cattle on any piece of land should not be allowed to exceed a certain limit; that donkeys and goats are destructive and a menace to vegetation where grazing is limited. All over the world progressive governments are insisting that the bad farmer must be removed from the land and

prevented from ruining it. Of course this should apply to all, both Whites and Blacks.

It is possible that a year's harvest in Moletsi could again outlive two summers, but this would require modern methods of agriculture, in which apparently J.M. is not the least bit interested. He would like to do it by shifting cultivation, as in the good old days. But there is no room left today for tribal methods.

I am sorry for the tribalists, but I do not share their hankering after the past. Our complaint against the government is that it seeks to perpetuate tribalism under conditions which have long ago made tribalism impossible. The "problem of the Reserves" can only be solved by abolishing the Reserves, and with them the whole antiquated system of chiefs, cattle-cult, communal grazing, etc.—in fact, those things which J.M. wishes to retain.

**EDWARD ROUX,**  
Botany Department, University of  
the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

## To real freedom

**S**IR.—We have complained of laws that oppress Africans only. We have complained of the imprisonment of our leaders; of their being arrested while carrying out their duties to freedom. These and other things have been heavy on our necks.

Verwoerd's "Western civilization" is to lead Africans into freedom of dom passes and Bantustans. I appeal to the sons and daughters of the soil, can the secretary bird lead the snake to real freedom?



**GRIMAS QINISILE,**  
Cape Town.

## Problems to deal with

**S**IR.—While everybody is busy criticizing the policies of the various White political parties it would be most helpful if some of the educated Africans would tell us how they would deal with the problems of influx control.

## THE GOD THAT KILLS

**S**IR.—When reading the newspapers reporting the court proceedings of the trial of Adolph Eichmann, you find that some of the persecutions he inflicted are similar to those suffered by Africans these days.

We Africans have good reason to sympathize with the Jewish people of whom six million were killed only because they were of a different race from those who killed them.

There is a murder committed every hour of the day in one or other African's home in South Africa by a certain powerful man. He is more than Eichmann, he is almost a god.

There is an African lying sick and cannot afford the doctor's fees. (In fact for an African to go to the doctor is a luxury.) To secure the African's early death he (the god) sees to it that:

- the wages of an African are very low
- there are so many regulations that he cannot breathe without committing an offence
- he is in need and therefore cannot resist the inclination to steal and so land in jail.

The god has an archangel called Apartheid. The angel is the driving force who sees that the name of the god is praised, even by force, all over the country. People are convinced and converted to the service of the god. The converts have to see that people of different races were horn to serve and suffer, their homes broken.

Banish anyone who complains; whoever asks for bread shall get a bullet. Thou shalt not protest if your wife is taken away from you and endorsed out of town.

Greatest, to them, is this god who brings malnutrition in every African home. This god is directly or indirectly responsible for any early death of an African in this country.

His mighty name is White supremacy.

**J. S. NCAPAZELI,** Nyanga, Cape.

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- As there is an election on, remember that we have to publish your full name and address with political letters
- But don't let this stop you from writing
- Send a photo of yourself too if you like.

prevention of over-stocking of rural areas and soil erosion in the reserves.

If Mr. Lutuli or other leaders can or will offer some practical solution it will go a long way towards demonstrating that the Africans have not only a desire to improve the conditions of their people but the ability to do so. I am sure that you could find space for a considered reply to this suggestion.

**E. H. BYSSHE,**  
P.O. Kwelela, C.P.

## Only baas Nel to lose

**S**IR.—I was surprised to read in the imperialist press that the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development had been lecturing a stooge body, a so-called Bantu Authority, in the Transvaal recently and warning them that the Russians, Indians and Chinese want to take away our land.

He went further to tell them that Black and White should stand together to defend the fatherland. The stooges did not reply.

If Russians or Indians happen to take over the country, we have nothing but baas Nel to lose: to us that makes no difference.

What a shame when a man who has shed the innocent blood of men and women at Langa, Pondoland and Sharpeville and when those who escaped his bullets are languishing in jail for periods of up to three years because they dared to protest against injustices done to them, has now to come forward leaving our brothers in prison to tell us that we should stand with him to defend his position of dominance over us.

Let it be clear to him that there can be no co-operation between an oppressor and the oppressed, between a slave and a master.

**C. MLOKOTHI,**  
P14a, Nyanga, Cape.

## Rising prices

**S**IR.—Things are changing with a great speed here in Swaziland.

A White man expects an African to pay more money when he enters his store. The government expects a man to pay more tax, yet an African's wage is not a third that of a white man, even with the same qualifications.

How can a married man support his family and educate his children on R3,00 a month, especially as he lives in his own home and buys his own food (unlike those in the compounds)?

**P. P. MLATSHWA,**  
Manzini, Swaziland.

## Increasing unemployment

**S**IR.—I would like to know the reason for the increasing number of unemployed Africans here in Swaziland. Is it because Swazis are not educated enough to get work? If such is the case, why is it that even people who have passed Std. VI and Junior Certificate can get no work?

**J. SPARKS,**  
Manzini, Swaziland.

## "Who are the Imperialists?"

**S**IR.—May I make one or two points about the editorial in *Contact* of 27th July headed "Who are the Imperialists?" The writer criticizes an article in *Africa South* by John Berger. Mr. Berger, he says, "ludicrously" equates imperialism with Europe and America, the fight against imperialism with the pro-communist countries. Ludicrous? But the writer himself seems to have a very nebulous idea of the nature of imperialism. Surely he is aware that the imperialism he speaks of is no longer (except in the case of Portugal and France) the overt exploitation of one country by another on the old British pattern, but something far more subtle and insidious. "It is above all the Western countries that have, in the last twenty years, given up their colonies." True enough, for they have realized that at this late stage of history exploitation is far more efficiently carried on by large-scale economic investment and control than by open colonial rule. And it is the United States that has brought this method to perfection, so that she effectively dominates most of the West European and South American countries, and is at this moment doing her best to penetrate large parts of Africa, making at the same time hypocritical professions of anti-colonialism. Only the adequate recognition of this fact (fairly patent, I should have thought) and appropriate action will ensure that emergent Africa becomes and remains free, in the fullest sense of that word.

**RAYMOND THOMS,**  
Johannesburg.

**S**IR.—I am interested to learn that *Contact's* original editorial on colonialism "drew attention to the fact that the only real imperialism and colonialism in the world is Soviet imperialism and colonialism".

It will no doubt be a relief to the Algerians and Angolans to learn that at any rate the type of imperialism and colonialism with which they are being afflicted, is not real imperialism or colonialism.

**MASHAYINQAWI,**  
Durban.

*The European nations have clearly decided to give up their colonial empires. Even Portugal is beginning to bend before the wind of change. Of course many mistakes are made, since no nation is perfect. But the imperialism of the communists is "real" in the sense that neither the Chinese nor the Russians show any signs of giving up national independence to the many territories they have won by conquest. Nor do they show any intention of giving democratic personal freedom to the many scores of millions of non-Chinese and non-Russians who form the imprisoned colonial peoples of the communist empires.*

*This correspondence is now closed.*

—EDITOR

All political comment and headlining in this issue is unless otherwise stated by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

## SUBSCRIBE TO

**contact**

## AFRICAN POSTAL UNION:

R1.40 (14s.) a year

## ELSEWHERE:

R1.70 (17s.) a year

Write To The Manager,  
P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

## SWAZILAND, BASUTOLAND FACE BIG DECISIONS

# Britain Must Cede Sovereignty Now, says Cowen

## SWAZILAND: SOBHUZA MUST BE HEAD OF STATE

By the Editor

WHEN I learned, on 2nd September, that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, had been appointed by the British Government to advise the constitutional committee in Swaziland, I went to Professor Denis Cowen, and asked him how it tied in with his own appointment as constitutional adviser to the Swaziland Progressive Party.

"Sir Charles's appointment does not affect my position at all," he said. "He will work with a government-backed committee consisting of British officials, representatives of the European Advisory Council, and of the traditional Swazi council under the Paramount Chief Sobhuza II.

"I represent two legitimate groups who have been denied representation, namely the S.P.P. and the Coloured community who are not satisfied with a mere right of audience before a committee on which they have no representatives.

"At the moment," said Professor Cowen, "there is only one person who, according to written law, has any power in Swaziland, and that is the High Commissioner.

"But, of course, according to custom, the Swazi King, Paramount Chief Sobhuza, has in practice very great powers in any matter that concerns the Swazi nation. Even though these powers are not written down in the laws, they are recognized by the British authorities.

### Out of Date

"However, the power of the High Commissioner is out of date. Nowadays no people anywhere in the world are satisfied with a state of affairs where power is given to authorities who are not answerable to the people. People want to rule themselves and, if necessary, to make their own mistakes.

"Also the power of the Swazi King is out of date. Nowhere in Africa are people content to be ruled on a feudal basis in a purely tribal and traditional system. Two world wars, education, and the pressure of events have produced modern men who wish to be ruled by, and who wish to share in the rule of, governments that are modern."

I asked Professor Cowen if he thought that Sir Charles had been chosen to go to Swaziland to persuade the traditionalists, and others who might be fearful of change, to accept something which the British government might be able to support.

"It is not for me to say," answered Professor Cowen, and added: "The trouble is this. The scheme which the powers that be have been favouring for some time is quite unsound." I asked him to expand this remark, and he did so.

### Two Bodies

"At the moment, as you may know," he said, "there are two bodies in Swaziland through whom the High Commissioner rules indirectly. One is the traditional tribal authority, namely the Swazi National Council, and the other is the European Advisory Council. This latter body is correctly described as an 'advisory council' for it has no real power. Everyone now agrees that Swaziland, like Basutoland and other British territories, should have a real legislative council whose *consent* — as distinct from mere advice — will be necessary for the making of laws. And it follows that the power which this council will gain will be taken partly from the High Commissioner and partly from the Para-

mount Chief (for political power is at present substantially in their hands).

"The scheme apparently favoured by the authorities is one under which approximately half the new legislature would be elected by the White settlers, who number only 10,000 out of a total population of 250,000. This would be an enormous increase in their political power, in addition to the economic power they already have in the territory."

At this stage I asked the Professor to explain how the Swazi and the Coloured community fitted into the official scheme. He told me that King Sobhuza had suggested publicly that the Swazi should appoint their share of the members of the new legislature (approximately 50%) in their own traditional way, without elections and the use of political parties, which King Sobhuza did not think suited African societies. Although this had been backed by many civil servants and some of the settlers, it would be a very primitive form of communal representation.

### Objections to Scheme

I asked Professor Cowen to elaborate his objections to this scheme. "Firstly," he said, "there would be no room in such a legislature for the more politically-aware, independent-minded, and educated Swazi. There can be few countries in the world which would think of introducing a new constitution which makes absolutely no provision for democratic elections by the people of the country." Professor Cowen said that he was quite convinced that for this reason alone the King's scheme had no chance whatever of being accepted by the British government.

But there were other objections too. Under this scheme King Sobhuza would have to face the world with only the more tribalized and often less-educated part of the tribe behind him. In this age of complex laws and rapidly-evolving science, the Professor felt that vested interests would be able to make rings round the King's nominees. "Many of these nominated men," Professor Cowen said, "are wise men and good rulers in traditional matters. But they don't understand the modern world. It is no fault of theirs: it is just that too few of the traditionalists have had the opportunity of higher education."

Professor Cowen said that he felt that many of the British administrators must realize the disadvantages of King Sobhuza's scheme, and that some of them knew that it would not be acceptable in London. He felt that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke would be able, with his great experience in Africa and Asia, to point out convincingly to the King that his scheme would not do.

### Bechuanaland Constitution

I then asked the Professor about another scheme, similar to the Bechuanaland constitution, which I understand the British are trying to adapt for Swaziland. Under this scheme the settlers would elect their members and the Swazi would elect theirs on separate, communal rolls. They would not be "traditionally appointed" or nominated, as under King Sobhuza's scheme, but

would be *elected* by modern democratic means. I remarked that this at least sounded more democratic than the King's scheme, but the Professor cut me short. "It would, in my view, be even worse than the King's scheme," he said. "For under the King's scheme the Swazi national tribal system would at least have remained untouched. But the second scheme would speedily wreck the tribal system by substituting wholesale democratic elections for nominations. I am opposed to wrecking the Swazi nation in this way. At present the continued well-being of the nation is essential to the well-being of the Swazi people. What is needed is a compromise which would allow modern democratic elections for those Swazi who desire them and at the same time allow the traditional system to operate while adjusting itself to modern conditions. Such a compromise was found necessary in Basutoland where 22 chiefs have a place on the Legislative Council *ex officio*.

"But my big objection to both these schemes," continued Professor Cowen, "is that they are racial schemes. We have seen in Tanganyika and Kenya, not to mention the Union, how these racially-segregated voting rolls spoil good relations between the races. I believe that all who live in Swaziland should become Swazilanders — irrespec-

tive of race, colour or creed. Only if the Whites throw in their lot with the Swazi and the Coloureds and forget that they are 'Europeans' (most of them have never seen Europe anyway), are they in my opinion entitled to any say at all.

"The S.P.P. have from the beginning seen this point very clearly. They have from the beginning called for a single common roll for all, and for adult suffrage. But they are not extremists, and are prepared, very generously in my view, to consider various techniques (e.g. nomination and reserved seats) in order to allow the minorities to be represented — I mean the 10,000 Whites and the 2,000 Euraficans.

### Truly Non-Racial Party

"The S.P.P. have adopted a reasonable attitude not only on the vote; they have, in addition, wisely kept their doors open to all irrespective of race, and have thus become a truly non-racial party. I am excited by the news that some fourteen Whites have joined the party recently."

At this stage I asked the Professor if he would give me his own ideas for the new constitution. He did so, but stressed that his ideas were provisional and liable to revision as the discussions progressed.

"The fundamental point on which we will not compromise is the single, non-racial common roll for all," he said. "We envisage about 60% of the members of council being elected by all

*Continued on page 5, col. 3*

## BASUTOLAND: RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FORTHWITH

By the Editor

ON 11th September the new session of the Basutoland Legislative Council is due to open in Maseru, the territory's capital. Although the new "Cowen" constitution is not yet two years old, demands are already expected to be made for the next instalments in constitutional advance. These demands are likely to be far-reaching.

The present system is a system of Representative Government. That is to say, one half of the 80 seats are filled by democratic elections. All taxpayers, in other words, nearly all adult men, and some women, have the vote, but the Executive Council is not answerable to this Legislative Council.

### Transition

This means that even if a majority of the members of the Legislative Council vote against a decision of the Executive Council, the Executive Council can still go ahead and carry out its own decision. Representative Government has, in many cases, worked fairly well as a transition from a backward government to a more democratic system, but, in itself, it has rarely lasted long in any country.

The step that usually follows it is called Responsible Government. Where there is Responsible Government the Legislative Council has the power to control the Executive Council. And if the Executive Council loses the confidence of the Legislative Council, then it is removed, and a new Executive Council, which has the confidence of the Legislative Council, is put in its place.

It is the view of nearly all parties and leaders in Basutoland that the time has now come for the switch to Responsible Government. Such a demand will come, almost certainly, from Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle's Basutoland Congress Party, and from Chief Leabua Jonathan's Basuto National Party. Mr. B. Makalo Khaketla, leader of the Freedom Party, speaking in New York on 28th August, called for Responsible Government by 1964. This

demand will also probably be made by one wing of the Marema Tlou Party.

Other related demands which I understand will be made by nearly all the Basuto at the same time are:

- Elections to the Legislative Council should be direct. At present they are indirect. That is to say, at present the voters vote for District Councillors, and then the District Councillors elect the elected members of the Legislative Council.
- There should be an **elected majority**. At present the elected members are in a minority.
- There should be a chief minister in an Executive Council, which would, in addition, have increased unofficial representation. At present there are four official and four unofficial members, three of the latter being elected by the Legislative Council.
- Under Responsible Government this Chief Minister would be the leader of the party that had won elections, and the Executive Council would be removable if it were to lose a Legislative Council vote of confidence.
- A Court-enforced Bill of Rights.

I discussed these coming demands with Professor Cowen, on whose advice the present Basutoland constitution was established.

"How do you view these probable demands?" I asked him.

"I feel strongly that Responsible

*Continued on page 5, col. 2*



\*Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament St., Cape Town. Printed by Linsey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

# contact

**PROTECTORATE**

**LEADERS**

**STATE POLICIES**

Vol. 4 No. 19

5c (6d)

Registered at the G.P.O.

— see page 8

21 st SEPTEMBER 1961

as a Newspaper

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**

# BULAWAYO STRIKE SUCCEEDS



Bulawayo workers combined in mass action to win improved conditions. Here are some of them staging a sit-down strike. —Read on pages 4 and 5 how they did it.



# contact

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.

## “LIE OUT OF HELL”?

**S**PEAKING at the Free State congress of the Nationalist Party on 14th September, Mr. J. J. Fouché Minister of Defence, said: “The allegations in Russian newspapers that South Africa is developing its Defence Force in order to shoot down the Blacks is a lie out of Hell. . . . We are developing our Defence Force for the defence of our land from outside attacks.” — *Die Burger*, 15th September, 1961.

The Minister was deceiving his hearers. And his line is brand-new. He has probably been forced to take this new line because of his own failure to obtain American jet fighter planes—an attempt to get them was mentioned in *The New Republic* (Washington), 3rd July, page 20. This failure was almost certainly due to a belief held by the Americans that the Defence Force here is primarily arming itself against internal foes.

It would not be strange if the Americans held this view, for this was the view held until recently by Mr. Fouché himself, and trumpeted by him from the roof-tops. Presumably his motive in doing so was to alert the White South Africans, and presumably it was done in ignorance of the result that it would have on world opinion. (Kenneth de Courcy's *Intelligence Digest*, August 1961, reported that the British government is now denying the South Africans all access to political intelligence reports.)

Let us convict Minister Fouché of falsehood. Our witnesses are himself and a previous Minister of Defence, Mr. F. C. Erasmus:

- “Contact” reported (26th December 1959): “Just before he left Defence, Mr. Erasmus addressed a meeting of army officers in Cape Town. ‘You must not think,’ he told them, ‘that we are arming against an external enemy. We are not. We are arming in order to shoot down the Black masses.’ This report has never been denied.”
- The authorities are to-day giving military training on an unprecedented scale exclusively to Whites, while in a series of unprecedented raids the police are disarming the whole non-White population. White South Africans, as recently reported, already possess one million privately-held government-licensed firearms. Ninety-thousand, valued at R1,000,000, were imported in the period January 1960-June 1961 (*Southern Africa*, 18th August).
- Mr. Fouché himself said (quoted in the government's “Fortnightly Digest” of 28th April 1961): “The maintenance of peace and order internally is the main requirement of any operation against aggression.”
- In the same *Fortnightly Digest* (17th March 1961) occur the following words which Minister Fouché has never contradicted: “The Minister of Justice, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, and the Minister of Defence, Mr. J. J. Fouché, have announced that the South African Police and Defence Force will be reorganized on similar lines so that they can provide a single fast striking force to crush any uprising.”

(Continued in next column)



## A New Kind of Woman

By HERBERT MOFULATSI

**I** OVERHEARD this in the train when I was coming into town from Naledi in Johannesburg's South Western areas. The man was saying to his friend: “You know, last night when I came home from work, my wife was not at home.”

“When I asked my eldest daughter where she had gone to she told me that she had gone to the bioscope. Can you imagine that! Gone to the bioscope without me and without my permission.” Then, shaking his head in bewilderment, he added: “Die Jo'burg meisies is laf” (Johannesburg girls are silly).

Actually what he meant was that our women have “taken over”. You never know who's wearing the pants and who's not these days. Gone are the days when women were regarded as chattels whose only justification for being alive was to cook, work in the fields and bear children for their husbands. True they still cook and bear children for their husbands—and other men!

But in the words of the song, things ain't what they used to be.

Our women have got us tied to their apron strings. They are the bosses. They decide what type of furniture they want, how many children they want. Why, they even buy our clothes and drive our cars.

That our women have “taken over”

(Continued from previous column)

- In the “Cape Times” (2nd March), also uncontradicted, occur these words: “The Minister of Defence, Mr. Fouché, said yesterday that in the same way as world powers were continually preparing for war, so South Africa intended to be ready for internal trouble.”

The allegation that Minister Fouché is arming one section of the South African population in order to shoot down, if necessary, the other sections in the interests of apartheid, the most unjust system in the world, is thus the sober truth.

It is not “a lie out of Hell” but a responsible report out of “Contact”, a report by which we stand.

was sharply brought home to this writer when four years ago he went down to Durban to marry the girl of his dreams. On the eve of the wedding as she was giving my clothes a critical once-over, she suddenly said, “Where's your tie?” When I told her that I don't wear a tie, she told me that if I wanted to marry her I'd better get myself a tie. Needless to say, I had no alternative but to humiliate myself by wearing that dreadful piece of cloth.

**L**ET'S take the case of one business-woman in the South Western areas. This woman is so rich it hurts. She has her own car which she drives herself as recklessly as only a woman can. She often takes a week-end trip to the coast with a few of her women friends leaving the hubby behind to care for the business and the children. This kind of thing would have made our forefathers get goose pimples.

On Sundays, instead of letting us go and have a drink with our friends, they let us work in the garden while they sit in the house listening to the radiogram, drinking tea and gossiping with their friends.

What is it that has made our women so bossy? Education? The movies or the unconscious influence of their White counterparts? One is inclined to believe that it's a combination of all three. Especially when one considers that the women in the rural areas are still subservient and faithful to their husbands.

In the country, if your wife has erred in one way or another, you don't have to think twice of hauling out your knobkerrie and bashing her on the head. And there matters would end.

But not so with our urban women with the flaming lips and painted nails. You just give her a slap and she dashes off to the courts and charges you with assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

“What's that, honey? I should put my paper aside for a while and nip

down to the store to get you a packet of candles? Okay, honey, anything you say.”

It's enough to make one pack his clothes and go back to mother.

## Mother Africa Speaks

Many centuries ago I bore your ancestors,  
Who sleep today restless in my bosom.  
Arise ye dusky sons and daughters, long is the journey before you.  
The shunting yards are alight, your day has started,  
The denizens of the skies already await you—boys and girls  
Your brown and not your brain is required.

WAKE UP MY SONS AND DAUGHTERS!

\* \* \*

It's time the headgears moved,  
It's time the fires burned,  
It's time you had the milk delivered,  
It's time the ash-heaps went,  
It's time your picks dug into the ground.

WAKE UP MY SONS AND DAUGHTERS!

\* \* \*

The discriminating signs await you impatiently,  
To tell you which counter not to use  
And for you unquestioningly to obey,  
For at the moment you do not care.

WAKE UP MY SONS AND DAUGHTERS!

\* \* \*

Your smiles in this tense atmosphere are missing,  
Come fill the streets of the cities with movement.  
Bring song, joy and laughter with your labour  
Yet the more stun your so-called neighbour.

WAKE UP MY SONS AND DAUGHTERS!!!

S. MABUZA.

# Riots, Demonstrations Reveal Student Discontent

Frustration and lawlessness in institutions for higher education for non-White South Africans are shown in three incidents over the past fortnight.

By a Reporter

## Bellville: Insults

ON 8th September Professor P. C. Schoonees, a leading intellectual and principal editor of the big *Afrikaanse Woordeboek*, addressed students at the 'Coloured' university college of the Western Cape at Bellville near Cape Town.

In his address he made frequent references to "julle bruinmense" (you darkies). The students started shuffling their feet in protest.

When Professor Schoonees had left, the Rector of the college, Dr. J. G. Meiring, spoke to the two-hundred-odd students and in a scathing attack on their behaviour during Professor Schoonees's address called them a bunch of "Kleurling pappbroeke" (Coloured cowards). If they had not liked the terms used by the Professor, he said, they should have protested formally and not merely shuffled their feet.

A feeling of dissatisfaction and resentment is apparent now even among students from the rural areas, who have been the most docile group at the college.

Many students now want to leave the college and to study privately for their degrees.

## Kilnerton: Riots

KILNERTON Institution, scene of demonstrations and police action during the anti-republican stay-at-home at the end of May this year erupted into

violence during the first week of September when boys fought girls in a free-for-all.

*The World* (9th September) reports the cause of the trouble as jealousy; boys were jealous of girls for paying attention to "outsiders" (boys from the location). Then boys allege that the girls had insulted their manhood by calling them "cool-aids".

## Bensonvale: Knives, Expulsions

ALL 130 students at the Bensonvale Training Secondary School near Aliwal North, Cape, have been expelled. The mass expulsion follows the decision of the school's Advisory Council to disarm the students. The decision followed the discovery of a large knife in the pocket of a Form IIIb boy on 29th August. The disarming was completed by 4.30 that afternoon, but the next day the students demonstrated and demanded the return of their weapons.

A series of demonstrations was held and the police intervened.

The Advisory Council dismissed the students, and any who wish to be re-admitted will have to complete a circular in which thirty-five questions have to be answered. Some of the questions ask the students to reveal the names of leaders of the demonstrations. The purpose of the questions is to establish whether the student concerned played an active part in the demonstrations.



The Bellville college seen from the air. This was the substitute considered suitable when the government closed the University of Cape Town to Coloured students.

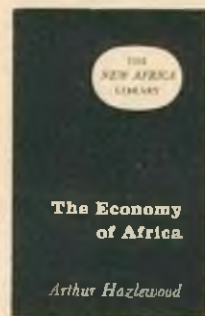
## Books for New Africa

THE Oxford University Press are to produce paperback books for the new Africa. (It was reported in *Contact* (7th September) that Penguin had a series under preparation.) By the end of 1961 the first books in three Oxford series will have been published.

Mr. Leo Marquard, the Editorial Manager of the Oxford University Press in Cape Town said last week: "In the rapidly changing Africa more and more people are being called upon to take part in government and administration, and in business and industry. Publishers have recognized the need for books to assist in the process, and the O.U.P. in London and Cape Town and in other branches in Africa has been planning books for people who want clear and concise explanations of practical techniques in the context of Africa."

● *The New Africa Library* is the name of the first series. Its first two titles will be published throughout Africa on 19th October, 1961. They are *The Economy of Africa* by Arthur Hazlewood and *Safeguards for Democracy* by Dr. Lucy Mair. The series has been planned by the Africa Educational Trust, the unofficial, non-political body which makes accessible to the leaders and the citizens of the new Africa knowledge relevant to the political and social changes which are now taking place. It has for instance provided an adviser for Kivukoni College, Dar es Salaam, at the request of Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika. Among its trustees are the Rev. Michael Scott, Mr. Colin Legum of *The Observer* and Dr. Roland Oliver, African historian.

The books cost only about 2s. 3d. (22½ cents) each, and are about 100 pages long. They examine difficult subjects in a straightforward and stimulating



manner. There are over twenty titles in preparation by African and European experts. The next books will be on education, development of towns, the civil service and trade unions. Among the prospective authors is Chief Tani Solaru, Manager of the Nigerian Branch of the Oxford University Press, who is writing one on *How Business Works*.

● *Practical Books* is the name of the second series. It is being prepared in the Cape Town and Salisbury offices of the O.U.P. The books are illustrated with diagrams and deal with subjects such as woodwork, electrical repairs, household maintenance and dress-making. *Electricity in the Home*, the first in the series, has already been published. These books take into account the new tools and machinery which daily become more accessible to people in Africa.

● Books on famous Africans are also being planned. Mr. S. M. Gabatshwane, the Bechuanaland author, has written an appreciation of the great statesman and politician Tshekedi Khama and this will be published before Christmas.

Mr. Marquard says that he would like to hear from "Contact" readers who feel that they are able to contribute books to any of the series. They should write to him at Oxford University Press, P.O. Box 1141, Cape Town.

## "Convention" Calls Conference

By a Reporter

THE South African National Convention Movement is sponsoring a Preliminary Provincial Consultative Conference on 12th, 14th, and 15th October, 1961.

The Committee organizing the conference consists of the existing executive of the S.A. National Convention Movement plus Mr. Peter Hjul, Cape Chairman of the Liberal Party; Mr. H. A. Wright, Chairman of the Civil Rights League; Councillor Mrs. E. Stott, National President of the Black Sash; Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, President of the African General Workers' Union; Mr. Roger Jowell, Executive member of the National Union of South African Students; Mrs. Grant, National President of the National Council of Women; Mrs. M. Kooy, of the Progressive Party, and Miss M. Rodger of the Civil Rights League.

In invitations sent to various political parties, churches, trade unions and other bodies, it is stated that:

- A new constitution can only succeed if it guarantees to every citizen of our country certain fundamental rights beyond the passing whim of a parliamentary majority, and protected by courts placed beyond political control
- the aim of the Convention Movement is the creation of a non-racial democratic government in South Africa.



The demonstrators in a Bulawayo tearoom.

## BULAWAYO SIT-IN

From JOHN C. TAKURAH

BULAWAYO: The campaign to do away with the colour bar has gripped the city of Bulawayo. Groups of young men (I understand that women will be joining them soon) are volunteering to see to it that "partnership" is practised in fact as well as in theory.

The freedom groups, made up mainly of supporters or members of the National Democratic Party, go into hotels, cafes, restaurants and other places where the colour bar is enforced. The groups do not take orders from

the N.D.P. but any group that wants to demonstrate against the colour bar informs the officials of the N.D.P.

The picture shows three young men who revived the campaign against the colour bar after the "Action Group Association", the first anti-colour bar group in Bulawayo, had died after one or two demonstrations.

The men are (from left to right): Messrs. Camillo Doko (spokesman for the group), Ernest Ganyo and Alban Makoni.

Mr. Doko says that they will not stop demonstrating even if it means that they are arrested.

## Ex-Detainees sue Nat. Paper

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: About 60 ex-detainees are suing the Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper, *Die Transvaler*, for alleged defamation. It is expected that up to several hundred ex-detainees will eventually sue—for individual amounts ranging from R1000 to R5000.

Their claims are based on a report in *Die Transvaler* on 9th September of a speech made by the then Minister of Justice, Mr. Erasmus.

So far, the total amount claimed is between R120,000 and R150,000.

## Defence and Aid Fund Proves Itself

THE South Africa Defence and Aid Fund, formed during last year's emergency, which has done much since its formation for "the defence of civil liberties and the maintenance of the rule of law in South Africa" (the aim as stated in the fund's constitution) has now begun to publish a quarterly newsletter, called *D & A*. No. 1 for the period July-September has just appeared.

*D & A* says that the fund has given about £11,000 to families of arrested and imprisoned people, spent about £2,000 on lawyers' fees, and channeled about £3,000 through branches other than Johannesburg.

Specific instances are given of cases in which the fund has been able to help. One is the all but incredible case in which Canon Calata was sentenced in June to 180 days' imprisonment for failing to remove two photographs which had been on his wall for years, and which showed him as an official of the now banned African National Congress.

### KEPT IN MODDER B 39 DAYS BEYOND HIS SENTENCE

Another case is best described in the very words used in the quarterly:

Mr. Amsden Slomko, aged 78 years, crippled, was arrested towards the end of May, 1961, on a political charge. On 6th June he was allowed out on his own recognizances, his case being

remanded to 16th June. On this day there was a further remand to 19th June.

From court the old man reported to his employer that his case was to be heard on the 21st June. On the morning of the 19th his employer phoned the D & A offices to enquire whether we would have legal representation for him at court on the 21st. We then realized that the old man had made an error and should have been in court that morning.

His employer and our lawyer then immediately contacted the prosecutor explaining his absence from court and requesting that as it was impossible to get in touch with Mr. Slomko, who lives in Randfontein, the case be postponed to the 21st. The prosecutor refused and a warrant of arrest for contempt of court was issued.

On the following day someone told his employer that they saw him being arrested at the station. D & A then tried to locate him at the court without success. He did not appear in the court in which he was due. No information as to his whereabouts could be found from the prisons to which he may have been taken.

His employer expected him to make contact with the office as presumably he would have been given the option of a fine. Nothing more was heard. Further inquiries were made at the court without result. After about five days it was assumed that he had probably received a week's sentence and would be out within a couple of days.

He was not seen or heard of again. His employer assumed that he had given up working. On Thursday, 3rd August, some of Mr. Slomko's neighbours advised his employer that Mr. Slomko had not returned home since the 20th June.

#### IN MODDER B

Finally, after further investigations with the assistance of a police sergeant at the courts it was discovered that throughout this period he had been serving a prison sentence at Modder B Goal.

Despite the fact that the sergeant had the facts before him, the authorities at Modder B denied that this man was a prisoner there. Only after much insistence did they finally locate him there.

He had been sentenced to 20 days on the contempt charge. After completing his term they continued to detain him until his original charge, now due to be heard on the 22nd August was heard.

Despite the fact that the name of his firm was clearly stated on his charge sheet, no effort had been made by the prosecutor to advise them that there had been an alternative sentence of a fine of £10 or that the man was being imprisoned. An urgent bail application was immediately made by D & A and bail of £25 was granted.

He was released on 9th August. He went into gaol with flu and was in hospital almost all the time. He got eight days' remission for good behaviour; and was therefore actually detained 39 days beyond the period of sentence.

## Bulawayo Workers Win

From JOHN C. TAKURAH  
BULAWAYO: In Southern Rhodesia just as much attention is being paid to the economic struggle as to the political and social struggle. Different workers' organizations are doing the job, led by the Southern Rhodesia African Trade Union Congress.

But of all the workers' organizations, the Bulawayo African Municipal Employees' Association has, so far, been the only organization to have demanded, and received, if only temporarily, what they felt their labour was worth.

On 7th and 8th August large numbers of the Bulawayo municipal workers went on strike. On 8th August they staged a sit-down strike (cover photo).

The strike ended only after the workers were informed that their representatives, the B.A.M.E.A., were to negotiate with the Bulawayo City Council.

On the afternoon of 8th August, the B.A.M.E.A., led by the chairman, ex-detainee Mr. Francis M. Nehwati, started the negotiations which took twenty days to reach a compromise agreement.

In a letter to the B.A.M.E.A. dated 2nd September, the town clerk of

## SASA SAYS — "BOYCOTT N.Z. TOUR"

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: The South African Sports Association has decided to make the coming tour of the all-White New Zealand cricket team the first chief target of its "Operation Sonreis" (Support Only Non-Racial Events In Sport).

Announcing this, Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, President of Sasa, said that the Sonreis campaign had got off to a good start and that many pledges had been received.

Mr. Rangasamy urged all sympathizers not to support any events at all, unless the South African team was representative of all South Africans. He said, "We must expose the unfairness of the New Zealand tour. No match of this tour must be supported". He appealed to sporting bodies to help by arranging counter-attractions to keep people away from the New Zealand international matches, and to co-operate with Sonreis in every way.

### South Africans out of Perth Games

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Attempts are being made to include an all-White South African team in the Commonwealth Games in Perth, Australia, in August 1962, despite South Africa's withdrawal from the commonwealth this year.

#### Automatically Excluded

This amazing fact was revealed to *Contact* in an interview on 16th September by Mr. Dennis Brutus, Honorary Secretary of the South African Sports Association. Mr. Brutus said that Sasa had immediately gone into action, and had addressed a letter to the British Empire and Commonwealth Games Federation in London, protesting against these attempts.

The letter claims that White South Africa was automatically excluded as a result of its withdrawal from the commonwealth and that it would be an

insult to other member-countries if a team from South Africa was allowed to enter on a basis of racial discrimination.

An urgent appeal is also being sent to all member-countries asking them to support the request from Sasa that no South African team be allowed to take part in the Games until all South Africans are offered an equal chance of selection.

Sasa is already assured of the support of several commonwealth countries in its protest and expects that South Africa will be excluded from the Games.

All political comment and headlining in this issue is unless otherwise stated by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

## NEUTRALITY

Scene: Belgrade Conference of the Neutral States.

A Soviet delegate to a Tunisian delegate: "If the French stay in Bizerta any longer you won't stay neutral. You'll become communists."

Tunisian delegate's reply: "In saying so you confirm some of us in the opinion that the Soviet Union does not desire the evacuation of Bizerta or the end of the Algerian war."

—*Afrique Action*.

## YOU CAN SUPPORT SASA!!

Prominent South Africans have signed this pledge and sent it to Sasa, Box 2129, Port Elizabeth. You can sign it here, cut it out and send it to Sasa. Or, better, you can paste it to a large sheet of paper and get all your friends to sign it, and then send it to Sasa.

#### THE PLEDGE

"I, the undersigned, believe that the basis of true sportsmanship is fair play and that it is wrong to exclude anyone from sport because of racial origins or colour. In the interests of true sportsmanship I call on all to Support Only Non-Racial Events In Sport and to withhold support from any events conducted, as a matter of policy, on the basis of racial discrimination."

Signed.....

Address.....

Date.....



### Political Theory at Picnic

On Sunday, 3rd September, young Liberals from Springs, Pretoria, and Johannesburg held a picnic at Mia's farm, between Pretoria and Johannesburg. They were given lectures on political theory and on organization by Drake Koka and Colyn van Reenen. They plan to meet in this way regularly in future. Pictured is Drake Koka lecturing.



The Chairman of the Bulawayo African Municipal Employees' Association, Mr. Francis M. Nehwati (behind microphone) outlines the workers' demands to representatives of the City Council (from left to right) Mr. E. M. van der Meulen, Councillor Wright and Dr. E. H. Ashton, Director of African Administration.

Bulawayo, acting on behalf of the City Council, gave an outline of the general improvements which had been temporarily agreed to.

Some of the major points agreed to are:

- A Liaison Committee, consisting of representatives of both the City Council and the B.A.M.E.A. has been established. This is the first such liaison committee in Southern Rhodesia.

- Working hours have been reduced from 48 to 44 hours a week. Night watchmen's hours have been reduced from 82 to 70 a week.

- A shift allowance of 9d. a shift has been agreed to for all employees engaged on shift work. This means an increase in pay of 18 shilling a month.

- This City Council agreed to apply the principle of "the rate for the job".

- Conditions of paid sick leave have been improved. Each worker is entitled to 21 days' sick leave a year, and if

he does not fall sick, he will be paid for what would have been his sick leave.

- Wages are increased by up to 10 per cent in all but the highest grades and increases have been back-dated to 1st July, 1961.

Although wages still remain low (in Grade I. £8. 13. 4d. per month; in Grade VI up to £26 per month) the B.A.M.E.A. says that it is satisfied with the wage awards, but stresses that it regards them as temporary in view of the negotiations going on between the T.U.C., the government and Employers' Associations for a National Minimum Wage.

But the B.A.M.E.A. admits that when totalled up, the other gains in conditions of service (although temporary) represent a big step forward.

In its letter, the City Council asks the workers to appreciate that "the whole country is going through a very difficult time financially", and that this "seriously affects the Council's position".

## UNIP MOVES INTO BAROTSELAND

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: In the midst of the political ferment of the last thirteen years in Northern Rhodesia one area has hitherto remained untouched by the call for freedom: Barotseland, the 49,000-square mile feudal kingdom on the upper Zambezi. Allied securely to the traditional monarchy, British administrators have boasted that Barotseland was free from "agitation" and that all the "Natives" were "loyal".

But now all that has changed: Mr. Nalumino Mundia, Acting National Treasurer of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party, recently went to Barotseland to open up U.N.I.P. branches there. "Whether I am arrested or not," Mr. Mundia told *Contact* before he left, "U.N.I.P. branches will be established in Barotseland, and the party will function in Barotseland as it does in any other province in the territory."

### Deportation Order

One day after Mr. Mundia's arrival at Mongu, the Barotse capital, a deportation order was served on him by the "Native Authority" (Barotse government) despite the fact that Mr. Mundia's home is in Barotseland. Ignoring the order he went ahead with his plans, and saw various district commissioners to arrange for the registration of the party in Barotseland.

Seven days later, after addressing several meetings, he was arrested 93 miles from Mongu. An attempt was made by the authorities to confine him in a "Native Authority" prison at

Lealui, another Barotse town. But Mr. Mundia said, "I cannot agree to be kept in an illegal prison," and refused. As a result he was moved to Mongu Central Prison where he spent eleven days awaiting his trial. Throughout those eleven days he fasted. At his trial a visiting Resident Magistrate from Lusaka found him not guilty.

### Branches Established

His triumph has led to the establishment of branches of U.N.I.P. in all five districts of Barotseland, with a U.N.I.P. Divisional Headquarters at Mongu equipped with a Land Rover and loud-speaker, with an office and office equipment. Over 500 people have already joined the party.

The Acting Divisional President is Mr. Dixon Mukwenje. The Divisional Publicity Secretary, Mr. Isimwaa Wina, recently told me: "We are determined to make the Barotse people feel that they are not a separate entity from the rest of Northern Rhodesia."

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance  
P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruij / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829

## PRETORIA TOWNSHIPS RESIST BANTU COUNCILS

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: One of the government's schemes for the implementation of apartheid is that the existing system of township Advisory Boards shall be replaced by a system of Urban Bantu Councils on a tribal basis.

In accordance with this government policy the Pretoria City Council has decided that there shall be an Urban Bantu Council in the huge new township of Vlakfontein.

Despite this decision, plans have gone ahead for the holding of Advisory Board elections, as usual, on 27th September.

The city council has consulted some members of the advisory board on the position. Some of them favour the creation of a Bantu council, but the majority of board members oppose it, as they believe that it will mean the end of the advisory boards.

The city council is issuing propaganda to persuade residents of the location to accept the Urban Bantu Council.

Meanwhile the man in the street opposes the Bantu councils believing them to be Bantu authorities in the locations. While ordinary people are not wholly satisfied with the advisory board system, they prefer it to what is proposed. Should the urban council be

established, some residents anticipate strong anti-government activity.

The city council plans to establish another urban council in Atteridgeville, another big Pretoria township.

## Windhoek Trial Ends

THE public violence trial, arising out of the riots in Windhoek, South West Africa, on the night of 10th December, 1959, came to a sudden end on 12th September when seven of the accused were found not guilty and discharged.

Originally fifteen people were charged with public violence. When the accused were committed for trial after the preparatory examination, one of the accused was acquitted.

On Monday, 11th September, seven more were acquitted following the application of the defence counsel that all fourteen be discharged.

Defence counsel called witnesses and on 12th September the remaining seven were discharged.

They are: Messrs. Langman Wetawi, Ewalt Kangautjini, Metase Metatunda, Ametamis Merskewitz, Niklaas Siririka, and two women, Margarite Bam and Emma Urikos.

Adv. J. P. Botha, instructed by Lorentz and Bone, appeared for the accused.

—*Windhoek Advertiser*, 13th Sept., 1961.

### L.P. ELECTION GOAL:

## THOUSANDS OF WHITES AGAINST APARTHEID

By a Reporter

A NON-RACIAL democracy based on one man one vote was the goal not only of the Liberal Party but of the vast majority of leaders of political opinion among the voteless people of South Africa. Mr. Randolph Vigne, general election candidate for Constantia, told a Claremont, Cape meeting on 14th September. "Verwoerd and the United Party know this—so do the mass of people of South Africa.

Mr. Vigne said that his highest achievement in this election would be to show that there are thousands of Whites who want to side with this cause against the cruelty and oppression of the present set-up. "It is such a simple and dynamic message—non-racialism and adult suffrage—nearly all South Africa wants it and it will come. Let's go out and meet it, rather than let our country be brought to disaster through delaying tactics based on fear."

Other speakers were Mr. Fuyizwe Mgudlwa: Mrs. Eulalie Stott, a member of the Cape Town City Council; and Mr. Eddie Daniels. Mr. Tom Walters was chairman.

## Shorts . . .

- At a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Cape Division of the Liberal Party of South Africa, held on 12th September, the following were elected to be members of the party's National Committee:

Randolph Vigne, Patrick Duncan, Joseph Nkatlo, Joseph Daniels, Neil Ross, Maggie Rodger, Cromwell Nododile, Peter Hjul (provincial chairman).

- Radio Ghana's service beamed to South, South West and Central Africa can be heard on 13 metres from 5 o'clock in the evening onwards. On Saturday, 9th September, a commentary on world events was followed by a programme called *Down South* in which popular African jazz from South Africa and Rhodesia was played.

## S.A.'s Position in Soccer World

SOUTH AFRICA'S position in world soccer is to be reviewed when the Federation of International Football Associations meets in London on 28th and 29th September.

At the last meeting of the organization South Africa was given until this year to settle the Union's Black-White dispute for international recognition. Up to now no meetings had been held between officials of the Football Association of South Africa (White) and the South African Soccer Federation—the non-racial soccer organization demanding affiliation with the world body.

—*World*, 9th Sept., 1961.

An index to Volume Three of "CONTACT" has been prepared. Copies are now available for the price of

25c (post free)

2/6 Sterling U.S. 35c.

To ensure getting your copy, send a postal order NOW, as only a limited number have been prepared, to: Manager, "CONTACT", P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town, S.A.

SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

AFRICAN POSTAL UNION:

R1.40 (14s.) a year

ELSEWHERE:

R1.70 (17s.) a year

To The Manager, P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town,

# Soviet Policy on Nuclear Tests

"There can be no doubt that neutral opinion has been taken into account by the Russians. It seems plain that they have committed themselves to a policy of influencing the less powerful countries by threats and fear."

ON 30th August, 1961, the government of the Soviet Union announced that it would resume the testing of nuclear weapons. On 1st September it exploded an atomic bomb in central Asia.

On 28th August, 1959, just two years previously, the Soviet government had made the following announcement:

*"The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union have decided not to resume nuclear explosions in the Soviet Union if the Western powers do not resume the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Only in the event of the resumption by them of the testing of nuclear weapons will the Soviet Union be freed from this self-imposed undertaking."*

On 31st October, 1958, a ten-power disarmament conference in Geneva opened, the main object of which was to obtain agreement on banning the testing and production of nuclear weapons. Britain and the United States have performed no tests since that date, but the Russians exploded a number of bombs over the ensuing year, including two in the first week of the conference. The Russian announcement that they were ceasing to test atomic weapons came after a particularly full and "dirty" series of blasts.

The only extenuation which anyone has thought of for the fresh Russian action is that the French, who did not possess atomic weapons two years ago, have since built and tested a few low-powered bombs. The Russians had not made major objections at the time, and the West was in the process of putting heavy pressure on De Gaulle to fall into line.

By  
**ROBERT CONQUEST**

The French tests were held in the Sahara, and they caused great indignation among the governments of the African continent. The new Russian announcement, quite apart from the fact that the first test took place on the territory of an Asian people, the Kazakhs, was a more violent blow to uncommitted opinion. For it was made two days before the opening of the Belgrade conference of uncommitted nations, at which many of the world's neutral leaders, including Tito, Nehru, Nasser and Nkrumah, had assembled to discuss ways of lessening world tension. It was received by all these uncommitted governments as a shocking, dangerous and retrograde step.

There can be no doubt that neutral opinion had been taken into account by the Russians. It seems plain that they have committed themselves to a policy of influencing the less powerful countries by threats and fear. In the past few months Mr. Khrushchev has personally threatened nuclear destruction to leading statesmen of Greece and Italy, has publicly referred to his power to annihilate England, and has sent Mikoyan to give the same treatment to the Japanese. There are no signs that this menacing attitude has produced any results.

It is obvious that this is a dangerous attitude. Meanwhile the first result will be that atomic poisons will once again be falling out of the sky with every rain. Yet the Russians and their communist

representatives in each country have for years been running a strong line against atomic pollution. It can now be seen that this was simply a means of gaining credit and support from pacifist and similar elements, in the hope of using them against their own governments.

For the communist line on atomic weapons has from the start been inconsistent, opportunistic and cynical. In 1945 the communist press welcomed the first atomic bombs, the Italian communist organ, "Unità", even reproaching the Pope for his "schematic humanism" in expressing doubts about them.

Then, during the period when Russian scientists and spies were working their hardest to equip the U.S.S.R. with the weapon, a vast propaganda campaign was launched to involve millions of people in a struggle to have the bomb banned as the only threat to peace. This, Stalin's so-called "Stockholm Peace Appeal" was the main theme of communist agitation for several years. Millions of signatures were obtained or at least claimed—including those of the North Korean army then engaging in its attack on the South. When the Russians obtained their bomb the tone changed—at least about the weapon. Then the Soviet Union got the hydrogen bomb before the United States—and Khrushchev himself boasted of this in lavish terms.

## Stupid, Disgraceful Act

It is perhaps because the Russians have got away with such inconsistencies to an unbelievable extent that Mr. Khrushchev thinks nothing now of uttering violent threats and at the same time claiming to be working for peace. If, during the past year, President Kennedy had threatened the Poles in the way Khrushchev threatened the Greeks, there would have been a major scandal. All uncommitted opinion would have unanimously denounced him, and even many of those who fully support him in his general policies



KHRUSHCHEV

would have felt that he had performed a stupid, dangerous and disgraceful act. Mr. Khrushchev was denounced, it is true; but it was clear that different standards were being applied by neutrals and others to him than they would have used for Kennedy. The lesson seems to be that to give him such special treatment is not only unequitable, but positively dangerous, in that it encourages him to do worse next time.

## A Useful Lesson

Little can be done about the ideas and motivations of the communist leaders. But a useful lesson can be learned from the whole episode, just the same. It is that the time is long overdue when neutrals, pacifists, advocates and nuclear disarmament, and other men of good will, should give up putting trust in communist pronouncements, should cease to allow the Soviet leaders to get away with actions which they would instantly condemn in the statesmen of their own countries, and should begin to consider whether, and to what extent it is worth avoiding plain speaking in coping with these manoeuvres. Deeds, and deeds which can be checked with a cool and unbiased eye, are what should now be required from the Russian and Chinese leaders.

Their double talk about peace, and about colonialism, socialism and all the rest too, can be re-examined in the glare of the hydrogen explosions above the deserts of Turkestan.

—Forum Service

## S. Rhodesia

### RURAL RESISTANCE

From "Contact" Correspondent

**SALISBURY:** The National Democratic Party has accused the Southern Rhodesian government of employing "dirty political tactics" in rural areas where there is considerable opposition to land re-allocation and cattle culling.

In a letter to the Prime Minister of the colony, Sir Edgar Whitehead, the N.D.P. says "the reign of terror and intimidation perpetrated by the police... and Native Commissioners... has compelled us to point out to you... our grave concern..."

Reports reaching Salisbury indicate that disturbances have broken out in several reserves, and that tribesmen are being arrested for opposing land re-allocation and cattle culling. As a result of this they are no longer prepared to co-operate with the government.

The N.D.P., in its letter to the government says that the Native Commissioners and police are being used to tell rural people that "the N.D.P. is no more" following the arrest of a number of rural branch leaders.

Political meetings are banned in rural areas, and the N.D.P. declares in its letter that the reason for the banning is that there is considerable resistance to government policy in the reserves.

The letter concludes: "... there can never be a solution... as long as the African people have no determining decision on laws that affect them..."

## Nehru's Daughter in Tanganyika

**MRS. INDIRA GANDHI,** a former President of the Indian National Congress and daughter of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, told a press conference in Dar es Salaam on 1st September that she had had a general talk with the Prime Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere, and that they had discussed some of the problems to common to both Tanganyika and India.

She had also sought his advice on how the Indian Council for Africa—which had sponsored her visit to East Africa—might go about its work of creating bonds of friendship and a greater knowledge of what was happening in their two countries. The Council had many plans but wanted to be guided by opinion in Africa as to the best ways to proceed.

Mrs. Gandhi said she did not discuss details with the Prime Minister but that he did mention training programmes.

### Unity

"Tanganyika is lucky to have a person like Mr. Nyerere as Prime Minister," added Mrs. Gandhi. "As you know in India, it makes a great deal of difference when there is one person who can command respect of all sections. The need for all these countries is unity, and I think Mr. Nyerere can maintain that unity."

Mrs. Gandhi said she was happy to be in Tanganyika. "I have wanted to come for a very



Mrs. Gandhi being introduced by Prime Minister Nyerere to Mr. Mbiu Koinange, Secretary General of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (left) while in the centre is Mr. I. Bhoke Munanka, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister.

long time, not only as a personal wish to see this beautiful part of the world, but because this is a very important time in the history of Tanganyika and of Africa, and I think we in India should be in much closer contact with the personalities here who are going to shape the future and also with the ordinary people."

Speaking of East Africa generally, Mrs. Gandhi said she had been struck by its tremendous potentiality, and its great vitality.

Mrs. Gandhi was accompanied by Mr. Raja Dinesh Singh, Member of the Indian Parliament, and Mr. I. J. Bahadur Singh, Commissioner for India.

—Tanganyika Information Services.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## What label now?

**S**IR.—The recent expressions of shock by African leaders at the Soviet resumption of atom bomb tests has hit the apartheid racialists right where it hurts most.

When African leaders criticized France for her Sahara tests, these leaders were labelled "communist". Now, however, they have expressed shock at Russian tests . . . so what happens to the "communist" label?

The truth is that Africans, who have struggled so long for freedom, do not want to be involved in the East-West suicidal conflict. Nuclear disarmament must come—nuclear weapons can only lead to disaster. Countries that hold the bomb for too long will drop it.

Why should we Africans suffer for the follies and bluff of the cold war? Great African leaders have stressed that Africa must be kept out of the cold war.

**YOUNG NON-RACIALIST,  
Cape Town.**

## Boycott the "Bantu" papers

**S**IR.—Why does the Nationalist government always tell us what to do? The "Bantu" newspapers are undesired by the Africans. We derive pleasure in reading the present newspapers, especially the ones in English as they enlighten us and give us a vivid picture of the progress and achievements of our fellow-Africans elsewhere in the world.

Every liberal intellectual, whether he be black or white or yellow, should endeavour to make Africans boycott those "Bantu" newspapers whose aim is to poison our young Africa. "Radio Bantu" is another poison as it dishes out futile news and music. We want music from Ghana, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Congo, etc.

Yours in the spirit of liberation of South Africa's Africans.

**COUNTRY TEACHER,  
Cofimvaba.**

## Could lead to extermination

**S**IR.—To sugar the bitter pill of oppression we are told that we are to have self-government in the government's Bantu Homelands under the supervision and guardianship of the White oppressor. As it is customary for the oppressor to appoint stooges to these lummy institutions, there is no doubt that this institution has been devised in order that the African people be made to administer their own oppression in the guise of self-government.

There is no doubt that some chiefs accept the idea because they see no other alternative to rid themselves of the abominable monster, White domination. They think that by accepting this

they will be able to provide themselves with ground to mobilize their forces to reconquer their lost fatherland. To them self-government is self-government and nothing else. They fail to see that by so doing it would only mean the destruction of each other and of the good things that the oppressor has established, or it could mean the extermination of one group by the other.

If then the philosophy of separate development is carried to its extreme, it means that equitable distribution of land must be brought about, and that means that four-fifths of the land must go to the non-Whites.

Whites can never accept this as a solution and if they can never accept it, it means that they are not sincere in their policies; therefore they alone have no solution to our problems.

The idea that the African people must be grouped according to their tribal affiliations is not going to help the Whites because as long as they remain in their position of superiority they will remain the common enemy of the Africans in general.

**CHRISTOPHER MLOKOTHI,  
P 17A, Nyanga, Cape.**

## Unity is strength

**S**IR.—We Africans must call for unity; unity is strength. Here in Africa we are the bosses no matter what White supremacists do, even if they kill some of us every day.



**A. G. M. KEEAIKITSE,  
Port Elizabeth.**

## Equalize wealth and Poverty

**S**IR.—The Swaziland Progressive Party is pointing out plainly that the nations of Swaziland are not living according to the laws of God. Therefore to do so will be the means of peace and harmony in Swaziland so that the King Sobhuza shall be the head and ruler without apartheid being practised here in his country.

But fostered by blind belief in the dogmas and superstitions of the past, prejudices of all kinds thrive: prejudices of religion, race and class.

Let there be equalization of wealth and poverty. For we see among us men who are overburdened with riches and those who starve with nothing, just because they have no representative of theirs. This form of things is wrong and must be remedied.

**"SAPA-REUTER",  
Mbabane, Swaziland.**

## UNITE TO SAVE OUR COUNTRY

**S**IR.—In Swazi we say that if the enemy is within our community it is hard to win the battle outside. Irrespective of race, colour or creed we are all Swazis here in this country. There can be no loyalty when this country is racially divided. We intend not to divide and subdivide people in our country into racial groups depriving them of their civil rights and liberties as the South African government is at present doing.

As for the Whites in our country, their future is secure; it is false to say that we want to drive them out of Swaziland.

The Whites here in our country will be driven out of the country by their own behaviour. An important fact is that when equality between the races comes about, it is obvious that the Whites will leave the country for the majority of them are too proud and too greedy to share equal rights with the Africans.

What remains for our White brothers now in this country and in Africa as a whole is to take away the old myth of White supremacy and bury it a thousand fathoms into the depths of the sunless ocean and then come to us as friends.

To a non-racial Swaziland let all the people of the country march. Now what remains for us is to unite and save our country or disunite and lead our country to shame and destruction.

**H. D. DHLAMINI,  
Manzini, Swaziland.**



## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Starting in our next issue, we will be giving a prize for the best letter of the fortnight. The prize will be a year's free subscription to "Contact".
- Remember to keep your letters short and to the point
- And send a picture of yourself too if you like

## New constitution to blame

**S**IR.—The new Northern Rhodesian constitution is just creating trouble everywhere in the country. This constitution has always been unacceptable to the majority in this country.

U.N.I.P. has completely rejected this constitution, and would boycott the election, and many people say this constitution is rubbish, which only awaits to be thrown into the pit.

Recently, there have been incidents in the Northern Province, which have led to the banning of U.N.I.P. branches there. Still the Northern Rhodesian Government thinks it's U.N.I.P. that is organizing these incidents.

It is quite clear that it is the constitution that leads to all the violence in Northern Rhodesia, for a better constitution would settle matters.

**G. S. BANDA,  
Lusaka, N.R.**

## "New Age" hides the truth

**S**IR.—*New Age* hides truth from readers, especially when they expose the rottenness and mischief of communism, that enemy of African nationalism which is busy destroying true African leadership in favour of communist stooges and hirelings of Moscow.

Here is what I sent to *New Age* and what they hid from my letter:

"Your article 'Ntsu Mokhehle Attacks Mandela' (17th August, 1961) has shocked many of us. It is very unfortunate that this has happened. African leaders must sink their differences and work for the liberation of Africa.

"But *New Age* is also wrong in attacking Mr. Mokhehle and telling

## Liberty for whom?

**S**IR.—A liberal, if words mean anything, is a lover of liberty. Unfortunately not all lovers of liberty are liberals. The world is full of individuals and groups who demand liberty for themselves but deny it to other individuals and groups.

A man who is full of liberty, values liberty not only for himself but also for other human beings: not only for his group or people. He regards liberty as essential if human beings are to achieve humanity. In short, if we look at South Africa as a whole, its political structure is not democracy; it is pigmentocracy.

Pigmentocracy is an undesirable prejudice and is destructive.

**REGINALD SOMVUMANSE,  
Cape Town.**

lies about him. Your paper says "there are persistent rumours of a "deal" between certain leaders of the B.C.P. and the British authorities . . . In return the demand for independence is to be dropped by the B.C.P. at least for the time being."

"It is not the first time that your paper has tried to destroy the leadership of a genuine African politician. Why do you utter such serious allegations about Mr. Mokhehle merely on 'persistent rumour'? Has your standard of journalism sunk so low? Or are you trying to mislead the African people whose cause you falsely claim to champion?"

"Like any other leader, Mr. Mokhehle has made mistakes but it is certainly not the mistakes of 'selling out' to British imperialism as you suggest. Mokhehle is a tried and principled leader. He does not take his orders from Moscow or Khrushchev as your paper does.

"We know your objects. You hate African nationalism because your paper works for communist imperialism. You want your own communist stooges to lead Africa in the interests of Moscow. You forget that Africa is not an extension or projection of Russia or Europe.

"Mr. Editor, your paper has the right to work for the cause of Moscow imperialism, but it has not the least right to falsely accuse our leaders and to sow seeds of disunity among them. True African leaders are working for the freedom of their people and not for Moscow domination. In fact, it is high time African politicians start their own paper."

**TRUE SON OF AFRICA,  
Jabavu, Johannesburg.**

\*What "New Age" removed from the letter is printed in black.

As there is an election on in South Africa, any letters dealing with matters which might influence the outcome of the election must bear the full name and address of the writer.

## The Foundations of Freedom

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

D. V. COWEN R3.00

## The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa

G. V. DOXEY R2.25

## The Peoples and Policies of South Africa

LEO MARQUARD R2.10

## Multi-Racial South Africa

Z. J. DE BEER 85c

(O.U.P., London with the Institute of Race Relations, London)

**O X F O R D  
University  
Press CAPE TOWN**

## SWAZILAND

# “Development — yes, but with equality” — says S.P.P.

## BIG POLITICAL, ECONOMIC CHANGES ARE ON THE WAY

By a Reporter

**I**N an interview with *Contact* on the last day of their visit to Cape Town, Mr. J. J. Nquku and Dr. A. P. Zwane, respectively President and Secretary-General of the Swaziland Progressive Party, said that they had been here to prepare the Party's final constitutional proposals with Professor Denis V. Cowen.

*Contact* was able to speak to the two leaders at D. F. Malan airport, Cape Town, on 16th September, a few minutes before they flew to Johannesburg.

**CONTACT:** *I see in the "Cape Times" this morning that work on the railway line through Swaziland, and mining of iron at Bomvu Ridge is to start soon. What do you think of this?*

**ZWANE:** We welcome this development — our desire is to see the country industrialized in the interest of all, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

**NQUKU:** But we are opposed to a monopoly by one section over the others — the monopoly of political and economic power.

We are grieved that the Swazi had no real say in these agreements for the building of the railway and the exploitation of the iron deposits. We are against these unilateral agreements.

But we welcome the fact that development is increasing in Swaziland — though we feel that the benefits will not be shared fairly and equally.

**ZWANE:** It is urgently necessary to

on a policy which will lead to the eventual africanization of the enterprise. They must make Anglo-American prepare positively for africanization.

And all workers should have to be paid a living wage, laid down by the government.

### Future of Whites

**CONTACT:** *What of the future of the Whites in Swaziland?*

**NQUKU:** There is a great future for everybody in Swaziland so long as they are not out to exploit the people.

Whites in Swaziland are Swazilanders



NQUKU

—and should have full rights but no privilege, democratic rights but no supremacy.

**CONTACT:** *Can you give a brief outline of your constitutional proposals?*

**ZWANE:** Our proposed constitution allows for a temporary, interim, transition to full non-racial democracy.

As far as the franchise is concerned, we would be prepared to discuss as a compromise measure two rolls, both non-racial.

One roll would elect 32 representatives and all adults would be able to vote on it.

The other would elect 10 representatives, and only people with Std. VII would be able to vote on it. But there would be no property or income qualifications, only educational qualifications. Whites who live in Swaziland but are South African citizens, will have to choose between Swaziland and South Africa, because they would not be allowed to keep dual citizenship.

**CONTACT:** *Why have you conceded a qualified roll when you believe in one man one vote?*

**ZWANE:** The franchise arrangements are considered as an interim, temporary measure to get Whites adapted to the idea that they must throw in their lot with the Eurafrians and Swazis to form a broader nation consisting of Swazilanders.

**CONTACT:** *How temporary?*

**ZWANE:** We want full adult suffrage and responsible government in three years.

In the arrangement we propose, provision is made recognizing differences in the past. Now Whites must forget White supremacy and move towards unity.

Eurafrians have in the past been left out in the cold and in the new non-racial democracy we will see that a fair place is found for them.

**CONTACT:** *What reaction will there be to your proposals in the rest of Africa?*

**ZWANE:** I expect some leaders will object to the two voters' rolls, but we see that as a temporary compromise with the entrenched Whites.

**CONTACT:** *Do you think that the British government will accept your proposals for Swaziland?*

**ZWANE:** I think that there is a great chance of our constitution being accepted.

**NQUKU:** What gives us hope is that the British government wants to make



SOBHUZA II

Swaziland a shop-window for the rest of southern Africa.

**ZWANE:** We are surrounded by two totalitarian regimes — Portuguese Mozambique and Verwoerd's South Africa.

If a full non-racial democracy can be established in this island it will have a great impact on the people who suffer under those regimes and indirectly on the regimes themselves.

That is why we bank so much on British public opinion; we feel that British people want those regimes changed.

**CONTACT:** *What is your attitude to the Paramount Chief whose constitutional proposals are so different from yours?*

**ZWANE:** We are completely loyal to the Ingwenyama, and are fighting on his behalf although he does not realize it — but he will see in the long run that we are the champions of his cause.

We believe that the ideas he expresses have been sold to him by people from South Africa — they are partly United Party race-federation and partly Rantustan.

He will discover the fallacy of these ideas.

**CONTACT:** *What do you see as his eventual position in Swaziland?*

**ZWANE:** We want him to be Head of State, like the Sultan of Zanzibar.



ZWANE

establish a non-racial democracy in Swaziland, otherwise the people will not benefit from development.

Only a fully democratic constitution will cushion the impact which economic development will produce in Swaziland.

Trade unions must be allowed to act freely — for trade unions are the only means through which the worker can get the benefits of industrialization.

The Catchpole Report, on which government labour legislation is to be based, attempts to postpone the establishment of free trade unions.

### Anglo-American Corporation

Government must make Anglo-American, the company with the largest interest in the new mine at Bomvu Ridge, apply a policy of training Africans in the industry at top level. Government must insist

## BASUTOLAND

# Paramount Chief Gives the Lead

**From "Contact" Correspondent MASERU:** When the current session of the Basutoland Legislative Council opened in Maseru on 11th September, the young Paramount Chief Moshoeshe II called for responsible government and by doing so emerged as the spokesman for his nation's desire for more independence. It was perhaps the first time during the current century that a Basuto paramount chief has headed the country's democratic forces.

### British Plans

The opening of the Council session had been awaited with expectancy and apprehension by the people. It was known that all the political parties (except one small party) were in agreement that responsible government should come in the immediate future. It was also known that the British did not want Council to express itself openly and clearly on the subject, and thus to mobilize public opinion behind the demand. It was expected that the British would get in first, call for a commission on the question of the whole constitutional set-up, and thereafter have discussion on the demand for

responsible government ruled out of order by the speaker (Mr. Walter Stanford). It was also known that certain political parties had planned demonstrations to support the popular demand.

In the event nothing happened as expected. The Paramount Chief, at an early stage, expressed the desire in terms of section 50(2) of the law of the constitution to address the council, and did so. In his address he asked

- for responsible government
- for himself to be recognized as Head of State
- and for independence (while maintaining British protection).

In making this demand the Paramount Chief spearheaded the popular desire, stepped into a position of leadership of the whole nation, and prevented the British from smothering the demand. There were no demonstrations.

It is virtually certain that the Legislative Council will give the Paramount Chief its full support, for fourteen of the members are his own nominees, and none of the democratically-elected members are expected to vote against the motion.

Points from the Paramount Chief's speech were:



MOSHOSHOE II

- "the effect would be that Paramount Chief Motlotlehi Moshoeshe II would formally and legally be recognized as the Head of State — not only as Head of the Basuto nation in a conventional way . . ."
- "The whole administration of the country, the Government of Basutoland, would fall under Motlotlehi Moshoeshe II as the Head of State, and would be carried out in his name and on his behalf . . ."
- "the Laws of Basutoland would be enacted by him (the Paramount Chief) with the advice and consent of this parliament . . ."

Public opinion has been deeply stirred by the speech, which is discussed everywhere. Responsible government will now certainly be the principal subject of the debates in the Legislative Council for the next two weeks.



# contact

Vol. 4 No. 20

5c (6d)

5th OCTOBER 1961

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

**“S.A. MUST HAVE**

**AFRICAN GOVT.”**

**— SAYS KGOSANA**

— see page 3

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**



S.A. out of  
World Soccer

## **DENNIS BRUTUS**

Honorary Secretary of the S.A. Sports Association; one of those who according to *Die Burger* has acted with “great determination and cunning”, in the battle against racialism in South African sport. On page eight he writes on White South Africa’s suspension from the Federation of International Football Associations.



# contact

South Africa's non-racial  
fortnightly

47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN

P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524

Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

## CORRESPONDENTS

Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg,  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Lagos.

London.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

### African Postal Union:

R1.40 (14/-) per year.

R0.70 (7/-) per half year.

### Airmail:

R2.70 (£1 7 0.) per year.

R1.35 (13/6) per half year.

### Elsewhere:

R1.70 (17/-) per year.

### Airmail:

On application.

## Shorts . . .

● The "forgotten emergency", the ten-month-old suspension of the rule of law in the whole Transkei, is still proving a handy means of crushing opposition to the Government. Four men are reported to have been in Willowvale gaol, without charge, trial or even legal advice, since 20th July, in connection with destruction of dipping tanks. Mr. Lite Msutu and his three companions, the men concerned, are from Kakazana location, where damage to government dipping tanks was reported in June.

● "The missionaries regard themselves as ambassadors of the 'Boerenasie' (Afrikaner nation) when they go among other race groups in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa . . . Whatever happens we are and remain sons of our 'volk' (people), missionaries of the 'Boerenasie.'" — Dr. C. H. Badenhorst, Chairman of the Union of Missionaries of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) in South Africa, 27th September 1961.

● "The most sensational stories from the Cameroons, it is true, emphasize that the rebels are either 'Pekin trained' or led by 'Pekin trained' leaders. Though no doubt there is a long connection between some U.P.C. (Union of the People of Cameroun) people and China, to dress up as purposeful communist operation a rebellion which is largely tribal in its nature, and appears to be now without ideological content, is preposterous."

—West Africa, 9th September, 1961.

● Hundreds of people attended a meeting in Mbabane called on about 19th September by the Swaziland Progressive Party to report on the draft constitution for the country proposed by the party and Professor D. V. Cowen. Throughout the meeting people interjected shouts of "We want the vote".

All political comment and headlining in this issue is unless otherwise stated by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

## Comment

# WE WANT NEHRU

WHO will succeed Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General of the United Nations? The answer to this major question should be found at the current session, which opened so soon after the fatal air crash in which he died.

It was difficult enough for the world to agree on his election in 1953. But the tension between the East and the West is worse now than it was eight years ago, and it will be still more difficult to elect his successor.

There is not even agreement that he ought to have a successor, for the Russians have put forward a plan for there to be a team of three men, one communist, one from the West and one from Afro-Asia. This plan Mr. Khrushchev calls his "troika" plan, and although the uncommitted nations that met at Belgrade did not like it, and although the West is determined that the usefulness of the Secretary-General shall not be destroyed in this way, the Russians can be expected to do all they can to block any scheme which is not theirs.

There is really only one way of winning enough support for the election of a single successor, and that is for a man so unbiased, and of such impressive stature, to be elected that no power, however great, could oppose him without isolating itself.

Put this way the choice is obvious: Prime Minister Nehru. Mr. Nash of New Zealand and the *Observer* in London have both already proposed his name. He himself has commented that he would not wish to take on the job. But his answer might be different if the invitation were to come from an overwhelming majority of the human race.

Of course it is unprecedented for a great prime minister to take on the job. But then the job itself is unprecedented. Mr. Hammarskjöld had to create precedents all the time: that is why a small man, small enough to be unobjec-

tionable, simply could not carry the responsibility.

The terrible strains of the United Nations' caretaking in the Congo have menaced U.N.'s future existence. From today the organization will either go down in a succession of disasters, or it will seize the opportunities of the difficulties and grow ever more powerful.

Only Prime Minister Nehru can rise to the heights of authority necessary for the survival and growth of the world body. For Africa's sake, and for the sake of the whole human race, the United Nations must not fail. May it therefore be wise enough to draft as its new Secretary-General Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the greatest world-citizens.

## The next 10,000 years

A MONTH ago the "foul winds of war" were blowing strongly across the world largely because of the Soviet decision to begin exploding atomic bombs in the atmosphere, and because of the Berlin crisis.

To-day the winds have abated a little. Largely responsible for the improvement is the great peace plan put forward by President Kennedy personally at the United Nations. This plan contains six main points. They are:

1. No more testing of bombs
2. No more nuclear explosives to be

## DAG HAMMARSKJOELD

"Contact" mourns the death of Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who was killed while serving Africa and the world.

made, and none supplied to non-nuclear states

3. No nuclear weapons to be handed over to non-nuclear states
4. No nuclear weapons to be sent into space
5. Conversion of existing nuclear weapons into peaceful fuels
6. Testing of rockets, etc., to be halted, and stocks to be gradually destroyed.

President Kennedy gave the world a terrible warning: and the next ten months may well decide the fate of man for the next 10,000 years.

Let Prime Minister Khrushchev meet these great human proposals in the spirit in which they have been made, and let negotiations on disagreements that might lead to war begin as soon as possible.

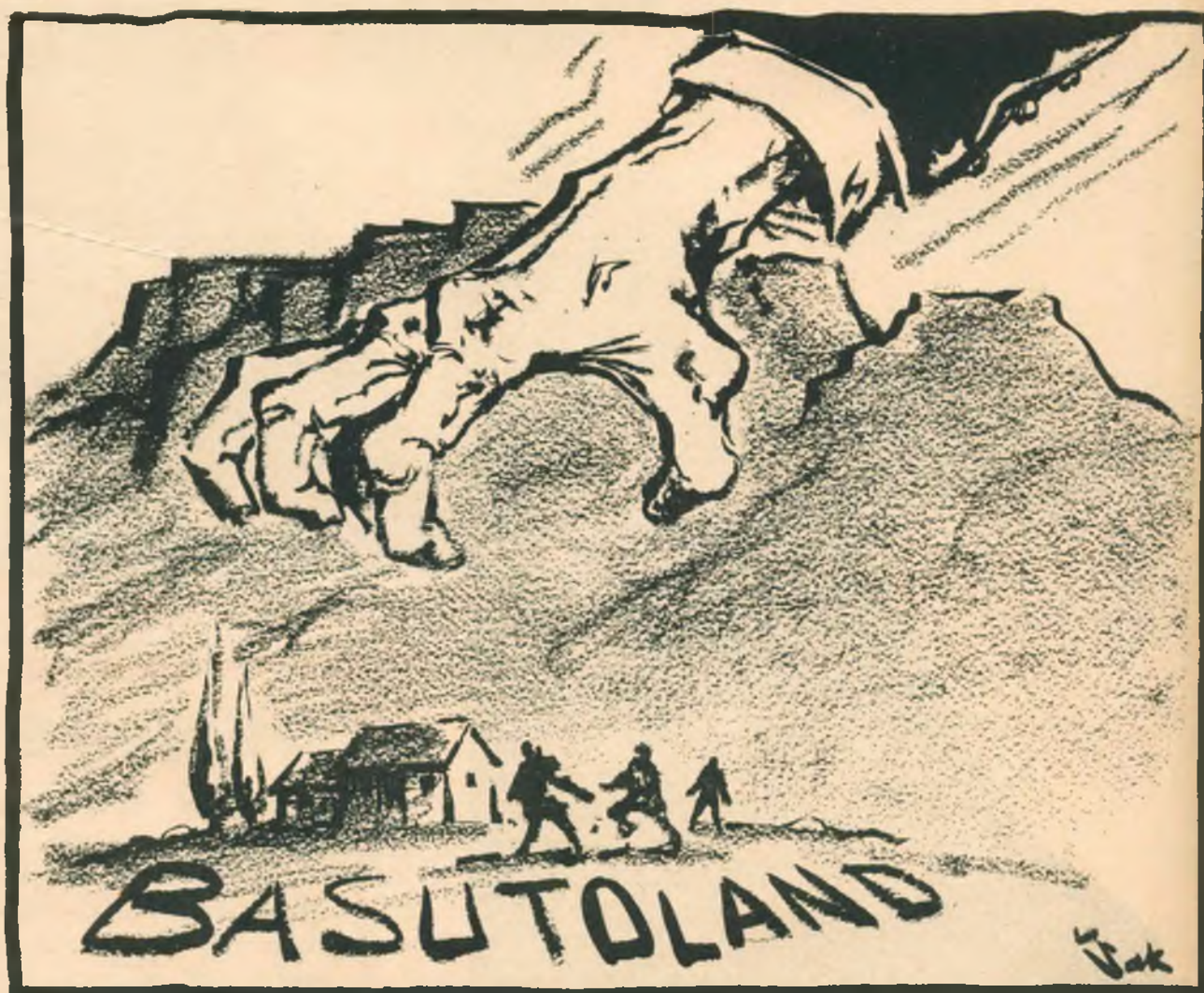
## The Kidnappers

THE cartoon below shows how we regard the kidnapping of Mr. Anderson Khumani Ganyile.

Although the Security Branch has often sneaked into the High Commission Territories in the past, this is the first time that it has used piratical force to "arrest" its opponents on British territory.

Britain and the Basuto dare not try to pretend that the crime did not happen. For if they allow the arrogant armed servants of apartheid to get away with the seizing of Ganyile, then no one knows whose turn it will be next. The honour of the High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, is at stake, and the value of British protection itself is in question. There is only one course open to the British authorities: to find out at all costs where Ganyile is, and to insist that he be sent back to Basutoland.

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.



Not "the long arm of the law" but a long arm of aggression reached into the Basutoland Drakensberg at 10.30 p.m. on 26th August. At that moment six members of Verwoerd's Security Branch illegally invaded peaceful British Basuto territory and shanghaied freedom fighter Anderson Khumani Ganyile and two friends.

# Kgosana Declares—"S.A. Must have African Government"

From "Contact" Correspondent

**DAR ES SALAAM, Tanganyika:** A declaration that South Africa must be free by 1963 under "African rule" was made in an exclusive interview with Michael Fernandez, *Contact* correspondent in Dar es Salaam by two Pan-Africanist leaders, Mr. Philip Kgosana and Mr. Lawrence Mgweba, who fled Cape Town early this year and are now touring the world in an attempt to mobilize world opinion against the South African Government.

## Guests of Government

Both Mr. Kgosana and Mr. Mgweba spent seven days in Dar es Salaam during September as guests of the Tanganyika Government which placed at their disposal a government Mercedes Benz car and thus raised their status in the eyes of refugee politicians from other parts of Africa who are now planning the liberation of their territories under "colonial" rule.

Speaking with the approval of Mr. Kgosana, Mr. Mgweba told me: "We want the independence of South African under African rule. This means we want a government of Africans for the Africans by the Africans. The word 'African' includes everyone of every colour or race who has made South Africa his or

her home—brown, black and white. "We do not recognize the government of settlers that is ruling us now. Independence will be achieved from outside as well as from inside. We are going to launch attacks on South Africa both internally and externally—in fact from all sides," Mr. Mgweba said.

The two exiled Pan-Africanists who make no secret of their dislike for other African political organizations such as the South African United Front and the African National Congress, made it plain that the struggle in South Africa is a "battle of African nationalists".

## Question of Independence

"The question of independence in South Africa is a task of the African nationalists. It is not the task of multi-racialists," Mr. Mgweba declared. "The multi-racialists are not fighting for independence. They are fighting for better conditions and more wages. These conditions of wages and better conditions are out of the question as far as we are concerned. We are not looking for a good White government. We are looking for a government of Africans by the African people. And all those people who support a Black government in Africa, irrespective of their colour or creed, and who support the democratic rule of the African majority, are Africans as far as we are concerned."

Speaking of their exploits and experiences ever since they left Dar es Salaam last July for Ghana, Togo-



Two Pan-Africanist Congress leaders—Mr. Lawrence Mgweba (left) and Mr. Philip Kgosana pictured in Dar es Salaam when they spend seven days in Tanganyika as guests of the Tanganyika Government.

land, Dahomey, Nigeria, Liberia, United Arab Republic and Ethiopia, the two men said that in each of these countries they met the top leaders and have acquainted them at first hand with the South African situation. "All the independent African states we visited are prepared to give us their moral and material support in our struggle," Mr. Kgosana interjected.

Mr. Mgweba continued: "We are out to mobilize world opinion against South Africa including the boycott of South African products bearing in mind

that this will not bring the South African Government to its knees since both Britain and America have not joined in the boycott."

Mr. Kgosana said the time was coming when both Britain and America will be asked to make up their minds to join with other nations in boycotting South African products otherwise "they may both lose all their investments in South Africa".

They told me that they were on their way to countries behind the Iron Curtain to try to rally support for their struggle.



Victor Niedermayer with daughters Siegrid (left) and Ruth.

## GERMANY ASSISTS DEPORTED TEACHER

From "Contact" Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** Mr. Victor Niedermayer, the young German schoolteacher recently kicked out of South Africa because he was a non-racialist, has had his boat fare home paid by the German Government. He has also been given funds by that government to help him re-establish himself.

Mr. Niedermayer, a sportsmaster at the German school in Johannesburg, achieved prominence last year when two of his children were found living with their African nurse in a kraal near Standerton, Transvaal.

He explained that his children loved their nurse, and were being well looked after by her family. But the South African government took a different view, and Mr. Niedermayer was told that his visa allowing him to remain in the country would not be renewed when it expired in June.

In newspaper interviews before he left South Africa, Mr. Niedermayer warned that South Africa was going the same way as Nazi Germany.

In a letter to a friend in Johannesburg this week, Mr. Niedermayer said that West Germany's Social Democratic Party—the largest Opposition group—was doing much for him and his family. The party, he explained, was "very strict in race questions".

Describing his boat-trip to England from South Africa, Mr. Niedermayer said he had met some Coloured people going to live with relatives overseas.

They were shunned by the other South Africans on board the boat, "so we sometimes sat together as a group of displaced people".

He said that when the boat docked at Southampton, there was a large swastika painted in chalk on a pier-head. "So that the ships coming from South Africa stand close to it. This was a bad welcome in England for the South African Nats."

## "EXPEL WHITES FROM S.W.A."—Kozonguizi

**THE Windhoek Advertiser** ("The only English newspaper in South West Africa") carries a front page report (21st September) of a statement said to have been made by Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, President of the South West African National Union to the United Nations Committee on South West Africa in the Ambassador Hotel, Accra, on 22nd June this year.

Mr. Kozonguizi is alleged to have said:

"A climate of peace and security in South West Africa can only be restored by the withdrawal and departure of all the Whites from the Territory of South West Africa. We feel, and that is borne out by experience, that there can never be peace as long as the White Settler remains boss in our country. You can never create peace among confirmed foes.

"It is quite clear, therefore, that the only way to restore a climate of peace and security in South West Africa is

by removing, lock, stock and barrel, the creators of the oppressive rule and their laws—in short, all the Whites must be ejected from South West Africa, and it is in this that we have requested the assistance of the international community who brought them there as our 'civilizers'."

This astonishingly racialistic statement appears to conflict with the policy of S.W.A.N.U., which claims not to be hostile to the Whites.

In commenting on communism, Mr. Kozonguizi said: "We have a very clear stand regarding communism. We only have to remind the United Nations that in its very midst it has die-hard communists," the President of S.W.A.N.U. said.

Addressing the same session of the Committee, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, Chairman of the South West African People's Organization, is reported as having reiterated his organization's belief in non-racial democracy.

## Sobukwe's Portrait Alongside Nasser's, Lumumba's

From "Contact" Correspondent

**CAIRO:** Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe is frequently mentioned here whenever South African politics are discussed. And his portrait hangs today with those of President Nasser, Patrice Lumumba and Joshua Nkomo in the office here of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia.

In conversation Mr. Sobukwe is often linked with the late Patrice Lumumba and the Algerian Prime Minister-to-be, Mohamed Ben Bella.

The head of the United Front office in Cairo is Mr. Mzwandile Piliso, until the time of Sharpeville a medical

student in London. He is assisted by Mr. Vuzumsi Make, a Pan-Africanist. Piliso belongs to neither P.A.C. nor A.N.C., preferring to serve as a go-between in the P.A.C.-A.N.C. rift.

On the situation in South Africa, Mr. Piliso said to me. "Dr. Verwoerd lacks foresight. He seems to think that South Africa can be isolated from the world and able to conduct her affairs in complete secrecy. This type of thinking is very misleading, for South Africa under the present regime can never survive amid independent Africa. One day things are bound to come to a full stop in South Africa and Dr. Verwoerd will have had it. Pity the Afrikaners who are misled to believe that their kingdom has come to stay."

## S.A. POLICE AT WORK IN BASUTOLAND

Although it is illegal, members of the South African Security Branch are working quite openly in Basutoland.

From "Contact" Representative in Maseru

### GANYILE KIDNAPPED

IT is now certain that Mr. Anderson Khumani Ganyile, the exiled Pondo leader, was kidnapped from his lonely hut high on the Basutoland mountains, inside British protected territory.

I have formed this view after seeing high government officials and other residents of this town. I have formed this view despite the official statement that "Inquiries so far made indicate that it is most unlikely".

I shall investigate this act of international piracy during the next few days. (See also page 2.)

### S.A.P. WORK OPENLY

THE kidnapping of Mr. Khumani Ganyile is only one example of a growing insolence on the part of the Union's Security Branch who are operating more and more openly on their own inside Basutoland.

Legally, South African police cannot operate as police inside Basutoland territory unless they have authority from the Basutoland government.

In the old days the South African police scrupulously respected the law and would not have thought of operating without the permission of the Basutoland police.

A series of happenings has shown,

however, that the S.A.P. no longer respect the law and are operating more and more freely inside the territory. Examples are: (1) At the time the departure of Phillip Kgosana was expected, three Security Police travelling in motor-car ON 1707, used to wait day after day at Maseru airfield watching for Mr. Kgosana's aeroplane; (2) Bloemfontein Security Branch police travelled into Basutoland in car OB 1913 on their investigations; (3) After the arrest of Mr. A. H. Ngcobo, a detective-sergeant travelled from Pretoria to search for a friend of Mr. Ngcobo in Maseru and searched for him at his place of employment, without being accompanied by Basutoland police. (See following story.)

### A.B. NGCOBO ARRESTED

MR. A. B. NGCOBO, former member of banned P.A.C., one of South Africa's most prominent political leaders, on bail pending appeal, who had taken refuge in Basutoland, was arrested on Saturday night, 23rd September, in Bethlehem, O.F.S.

He was believed to be on his way from Basutoland to Swaziland, where he had been accepted as a resident.

This was revealed to me by one of his companions—Mr. D. P. Bolofo, a distinguished ex-teacher from Pondoland who fled to Basutoland in April 1961. Mr. Bolofo is the brother of one

of the people kidnapped with Mr. Ganyile. Mr. Bolofo succeeded in escaping arrest and returned from Bethlehem to Maseru where he has a post as one of the Hansard translators attached to the Legislative Council.

The same day that Mr. Bolofo returned, a police party consisting of one White detective-sergeant and one African detective in civilian dress, arrived in Maseru from Pretoria in search of Mr. Bolofo. So far as is known, they did not pass through the Basutoland police channels, but made independent enquiries, a procedure which is completely illegal.

As a result of these happenings, it is not surprising that refugees in Basutoland are feeling apprehensive and wondering what value British protection has.

### REFUGE IN MOUNTAINS

THREE prominent leaders of the now banned P.A.C., resident for many months in Maseru, who had been granted asylum here, took refuge over this week-end in the Maluti mountains of Basutoland.

"We have decided to move temporarily to the mountains," they told *Contact*, "because we do not feel safe in Maseru."

They were referring to rumours going about that S.A.P. are planning further kidnappings on the lines of the Ganyile case.

One of these leaders received an anonymous letter on Tuesday, 26th September, postmarked Johannesburg, containing a warning that he should be careful as he is the next on the list after Ganyile.

## LEADER AGAINST THE COLOUR BAR

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: 27-year-old "Pioneer" and leader of the N.D.P. "Freedom Sitters", Mr. Lovemore R. Chimonyo, has told our Correspondent that he was glad because of a 95 per cent success in his campaign against the colour bar in hotels, restaurants and buses. Africans who work in White suburbs or wanted to go there used to walk for miles, for there were no buses provided. Now they can use any bus.

Mr. Chimonyo who is also an executive member of another independent non-racial body (which includes professional people and university lecturers), the Citizens Against the Colour Bar Society, has put the blame for the colour bar squarely on to the government as the "chief culprit" for not having taken any steps to remove the colour bar by means of legislation.

### Not Opposed

He said this was revealed when he and his party entered some restaurants. Some proprietors told him that they were not opposed to having Africans in their cafes, but were afraid that their businesses would be forced to close down because some of their White customers would not want to mix with "natives", unless the Government were to legislate as has happened in Northern Rhodesia.

Asked to comment on some hotels which have strongly closed their door to non-Whites here in Salisbury, Mr. Chimonyo said that he was asked by the Hoteliers' Association to shelve his invading plans for a while because they were holding discussions to see whether all hotels can go non-racial. "If this doesn't succeed," said Mr. Chimonyo, "I shall see to it that we invade these 'stubborn' hotels every day indefinitely at the rate of four to five people every half an hour, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and their job will be to chase them," he said. Mr. Chimonyo warned the Dutch Reformed Church, which does not want even to see a "shadow" of a black man nearing it, and said that there would be a "declaration of logical war".

### Prison Discrimination

This bearded "freedom sitters" leader also blamed the federal government for preaching partnership in various aspects, but one of the interesting bodies that did not practise it was the Prisons Department. He said White prisoners had better facilities than their African counterparts. "How will you invade that?" *Contact* asked Mr. Chimonyo. "Well," he said, "we have drafted a very big scheme which is going to be

very effective. And the day I shall be arrested and sent to prison, that will be the day. I shall organize all the prisoners, and have a sit-down strike until Africans are given better facilities." **Land Apportionment Act**  
Mr. Chimonyo said that after most of the discriminatory practices are gone, the final one in his programme will be to defy the Land Apportionment Act. *Contact* asked again: "Are you going to buy houses in White residential areas?" "No!" said the director of operations, Mr. Chimonyo, and continued, "We are going there to build ourselves 'pole and mud' huts. I mean the traditional way." "Southern Rhodesia's 'Group Areas' and 'Land Act' combined.



CHIMONYO

## Durban Municipal Workers Press for Recognition

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Councillor J. C. Bolton, a hot tip for the position of deputy-Mayor, and Secretary of the registered Garment Workers' Union and the Furniture Workers' Union, has become a key figure in a dispute between the Council and the unregistered African Municipal Workers' Union.

Both the Furniture and the Garment unions are members of the ultra-respectable South African Trade Union Congress (S.A.T.U.C.). The A.M.W.U. is affiliated to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U.). It has been pressing for recognition by the Durban Municipality for several months, without success.

Instead Mr. Bolton has become chairman of a Council liaison committee with African municipal workers. The Africans on it are appointed representatives. This is a direct contravention of a cardinal principle of trade unionism—that on any negotiating body the worker representatives should be elected by the workers.

There has been correspondence between the A.M.W.U. and the City Council on the matter. The Councillors were also invited to a mass meeting of workers. They did not attend.

Nor did they attend a meeting of citizens called by the Union to present its case.

And meanwhile Mr. Bolton has remained chairman of the stooge liaison committee.

Considerable play has been made of the fact that after the committee was formed a R1 weekly increase of African workers' pay was made (bringing wages

to R6.89 a week). Little has been said, however, of the equally pertinent fact that the increases were recommended by the municipal Economy and Efficiency Committee several months ago. The machinery is slow and the matter only came before Council for final ratification in the past month. It had nothing to do with the Liaison Committee.

A non-racial committee has been formed to assist the A.M.W.U. press for recognition. Some Liberals are serving on the committee.

The A.M.W.U. has sent circulars to garment and furniture workers calling on them to make Mr. Bolton resign from either the liaison committee or the union secretaryship. He is, the circular states, "either a boss' man or a workers' leader. He cannot serve two masters at the same time".

### S.Rhodesia

## N.D.P. to Discuss Constitution

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: The National Democratic Party Congress which is due to open somewhere near the great Zimbabwe ruins soon has got two major issues before it. They are: Whether the Party should take part in the new constitution, and, if not, what action to take; the question of Mr. Nkomo's leadership.

Indications are that people are still not interested in anything less than one man one vote (see *Contact*, 10th August). Mr. Robert Mugabe, National Publicity Secretary of the Party, told *Contact* in an interview that many branches including the main City Branch, Salisbury (which represents people of all races) has already passed a resolution that it is going to recommend to the Congress not to take part in the forthcoming election under the "Sandys-Whitehead" constitution, as have other branches in Salisbury, including the Youth Councillors.



MUGABE

## New Political Movement

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Direct representation for Africans, by Africans, in municipal councils is the immediate goal of a new political movement which has been launched on the Rand.

It is called the Franchise Council, and has the support of thousands of township Africans according to its Secretary, Mr. Madume Tshikane.

Recent meetings in the townships have demanded "the immediate replacement of beer halls by schools, clinics and crèches" and a reduction in train fares.

Mr. Tshikane says that the Franchise Council will not have anything to do with Advisory Boards or anything which is "Bantu- or Muntustan".

According to members, the Franchise Council will not clash in any way with the goals of political organizations organized on national lines. It merely seeks to help keep township Africans on the Rand politically active.

## Pretoria Taxi Petition Fails

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Yesterday (26th September) it became plain that the petition to the Mayor of Pretoria (*Contact*, 8th October, 1960) and all other appeals made by the Liberal Party and the Taxi Associations to the City Council and Traffic Department had failed. The non-White taxi ranks were moved.

Just a year ago an item in the press about the proposed removal of the ranks started the action by the Liberal Party and other interested persons. The petitions and letters to the Council proved beyond any doubt that the people most closely concerned with the taxis—the owners, drivers and users—did not agree with the proposed move and asked for discussions with the Council. The discussions were refused but the Council twice returned the recommendations to the Works and Traffic Committee for reconsideration. Eight months after the move was first recommended it was passed by the Council, but the ranks remained where they were.

But on 26th September this year the taxi ranks were moved.

## Pre-election S.B. Visits

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: African members of the Security Branch have been visiting the homes of Liberals and ex-members of the banned A.N.C. and P.A.C. in the last couple of weeks.

They told the people they visited: "We have been instructed to check up and see whether you are at the same address."

The move is believed to be connected with the general election on 18th October.

## Political Prisoners in East Germany

By SIEGFRIED IHLE

LIKE all manifestations of social life, judicial administration in Communist East Germany was constructed on the Soviet pattern. Law is whatever the Communist Party wants. Everything must be subordinated to its all-embracing claims, regardless of whether family rights or constitutional law is involved.

The hand of an inhumanly harsh legal administration lies heavy on East Germany with its population of sixteen millions. Each individual lives fearfully under the ever-watchful eyes of an ingeniously devised system of informers, and agents—and all that happens takes place beneath the banner of humanity and fraternity, friendship and solidarity.

Nineteen-fifty saw the first political trials to be held in East Germany. It was indicative that their first victims were members of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Its intensive recruiting policy had made this religious community a particular thorn in the flesh of the Communists. Jehovah's Witnesses were accordingly branded as an organization of imperialist agents and their most active members sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment ranging from eight years to life. Subsequently, over 1,400 adherents of the sect were placed behind bars for "incitement to boycott and war".

### FURTHER WAVE

A further wave of arrests was directed mainly at private traders. On the pretext that they would sabotage the building of socialism, they were sentenced to up to fifteen years' penal servitude and their property confiscated. In Potsdam, for instance, the proprietors

of twelve butcher's shops were arrested virtually overnight, merely to gain possession of their businesses.

The ensuing years saw the systematic annihilation of one free enterprise group of interests after another. Owners of businesses large and small were followed by innkeepers and peasants.

Those arrested were sentenced almost exclusively under Article 6 of the East German Constitution, which states that incitement to boycott, all actions which militate against equality of rights, militaristic propaganda, etc., are crimes within the meaning of the penal code. This provision flung wide the gates to tyranny.

Anyone who expressed himself against communism, verbally or in writing, stood condemned as a "criminal". During the years between 1950 and 1960 tens of thousands of victims of this policy received brutally heavy sentences and disappeared behind prison walls.

One still need only express criticism of government functionaries to find oneself prosecuted for defamation of the State. Incitement and espionage activities, for example, are proved if an East German citizen invites friends or relatives to his house to watch a West German programme on his television set.

### 10,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS

There are still more than 10,000 political prisoners in East Germany today, of which a large proportion has already served between five and ten years in gaol.

Prison conditions in East Germany are



## The Evils of Influx Control

By SIS MOYA

TAKE the case of James Fumane, a young man wanting to be a journalist. He lives in a country town where nothing worthy of making news ever happens. Early this year he was offered a job as a reporter with a Johannesburg newspaper.

When he arrived there the authorities told him to get back home and apply to the local Employment Officer for the necessary clearance to transfer to Johannesburg to take up work. This he did, and was told to wait for the permit from Johannesburg. Days, weeks and months passed by. After waiting three months he was told to apply a second time. He applied a second time. Nothing happened. With his third application came the reply that permission could not be granted because the job had been taken by someone else. So James Fumane stands no chance of getting work in Johannesburg legally. He told me, "This transfer business is a subtle means of restricting you to one area. I just can't find suitable work here. I do not know what to do."

### Thousands Like Him

There are thousands of men like him; idling because they are refused permission to leave their home towns even if they have jobs elsewhere. Some of them have children on the verge of starving, others have old parents to support, but the Influx Control has no mercy on them.

But when you want to go to work in a mine, you don't need a transfer. When you are helping the government achieve its aims, you don't need a transfer. Your mere approval of the deeds of the government is a passport to move from city to city, from town to town without hindrance.

While our brother in the country is putting his hands to his head and muttering, "Yah, I am defeated", a friend in the city moves about with his nose in the air, canvassing for customers for his business.

"Ag, man," he says, "Why do things legally? Come one, the Dutch folks aren't so clever!"

### Mr. Canvasser

Recently our brother from the country met our city friend, the canvasser. He explained his trouble, and Mr. Canvasser took his reference book\* and threw it on to the floor. "Bring benzine, petrol or paraffin and set it alight!" he cried. "It tells the Dutch folk your sins. It is too heavy for our pockets. What did they tell you at the Influx Control?"

"They said I must go to the Bantu Commissioner at home," answered James, our country brother.

"Nonsense," protested Mr. Canvasser, you are not going to do that. You'll get back there and wait for your pass to Johannesburg until you grow horns. We are the men here; we'll fix you up if you have the bucks."

The following day James was given a piece of paper by Mr. Canvasser. It read "James X is a bona fide resident of Y township and he wishes to be issued with a Reference Book". For this piece of paper, which had been duly signed by the location superintendent, James paid R4 (£2). He then bought a birth certificate (forged) from a preacher around the corner for R2 (£1). From there he was passed on through some offices until he reached the Pass Office.

After paying, his papers were fixed in this way: the C26 card and an application form were filled in. Then followed the fingerprint card. Because his fingerprints are filed at the Reference Bureau

in Pretoria, the operators in this illegal business have evolved a formula—the index and middle fingers are left out and someone else's substituted for them.

### New Reference Book

After three weeks James received his new Reference Book, complete with City of Johannesburg tax identity numbers!

I asked the operator about his business. He said, "This is just a way of making ourselves secure. It's not bad at all since we are helping our brothers who suffer at the hands of those who have power and coerce the weak."

Other victims go so far as to buy their transfers from go-betweens in their home towns. One victim got so intrepid as to steal a date stamp and a rubber stamp with these words on it: "Authorised to proceed from . . . . . to . . . . . to take up employment."

So he opened his own, unofficial Bantu Commissioner's office and sold transfers to his clients.

I asked several leading citizens their opinion of the Influx Control.

A minister of religion said, "Our people are living in a world of restrictions where man is even barred from making use of his natural talents. . . Whites rule the African masses through an unjust, evil law called Influx Control."

A social worker described Influx Control as "a problem from which can surely spring the seeds of violence and revolt . . ."

While Influx Control achieves its aims, hungry stomachs are talking.

\*Top left, men's reference book.  
\*Top right, women's reference book.

# Now "Bantuized" Education for Coloureds?

From "Contact" Correspondent  
**PORT ELIZABETH:** Speaking at the Strand (*Cape Times*, 26th September, 1961), the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr. P. W. Botha, issued a warning to Coloured teachers who are "abusing the advantages afforded them by the government's policy of a parallel system of education for the Coloured people, and who are trying to undermine that policy". "They will soon find out," he said, "that they are not dealing with people who have feet of clay."

## "PURGE" OF TEACHERS

Observers see this as a threat to any Coloured teacher who speaks out on political issues, as a threat which will be fulfilled when the education of Coloured children has been transferred from the control of the provincial administrations to that of the newly created Department of Coloured Affairs. The transfer will probably be implemented next year, and is expected to be followed by a purge of teachers similar to that which followed the passing of the Bantu Education Act.

It will be remembered that large numbers of teachers in African

schools then were dismissed or else resigned. The number in the first few months was 116, and this has now risen to a total of about 360.

With the transfer many changes are expected, on the analogy of what happened when the Bantu Education Department was set up: First, all teachers who wish to remain in schools under the control of the Coloured Affairs Department would have to enter into new contracts. Some teachers would be told that they are no longer wanted and their contracts would not be confirmed; others would be dismissed by not being offered contracts.

## NEW AIMS, NEW SYSTEM

The most far-reaching change would be in the aims of the new system of education, which, like Bantu Education, would fit the children for a subordinate place in society, emphasizing

group differences, and making them accept a separate "Coloured" identity.

The shift in the aims of the education would be reflected in changed curricula, with emphasis on handiwork, farming and training for menial and semi-skilled work.

## ALREADY TRANSFERRED

Already certain institutions for Coloured people are being placed under the control of the Coloured Affairs Department acting through the Union Council for Coloured Affairs (U.C.C.A.). Special schools (for those blind, deaf, dumb and disabled children) have already been transferred to the Coloured Affairs Department.

Mr. P. W. Botha announced on 26th September that the Coloured University College of the Western Cape has been transferred from the control of the Department of Education to that of the Department of Coloured Affairs.

## Angola

# NATIONALISTS TO TRAIN WITH ALGERIAN ARMY

WITH the approaching end to the dry season, the Angolan nationalists now have the opportunity of launching a new offensive against the Portuguese which will enable them to re-occupy lost positions. However, the shortage of arms, mortars and grenades in particular is a serious handicap to them.

The party conducting the war, the

Union of the Population of Angola (U.P.A.), led by Mr. Holden Roberto, is in search of war materials. Up till now, the only government (apart from that of the late Patrice Lumumba) which has supplied the U.P.A. with arms has been the government of Tunisia.

The government of Ghana which had pledged its support to Mr. Roberto, stopped giving it when the Congo crisis developed.

Mr. Roberto, who was in Leopoldville to direct the war in Angola could not leave the Congo to visit Ghana without having difficulty with the Congo government of the time (that of the "college of commissioners" which forbade travel to any of the "Casablanca" countries).

Mr. Roberto was also hindered by the activities of certain pro-Portuguese groups in Leopoldville, which did everything in their power to persuade the government either to expel him from the Congo or to imprison him.

## Adoula

However, with the accession of the Adoula government the atmosphere has changed. Mr. Adoula is a personal friend of the U.P.A. leader. After the election of Mr. Adoula as prime minister of the Congo, the leaders of the U.P.A. sent him a telegram of congratulation.

In order to improve the military knowledge of officers in the Angolan nationalist army, the U.P.A. is to send a group of young Angolans for training at the military colleges of the F.L.N. (Algerian liberation army) and the Tunisian army.

It is hoped that this will strengthen the Angolan "Army of National Liberation" which suffers from a shortage of officers trained in guerrilla warfare.

After some time, the U.P.A. has reappeared on the international scene. It sent a delegation of the J.U.P.A. (Jeunesse de l'U.P.A., U.P.A. Youth League) to the World Assembly of Youth seminar held in Dar es Salaam, Tanganika, during August this year.

Mr. Roberto himself attended the Belgrade Conference of non-aligned states which was held in Belgrade from 1st September. He headed a five-man U.P.A. delegation, and it is believed that he put his visit to good account in obtaining material aid for the war against the Portuguese.

—*Afrique Action*, 16th Sept., 1961.

## Cape Town U.N. Association — First Newsletter

FOR years the only South African branch of the United Nations Association was in Johannesburg. Recently, however, a group of Cape-tonians established a Cape Region of the Association in Cape Town. And now the Region's Honorary Secretary, Mr. Brian Francis Bishop, has produced the first issue, for September, of a 3-page newsletter. Interestingly written, it reflects news from outside and inside South Africa.



Mr. Bishop is 26, a Roman Catholic and a fierce anti-communist, with a son and three daughters. ("I don't lose any sleep over the skin colour of the men they may one day marry.") He is a mountaineer and swimmer, and has played for Western Province at Basketball.

Some years ago he joined the Cape Non-European Night Schools Association and became principal of their school in the Harbour Compound.

He has believed in the United Nations for years. He says: "I have formed the Cape Town Region of U.N.A.S.A. to help people to know about the U.N., to understand that chaos would result if the U.N. were destroyed."

## L.P. Election Campaign—

# "Change in Public Opinion"

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Mrs. Mary Walker has "moved in" to the election committee rooms in Hillbrow so that she can concentrate night and day on the election. A large section of a large old house in Pretoria Street has been hired by the Liberal Party for the election. Members have painted the outside of the house, erected a canopy and paved the front garden, where chairs, tables and an umbrella are placed to encourage passers-by to come and talk and read the Party literature. Informal meetings are held in the committee rooms for the constituents. Election propaganda is distributed to voters by members and posters and stickers are plastered round the constituency at weekly "Sticker Parties".

Mrs. Walker is opposing Dr. Louis Steenkamp in Hillbrow.

Canvassers have found a significant change in public reaction to the Liberal Party. Reception from the public is better than ever before.

The old "don't split the vote" arguments have faded away and people are recognizing the need for strong opposition voices in Parliament.

## MRS. NGOYI BANNED

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Mrs. Lillian Ngoyi, the president of the South African Federation of Women, has been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act from attending meetings for a period of five years.

Mrs. Ngoyi is the former president of the banned A.N.C. Women's League. Her last major meeting was the national conference of the Federation held in Port Elizabeth early in September.

# Mongi Slim—new U.N. President



MONGI SLIM, of Tunisia, who last year led the attack on the South African government when its policies were debated in the Security Council of the United Nations as a result of Sharpeville, has been unanimously elected President of U.N.'s General Assembly. In his inaugural address he declared, to the annoyance of the South African government, "The people of South Africa must achieve their full rights in their own country".

The great honour of his election comes at a moment when the United

Nations is faced with the gravest crisis of its existence—the problems posed by the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld, the former Secretary General.

Mongi Slim is not just an ordinary Tunisian—he is neither an Arab nor a Berber. His grandfather was a Greek, a Christian and, at the age of twelve, a slave. His name was Kafkalas. At fifty, grandfather Kafkalas became Slim, and Slim became a Muslim and a Minister of State.

It was a rapid change, but being rapid made it no less profound. His grandson, Mongi Slim, like his three brothers, Hedi, Taieb and Bechir, was a fervent member of the Tunisian nationalist movement and was imprisoned many times by the French.

At the age of forty-six he revived the family tradition and became a Minister of State in the first government of the new Tunisia.

In negotiations with the French government under Mendes-France and Faure, which led Tunisia to internal self government, he began to make his name as a diplomat who could not be ruffled. In 1956 he took his seat at the United Nations. The representatives of the world began to get to know the man who was said to know the ropes in Manhattan.

With him they smoked his Tunisian cigarettes of which, according to his friends, he consumed an inordinate number, but they never managed to keep up with him in his daily marathon of forty cups of coffee.

—*Afrique Action*, 23rd Sept., 1961.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## Vote Liberal!

**SIR.**—This month the White population of South Africa is going to the polls to elect a new government.

The number of these voters is only 1,823,883, and they are to elect the government which is going to rule more than 12,000,000 voteless citizens.

We Africans, although our patience is being exhausted, are keenly watching whether the Whites will show any change of heart. They are given a chance, they can prove it, by voting for the two Liberal Party candidates.

Africans consider this general election as an important gauge. It will show if the Whites have noticed during the last thirteen years how dangerous the policy of racial hatred is.

The voters must understand that they can endanger the security of the White people by voting in favour of a government which holds an insulting attitude and forces ungodly laws on the Africans.

The South African Whites can act as good ambassadors. The continuing existence of the Whites in Africa depends on these voters.

With more arms you can shoot more Africans than at Sharpeville and Langa, but with a non-racial government you can be sure of permanent peace and security.

**J. N. S. MCAPAZELI,**  
S-22, Nyanga East, P.O. Nyanga, Cape.

## "African socialism"

**SIR.**—With reference to your report of Mr. Takawira's interview in Dakar (*Contact*, 7th September) it seems to me a great pity that the most interesting Bantu system of distributing and sharing wealth should find no more suitable name than "socialism". Mr. Takawira makes it clear that he does not mean Russian and Communist socialism, but unfortunately the word "socialism" in English has come to mean state ownership to most people.

As anyone who wishes can verify, only grazing and hunting and foraging lands were of common right in Bantu culture. Cattle and fields, the substantial productive wealth of the people, were appropriated to individuals and houses, and could be transmitted by inheritance. Although chiefs had a cover ownership of land in the name of the people, fields could not normally be taken away except for crime or misuse.

The wisdom of African institutions was to develop the system of making individuals responsible for their own upkeep, and in the governance and use of materials, without allowing it to

become too selfish and profit seeking. All a man's wealth was under servitude to his clan or village in use, when he assisted with lobola, when he supported his brother's widow, when others linked with him suffered loss. In the use of the products of wealth all was mutual.

This combining of personal responsibility with sharing in use was a very high value, and close to the traditional concept of the ownership and use of wealth in Christianity, which a recent commercial age has ignored. If Africa is to give a "third culture" to the world it might not be least in carrying the spirit of this wise adaptation into modern industrial problems, and so solving the individual-collectivist battle over wealth.

I am sure Mr. Takawira is referring to the same thing as I am. I wish a name could be found for it suggesting its flexibility better than the word "socialism". "Co-operative ownership", or "trustee ownership" would better suggest its true form.

**F. SYNNOTT,**

P.B. 541, Donnybrook, Natal.

—President Sékou Touré of Guinea uses the word "communaucratic" in place of "democratic" to describe his idea of African socialism.  
—Editor.

## Deplores "White Front"

**SIR.**—In the *Sunday Times* of 10th September an article appeared headed "A White Front formed in Natal". The article reports the existence of the political movement composed of apartheid extremists. The leader is Dr. David du Toit of Paulpietersburg. He and his followers stand for complete segregation and intensive application of the horrible, malicious, apartheid policy.

The whole policy of the "White Front" is disgusting. It is clear that Dr. du Toit and his followers would be glad to see the total and complete extermination of the non-White people from South Africa. Then there would remain "the White man for the White man". There would be no fear of "mixed marriages", "interbreeding" or "hybridization".

The idea is childish and lacks a wide view of the growth and development of Western civilization in this country.

His declaration goes on to call upon the Whites to "save South Africa for the White man" against the "threatening dragon of Black Nationalism". It is high time that Dr. Du Toit realized that no force of whatever nature will ever check the inevitable triumph of "Black Nationalism". His efforts to foil

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Keep on writing
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- *Contact* free for a year for the best letter of the fortnight

African Nationalism will be in vain.

No race has been chosen to rule other races and impede the exercise of their natural powers and rights.

I hope the leader of the "White Front" and his satellites will change their cynical and inhuman convictions.

**DISGUSTED AFRICAN,**  
Zastron, O.F.S.

## Doubt and fear

**SIR.**—You published a letter from A. G. M. Keeaikitse, of Port Elizabeth, under the heading "Unity is strength" (21st September). He states that "here in Africa," the Africans "are the bosses no matter what White supremacists do".

Allow me to point out to Mr. Keeaikitse, and any other reader of similar thoughts to his, that the expression of the policy of "no Whites at all" will only engender doubt and fear in the minds of those Whites who are working towards non-racial democracy. And the Whites in South Africa are trying, many of them, to bring about the generally much favoured multi-racial representation which seems to be the beginning of logical handling of the racial situation here.

**MICHAEL MORRIS,**  
Three Anchor Bay, Cape.

## Prize Letter

### EVEN IF WE ARE CRUSHED

**SIR.**—Whatever political changes may come to Africa, the name of Africa will remain unchangeable. Even if we are crushed to powder by atomic bombs, our remains and our ashes will still cry out for our rights.

It is impossible for one nation or race to rule the whole world.

I want world public opinion to be reminded whose children these people are who have brought, whether knowingly or unknowingly, Nazism here in Africa, and have mislabelled it apartheid, partnership, etc.

We in the Federation feel the present Federal government can easily be replaced by a non-racial and truly democratic system.

**BALDWIN E. S. MSOWOYA,**  
Mufulira, N.R.

Please send us your full address so that we can send you "Contact" each fortnight for the next year.—Editor.

## N.D.P. LEADER TO STUDY IN LONDON

From  
"Contact" Correspondent

**BULAWAYO:** Mr. Don K. Naik, the financial secretary of the Bulawayo (City & B.A.T.) branch of the National Democratic Party left for England on 7th September, where he is to further his studies.

While at the London School of Economics, Mr. Naik will first take a diploma in Social Science and Administration. At the same time he will read for a degree in Economics. He will be away for three years. But he intends to keep in touch with events at home.

Mr. Naik is the only Rhodesian of Indian origin to hold high office in the N.D.P.

Before he left Mr. Naik was presented with a shaving set at a party held in his honour. Mr. J. W. Msiska, fellow



The presentation

politician and ex-detainee, made the presentation. "This will make him think of us every morning," commented Mr. Clement M'chachi, Chairman of Mr. Naik's branch of the N.D.P.

Oranjemund to Ovamboland where they were beaten by the headmen.

Lukas Pohamba\* was beaten badly, 12 strokes on each buttock, and after he was released he tried to move from the area.

This ill-treatment must be stopped soon.

**JOHANNES NANGOLO,**  
Francistown, B.P.

\*Mr. Pohamba was previously reported to have been deported to Angola (see "Contact", 27th July, 1961)—Editor.

## J.M. replies to Dr. Roux

**SIR.**—In *Contact* (7th September) Dr. Edward Roux voices some criticisms under the heading "Modern farming methods needed". May I draw the attention of Dr. Roux to the fact that it would need all the columns in *Contact* to expound on the hardships of the people, the cause of these and the failure of the B.A.D. to show signs of concern in the sufferings of, and in the lack of agricultural skill in the reserve people. Further, I assure our critic that Africans do not wish to bring back old traditions and cults. As even he is aware, it is the B.A.D. which strives to perpetuate backwardness.

Unadvanced Africans are in a dilemma, not knowing whether to accept modern culture or to revert to the culture of the kraal. This may be traced to the workings of "Western" native policy in South Africa, which policy aims at breaking tribalism and substituting no social system. It denies the Blacks full access to "Western" culture. Blacks have no stable social pattern of life.

Well, Dr. Roux is aware of the aspirations and views of enlightened Africans; but he knows also how rigorously such aspirants are persecuted, and how any traces of their teachings are rooted out under the banner of the slogans: "agitation", "communism".

Also, while Africans are initiated in "Western" civilization, the B.A.D. does not allow them to assume the responsibility due to ripe, enlightened people. Africans still have their future planned by B.A.D., like it or not. Therefore, if there is lack of skill in farmers, it is because the B.A.D. does not grant facilities for education and training such as our White neighbours enjoy. And we know what lack of training created in the Congo. Most of the Whites' children in these parts train at agricultural schools. The Blacks cannot afford this.

Yet mass education and training is a simple and legitimate duty of any democratic government, which duty our rulers have failed for more than 300 years to carry out.

Where the trust cancel system has not yet set in scientific farming is practised, although the poor contraptions and cheap manure here cannot compare with those of the wealthy Whites. In places like Moletsi one comes across such implements as harrows, rusty and propped against fences or forming gates. And it is a jest and sarcasm among the men that these cannot be used.

Let us focus our well-meaning endeavours on the grim problem: under any system of rule the B.A.D. has so far failed to improve the lot of the masses. What every African should cry for now is even distribution of land. This is time for mutual planning and building, and not for attacking minor issues.

A bad, unenthusiastic farmer, yes, must be removed from the land, not to be thrown in the street, but to be put to suitable practices in other arts. While we may not freely vent such opinions for fear of incurring unsavoury labels, South African press columns have repeatedly sounded the B.A.D.'s intention to turn these reserves into pure cheap labour reservoirs. For a living, these families without property cannot but resort to unsparing, hard labour under the contract system.

I say watch out in *Contact* for revelations of unjusticed one to Africans.

**J. M.,**  
Pietersburg, Tvl.

## Headmen and politicians

**SIR.**—The politicians in Ovamboland suffer a great deal because the headmen are told by the so-called government officials that the politicians want to rule and that if they do, the headmen will never rule again.

This makes the headmen harm the politicians very much because the headmen are paid a small salary by the same officials.

On 1st September I met three Swapo members who were Lukas Pohamba, former Swapo secretary at Tsumeb, Franz Daniel and Petrus Haitembu. They said that they were deported from

# "Whites only" S.A. Teams out of World Soccer

By DENNIS BRUTUS

ON the 25th September, the all-White Football Association of Southern Africa was expelled from the English Football Association; on the 26th it was suspended from membership of the Federation of International Football Associations (F.I.F.A.).

This suspension must be hailed as a further removal of racialism from our sport: there are other steps before victory is achieved: the final expulsion of this racial body and the admission of a non-racial one representing the whole of our country.

The latest development is the result of a great deal of work: on the 13th September the South African Sports Association wrote to the F.I.F.A. in Zurich stating that "the affiliated South African body has taken no practical steps to carry out your request that all bodies remove racialism from their organizations. We urge you to refuse the Football Association of Southern Africa membership of your international body for failing to comply with your request."

Numerous copies of this were sent to the S.A.S.A. representatives in London for distribution to the affiliated countries and their representatives. John Rogers and Antony Steel of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination in Sport have been outstanding in distributing these and previous letters.

But the great burden of the work has rested on two men, and to them must go the fullest credit. They are George Singh, veteran secretary of the non-racial S.A. Soccer Federation, whose able and patient negotiations have been the basis of the entire fight, and Ivor Montague, president of the International Table Tennis Federation, who has acted as the S.A.S.F. representative for many years at F.I.F.A. congresses.



GEORGE SINGH

## Turning Point

Probably the turning point in the fight against soccer racialism came in 1956. After years of appeal to F.I.F.A. which seemed to have no effect, the world

South African Sports Association  
P.O. Box 2129,  
Port Elizabeth, SOUTH AFRICA.  
13th September, 1961.

The Secretary,  
F.I.F.A.,  
Zurich,  
SWITZERLAND.

Dear Sir,

I write to you on behalf of the thousands of sportsmen who support our association in the work of true non-racial sport in South Africa, and particularly on behalf of the South African Soccer Federation - the most fully representative soccer body in the country and one pledged to the removal of racial discrimination in South African soccer.

In spite of the injunctions of your body, the affiliated South African body - the Football Association of Southern Africa - has taken no practical steps to carry out your request that all bodies remove racial discrimination from their organization.

We wish to state emphatically that the F.A.S.A. has made no effort to remove racial discrimination or to offer all soccer players equal membership.

We ask that you institute an investigation. We are convinced that you will find ample evidence for our statement. Pending such investigation, we must urge you to refuse the Football Association of Southern Africa membership of your international body for failing to comply with your request, and failing to make clear its opposition to discrimination.

Yours faithfully,  
D.A. Brutus,  
Hon Secretary, S.A.S.A.

Letter from the South African Sports Association to the Federation of International Football Associations.

body agreed to send out the Lotsy Commission which investigated the position and reported on the existence of discrimination in soccer and that there was no legal justification for it.

For the next four years, George Singh and his federation tried to crack the racial bar. In 1960 they scored a further success when the F.I.F.A. Congress at Rome issued a general directive calling on all its affiliates to remove racial barriers.

Now that there is evidence that the all-White body is not prepared to do so, suspension and expulsion are inevitable.

## English Support

In its attempts to retain membership, the White body has been backed by the powerful English Association. Now that it has severed its links with the Commonwealth, it is deprived of this powerful shield and stands exposed - outlawed by the vast majority of soccer countries in the world.

The F.A.S.A. has defended its policy on two counts: that the rival federation is also a racial body, and that it is prepared to play against non-Whites outside South Africa.

In past years there has been some

truth in the charge of racial divisions among non-Whites, and it is here that S.A.S.A. has made its most valuable contribution. By its relentless campaigning against racialism of all forms in sport - particularly with regard to the Worrell and all-White All Blacks tours - it has accelerated the breaking down of racial barriers among non-Whites and fused them into single united sports groups. The case in defence of racialism therefore collapsed.

## Three Major Projects

The willingness of our racialists to play non-Whites in other countries is no argument in defence of racialism: but it will be used again, in other codes of sport, and must be exposed everywhere.

S.A.S.A. is engaged in three major projects at the moment: the exclusion of South African racialists from the Commonwealth Games at Perth and from the Imperial Cricket Conference, and the expulsion of White South Africa from the world weight-lifting body.

In each fight, the first step may be simply a suspension: these suspensions must be welcomed as a stage towards the achievement of true sportsmanship for all South Africans.

## S.A. PRESS COMMENT

THE suspension of the (White) Football Association of Southern Africa from the Federation of International Football Associations means that the White South African teams will not be able to play against any other teams in the whole world which wish to retain their membership of the F.I.F.A.

According to the *Cape Times* (28th September): "Even South Africa's very close links with her next-door neighbour, Rhodesia, were being broken by South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth and world opposition to her racial policies. . . Rhodesia was breaking away from South Africa at soccer, and if the Empire Games were held in Rhodesia (for the first time in Africa) in 1966, the Republic was more likely to be represented by spectators than by a team.

. . . in many other fields, including basketball and even rugby, sanctions against South Africa would be applied."

COMMENTING on the suspension of the South African Soccer Federation from the world body, *Die Burger*, Cape Town's Nationalist newspaper wrote (28th September):

"The movement to isolate South Africa in the field of international sports has achieved its second important success.

"The first was when the South African Table Tennis Organization for Whites lost its international affiliation, while the non-White organization (which, in theory, does not discriminate on grounds of colour) became affiliated.

"The people responsible for the sports boycott against South Africa act with great determination and cunning. Let us also harness those qualities against our enemies who will bedevil sports and race relations worse than ever if they should have their way."

## Non-Racial Cricket Board wants International Status

FOR the first time the non-racial principle has been established in South African cricket, with the formation of an integrated South African Cricket Board of Control which unites previously racial associations.

The Board of Control, which met in Cape Town early in September, reconstituted itself on a Provincial Federation basis instead of the previous basis of African, Indian and Coloured associations.

## "Pursue Application"

Speaking to *The Graphic* (8th September), Durban, Mr. S. Bridgemohan, Chairman of the Natal Inter-race Cricket Board, said that the meeting resolved to pursue an earlier application for international recognition.

He said that the Board's affiliation to the non-racial South African Sports Association was deferred for consideration at a later date.

The newly constituted Board will consist of seven centres. They are Transvaal, Griqualand, Eastern Province, Border, Western Province, S.W. Districts and Natal.

## National Tournament

Arrangement for a National Tournament has been finalized to take place in Johannesburg. Mr. Bridgemohan said that the tournament will commence on Boxing Day and that all units have promised to take part.

"If the Board is granted international recognition White South Africa would be excluded from the international cricket world in the same way as it has been excluded from world soccer."

To be published on  
12th October, 1961  
Another volume  
in the trilogy

## XHOSA IN TOWN

The first full-scale study of the population of an African town population in South Africa - Duncan Village in East London.

It is of intense interest to laymen as well as to social anthropologists R4.00

## The Black Man's Portion

D. H. READER

Among the findings is the conclusion that the population of the locations was under-enumerated in the 1951 census by nearly half. Other topics discussed are influx control, the 1952 riots and the two commissions appointed. Methods of making both legal and illegal livings are examined. R4.00

Already published

## Townsmen or Tribesmen

PHILIP MAYER

The much-discussed survey of the customs of the 'school' and 'red' Xhosa in town. R4.50

**O X F O R D**  
**University**  
**Press** CAPE TOWN

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance  
P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruis / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829



Published by the Proprietor, Selamela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Linsey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

# contact

Vol. 4 No. 21

5c (6d)

19th OCTOBER 1961

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

**FREDERICK MUTESA II**  
**Kabaka of Buganda,**  
one of Uganda's four Kingdoms.  
If the struggle between him and  
the democratic forces can be  
settled, the country will win its  
independence on 9th October 1962.

—see page 4



# contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly

47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN  
P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524  
Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

## CORRESPONDENTS

Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg,  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Lagos.

London.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

### African Postal Union:

R1.40 (14/-) per year.  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year.

### Airmail:

R2.70 (£1 7 0.) per year.  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year.

### Elsewhere:

R1.70 (17/-) per year.

### Airmail:

On application.

## Shorts . . .

- Radio Ghana, beamed to South Africa, Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Protectorates can be heard daily at 5 p.m. on 17.74 megacycles in the 16-metre band. Reception is good.

- *Contact* asked its correspondent in Salisbury what the reaction of the National Democratic Party was to the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister's announcement that he would abolish the colour bar and the Land Apportionment Act.

He writes: "To the N.D.P. and three million Africans it represents, it is not the removal of the colour bar or the abolition of the Land Apportionment Act that is the solution to our problems. It should be clearly understood that colour bars, the Land Apportionment Act, the Land Husbandry Act, the iniquitous Law and Order (Maintenance) Act are all but mere effects the root cause of which is the monopolization of political power by the Whites.

"To us the solution is nothing less than majority rule on the basis of one man one vote," the N.D.P. declares.

"No good intentions to outlaw race discrimination, short of the removal of the political colour bar which restricts the vote to Europeans on the principle of one White man one vote, will ever deceive us at this stage.

"We do not clamour to swim with the Whites in the swimming pools, but in Parliament, on the sacred principle of universal suffrage. In short, we demand to rule or misrule ourselves," states the N.D.P."

All political comment and headlining in this issue is unless otherwise stated by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

## Comment

### Wages to Rise?

IT is good news indeed that, meeting on 3rd October in the Johannesburg Wanderers Club, 150 of the top business brains met and agreed "that African wages must and can be raised substantially; that they had not kept pace with African productivity" (report in *Financial Mail*, 6th October).

They had met under the auspices of the National Development Foundation, and the conference was the culmination of years of effort by many, in particular by the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association.

Mr. G. C. V. Graham, president of the Midland Chamber of Industries, stated, and was not contradicted, that the wages of Africans had actually worsened since 1954.

The Prime Minister is in agreement with the business men. Speaking on about 25th September to the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut he said that "there must be greater prosperity and buying power for the entire population"—and in the context clearly included everyone, not just the Whites, in these remarks.

Since business is clearly not prepared to act on its own, it is clearly the duty of the government to act, and to decree higher wages through the wage boards. The need is urgent: let increases be ordered NOW.

### What does Nkrumah want?

IN a democracy the leader of the Opposition walks the streets in freedom; under a dictator he languishes in jail. Ghana may have passed from one to the other last week. Dr. Danquah, leader of the Opposition, has

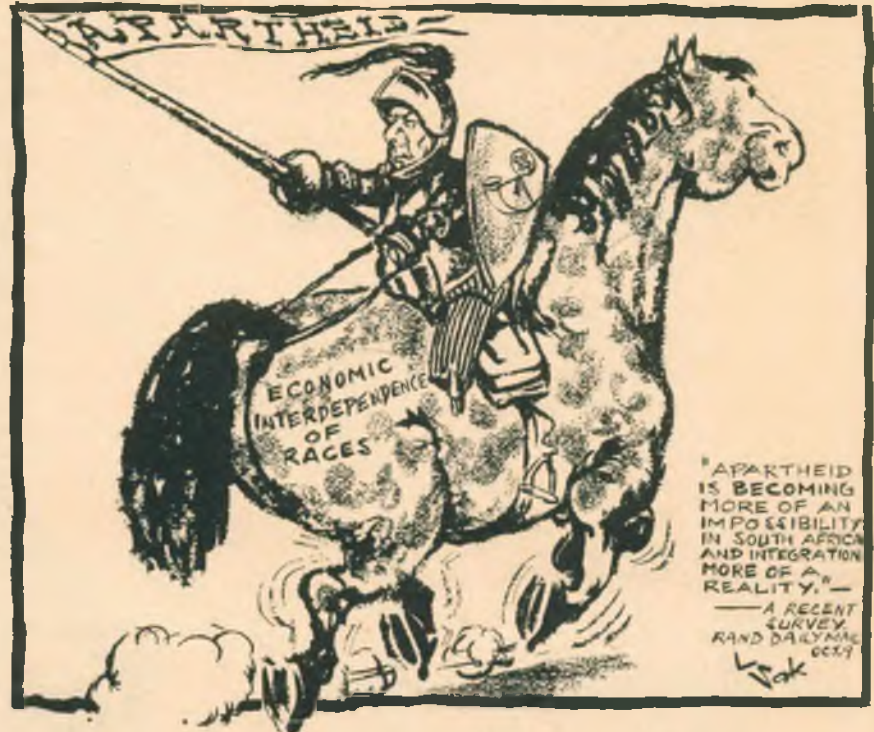
been arrested; so has Joe Appiah, Member of Parliament and son-in-law of Britain's post-war socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps; so has Kwame Addu, editor of the *Ashanti Pioneer*, the main opposition newspaper. Both in and out of politics these were three of the most respected men in Ghana. Loyal to the state, known for their personal integrity, regardless of their own well-being in the common cause, Dr. Danquah and his friends are statesmen in the democratic parliamentary tradition.

What of the man who has arrested them? What does Nkrumah want? At present it is hard to tell. It is not the first time that friends of Ghana all over the world have been disappointed. These arrests may mean calculated progress

towards dictatorship; or they may mean panic. There is a crisis in Ghana. It will not last long. If Danquah stays in prison more than a few weeks we shall know the answer to our question.

The years have shown that however hard dictators become they cannot resist for ever the force of world public opinion. The Ghana government must not be allowed to forget for a single moment that the world knows Dr. Danquah is in prison, and the world knows why.

*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.



## APARTHEID OR CHRISTIANITY?

# CHURCH LEADERS CONDEMN GOVERNMENT POLICY

### From "Contact" Correspondent

recently again come out with damning condemnations of apartheid laws.

A conference organized by the Catholics in Johannesburg recently on African family life, agreed that the insecurity of urban African family life stemmed from:

- The economic factor: "The great majority of African men do not get a living wage, let alone a family wage."
- Lack of freehold tenure in the townships: "A family needs to have a property which it can call its own."
- Unemployment and its threat "constitute a problem of vast proportions in the townships to-day."
- No political representation: "Political representation, it is felt, would alleviate family insecurity."

The conference also criticized migratory labour and influx control, the lack of leisure activities because of the little time available, the little transport and the few facilities.

On Bantu Education, it said that because children were in school for only three hours a day, they were able to spend too much time in the streets while their parents were at work, while the use of the vernacular in schools "was often a language which the parents did not understand, a language thought up academically, and not in relation to life."

The conference called for the payment of adequate wages, the right of freehold tenure in the towns, families to be allowed to live together and the granting of political representation.

It also said that the participation

of Africans in trade unions and political organizations should be encouraged, job reservation should be removed so as to allow Africans free access to all occupations, and that there should be free, compulsory education up to Standard 6.

### Separate Development

A Methodist leader, the Rev. S. P. Freeland, general secretary of the church's Christian Citizenship Department, has come out with a slashing onslaught on the government's policy of "separate development".

In a collection of his sermons, just published, he says:

"What a travesty of the gospel of Jesus is this doctrine of separate development! What a caricature of the universal offer of salvation which is at the very heart of that gospel!

"God forgive us that we have allowed such a false doctrine to be proclaimed in a land that calls itself Christian!"

He described separate development as this "evil dogma", as the "enemy" of the Christian faith, and as something "in direct and uncompromising conflict with the Christian gospel."

Separate development, he says, has led to "insensate discrimination" merely because of the differences in skin colour; it has torn families apart because of migratory labour, influx control, group areas and many other apartheid laws.

Mr. Freeland concludes: "Separate development or the Christian Gospel? Which will South Africa choose?"

### Heavily Attacked

At his church's synod in March this year, he was heavily attacked by delegates for asking that the church's Article 3—which bars non-Whites from membership—be tested in the light of the scriptures.

Professor Geyser's request was overwhelmingly defeated—but it did not stop him continuing to insist that there could be no colour bar in a Christian church. Now he faces a charge of heresy.

On the other side of the picture, the Catholic and Methodist Churches have



Victim of Laws

# HE CAN LIVE NOWHERE LEGALLY

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The latest punishment an African gets under the many laws regulating Africans is to be refused residence in any part of South Africa if he dare oppose the government's apartheid policy. Such is the case of Mr. S. S. Maimela, who succeeded the late Dr. Peter Tsele as president of the militant Pan Africa Freedom Movement in Pretoria.

An ex-detainee, he was recently freed on a charge of having used "hostile and inflammatory language" at a meeting he addressed in Lady Selbourne. He had been under constant watch by the security police before they acted against him.

**Endorsed Out**

In April he was "rubber-stamped" out of the municipal area of Pretoria under the Influx Control regulations. He was deported to his "homeland" Sekhukhuniland.

The influx regulations exiled him in Sekhukhuniland also, for the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner described him as a "threat to security and good administration amongst the Bantu here". On the 26th August he was endorsed out of his "homeland" and provided with a police escort to take him to the bus stop. Mr. Maimela faces a three year gaol term since he is opposed to Bantu Authorities and his stay in Sekhukhuniland is illegal. He is said to have supported the recent upsurge by tribesmen against Bantu Authorities there.

Not knowing what to do, he tried to

join his family at Hammanskraal, his wife's "homeland". He cannot get a permit to reside there and faces imprisonment if he should enter. As the situation stands he is not wanted in any part of the Republic except perhaps in prison or in his grave.

**No Passport for Him**

In July he appealed to the Ministry of Interior for a passport to emigrate to one of the African states—Ghana, Liberia or Ethiopia, countries which were prepared to have him and his family since they could not live as they pleased in the Republic. He was refused

a passport and told to go to his "homeland" provided he first reported to the Bantu Commissioner there.

Meanwhile City Council officials admit Mr. Maimela is in a difficult position. They "sympathize" but are not doing anything about it.

Mr. Maimela is still in Lady Selbourne, Pretoria. He is risking arrest as his stay here is illegal, but he has no other home. He has appealed to the Ministry of Interior again to reconsider its decision.

Some people believe he will be banished.

## 15,000 PEOPLE MUST LEAVE THEIR HOMES

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Fifteen thousand Johannesburg Africans are about to receive the "benefits" of apartheid—whether they like it or not. It will, of course, mean that they will have to make some sacrifices—they must leave their homes of years' standing, they must move eight miles further away from the city—and they must accept that their monthly living costs will soar by up to 20 per cent.

All this is the result of the removal of the African residents of Western

Native Township to Moroka in the city's south-west townships.

Western Native Township was founded in 1919 and is Johannesburg's oldest African area. But it is near "White" and "Coloured" areas, and as far as the Government is concerned, is therefore a "black spot". So, under the Resettlement Scheme which has already destroyed adjoining Sophiatown, it must go.

**Long Waiting List**

About 1,200 houses are being built in Moroka for the Western Native Township families—at a cost to the country of £261,000. Hundreds of other families will be accommodated in existing houses in the south-west townships—where there is already a long waiting list, running into thousands, for houses—while others will build their own homes.

At present, Western Native Township residents live only five miles from the city, and their transport costs to and from work are 17s. 3d. a month.

When they go to Moroka, they will be 13 miles from the city—and their monthly rail season ticket will cost £1 2s., with possibly more to pay for buses to get to and from stations.

**Increased Costs**

The poorest will be the worst affected by having to move. Those who earn below £20 a month now pay 17s. 3d. a month for rent.

In Moroka, they will pay a flat sum of £2 18s. a month.

To receive apartheid's "benefits", the estimated 2,000 to 3,500 African workers of Western Native Township will have to pay out at least 13s. and up to £3 12s. 9d. a month—20 per cent of what some of them earn.

Realizing this, the Johannesburg City Council has taken the extraordinary step of sending letters to the workers' employers—asking for pay increases to be given to offset the increased cost of living.

**"Compensation"**

They are occupying houses basically the same as the thousands of others built during the past ten years—but as "compensation", to use the term coined by Council officials, for having to move, they have certain "extras" which the other houses do not have.

All the floors of their houses will be hardened (instead of only the kitchen), the inside walls will be plastered, and inter-leading doors will be provided.

The "black spot" is being removed—but South Africa and 15,000 individual Africans will have to pay for it.

### Church and People Fight Group Areas



HURLEY

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: A campaign to block the total removal of more than 4,000 Indians from the "dormitory suburb" of Queensburgh, near Durban, is steadily gaining in strength.

● A petition is planned in both the White and Indian sections of the borough and the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Dr. Denis E. Hurley, who is also chairman of the Institute of Race Relations in the Coastal Region, has promised his support for the Queensburgh Indian Ratepayers' Association.

● A meeting to be addressed by the Archbishop is already being planned. It will probably take place in late October.

● Some White members of the conservative Queensburgh community have offered to help the Indian community.

● The Institute of Race Relations has sent a memorandum to the Council of the Group Areas Board.

● Members of the Liberal Party have already pledged themselves to help the Ratepayers' Association. Several months ago Mr. Alan Paton, president of the Party spoke at an open air meeting with members of the association, Mr. J. N. Singh, a well-known leader, and Mr. A. M. Moola, president of the Natal Indian Organisation. Liberals have inspected the area, and written letters to the papers. And Miss Ann Clark, a resident of the area, has acted as a liaison between the party and the association.

**Seventy-five Years**

Mr. R. K. Naidoo, spokesman of a deputation to the Council, told councillors that about 5,000 Indians and about 600 families, many of which had been in the area for 75 years would be affected.

**"Unique Violation"**

Indian property and land is valued at more than R1,000,000.

The Council has also been told that there is plenty of room for White expansion in the area without removals. Large plots of land are for sale in the area.

The Council has replied that it "does not consider it expedient to have such (Group Areas Board) decision altered at this juncture".

The Institute memorandum to the Council, signed by Archbishop Hurley says the Institute believes that the Queensburgh action is "unique in its violation of fundamental rights to a section of the community who have been pioneers in the area and rate-payers of the local authority".

## Lutuli to Receive Award

PORT ELIZABETH: The presentation of the first Christopher Gell Memorial Award will take place here on 20th October. The award, in the form of a statuette in bronze by a Port Elizabeth artist, Mr. H. Strachan, will be presented by Dr. Edgar Brookes of the University of Natal, to Chief A. J. Lutuli who was elected on a ballot.

Among those taking part in the ballot were Archbishop de Blank of Cape Town, Mr. Anthony Sampson of the *Observer* in London, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Mr. Patrick Duncan and Christopher Gell's widow, Mrs. Nora Lydall.

**Permission to Attend**

The presentation, which will take place in the Crispin Hall, was scheduled for 31st May, but had to be cancelled because of the ban on meetings. Chief Lutuli was refused permission to travel at this time "because of the disturbed conditions". He is making a fresh application for permission to receive

the award. If he is refused, his daughter, Dr. Anna Lutuli, will receive the award for him and deliver his Memorial Address.

The Award will be made annually "For an outstanding Contribution to Social Justice in South Africa", and was created to commemorate the memory of Christopher Gell, journalist and fearless fighter against injustice, who spent eleven years in an iron lung, crippled by polio. The award is financed by contributions to a Memorial Fund. Mr. Dennis Brutus is the secretary of the Memorial Award Committee.

## Portuguese Like Tshombe

THE Portuguese forces are reported to have set up a cordon along the whole frontier between Angola and the Congo (*Cape Times*, 9th October). But the Portuguese authorities are worried about events in Katanga, according to *Afrique Nouvelle* (4th October).

**Position Will Change**

In Luanda it is said that the transfer of Katanga to the central Congolese government of Messrs. Adoula and Gizenga will have the effect of "considerably lengthening that part of the Angola frontier which has to be patrolled to prevent incursions by U.P.A. partisans."

With Mr. Tshombe in power in Katanga, there is no danger of the U.P.A. operating from here, but as soon as the seceding province is restored to the central Congolese government, the position will be changed, and the U.P.A. will be able to work from as far south as the Northern Rhodesian border.

**AFRIQUE ACTION**

A weekly news review published in Tunis gives wide coverage to events affecting Africa and non-aligned countries.

**Subscriptions**

Airmail: R14.50 (£7. 5. 0.) per year  
 R 7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per 6 months  
 Surface mail: R7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per year  
 R3.63 (£1.16. 3) per 6 months

20% reduction to students and teachers

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
 P.O. Box 1979,  
 Cape Town.

## Uganda

# INDEPENDENCE 1962?

UGANDA, the British Protectorate lying between Kenya and the Congo, is to become independent on 9th October next year "provided that the necessary discussions are completed and arrangements made by that time".

These words probably refer to the difficulties that have arisen between the

the vote, hoping to retain his supreme authority in an independent Buganda.

The British Government, however, took no notice of the secession move, and at the Uganda constitutional conference which ended on 9th October, it was decided that Buganda would be a federal state in a single Uganda.

### Chief Minister

The Chief Minister of Uganda (he will be Prime Minister on 1st March, 1962) is Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, leader of the non-racial Democratic Party. (There is a large Asian minority in Uganda, mostly of the Ismaeli Muslim faith; their religious leader, the Aga Khan, has urged his followers not to seek group representation in the Uganda legislature but to throw in their lot with African nationalists.)

Mr. Kiwanuka, who is 39 years old, served during the 1939-45 world war in the army, reaching the rank of sergeant and after the war he became an interpreter in the High Court. In 1950 he came south to study at Pius XII University College in Basutoland. He was there until 1952 and then went to London University where he obtained the LL.B. degree. He was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn in February 1956.

He has travelled extensively in Europe and the United States.

He became Chief Minister in June this year. He believes in a united Uganda, and has given favourable consideration to proposals that Uganda enter an East African Federation comprising his country and Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

The Kabaka is opposed to this, seeing in it a further threat to his traditional authority.

The future of Uganda, a country rich in agricultural potential, with the fine University College, Makerere, and blessed with cheap electricity from the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme on the River Nile, depends very much on the outcome of the clash between the Kabaka and the traditionalists on the one hand, and Mr. Kiwanuka and believers in democracy on the other.



KIWANUKA

Kabaka (King) of Buganda (one of Uganda's four kingdoms) and the leaders of the rest of the country.

The Kabaka has till now been supreme ruler in his part of Uganda, under the British. Now, with independence coming, the country is to have a parliamentary government in which the main power will be wielded by a Chief Minister. The Kabaka does not wish to surrender power to a Chief Minister—hence the difficulties.

Last year the Lukiko, Buganda's parliament, voted for the secession of the kingdom from the rest of Uganda. It is thought that the Kabaka influenced

## Ovambo Chiefs Want U.N. Rule

FIVE chiefs and headmen from Ovamboland want South West Africa placed under United Nations trusteeship.

The five men, Messrs. Nehemia Shovaleka, Johannes Shekudja, Ushona Shiimi, Silas Ipumbu and Gabriel Kautuima, expressed their wish in a letter to the *Cape Times* (13th October).

They said they were all members of the South West Africa People's Organization which was the political home of all Africans in Ovamboland and in South Angola.

"We could not do this before as we are all employees of the government. But at this juncture we find it necessary

to state clearly that we stand close to the ideas of self-determination for our people and of freedom for all the inhabitants of our great country, S.W.A.

The men said: "We want our country placed under UN trusteeship in order to establish a democratic form of government and prepare us for full independence. . . . We do not want bloodshed in this land of ours. We want peace and security for all peoples of S.W.A. Everyone, whatever his or her colour, should live in harmony.

"We know that our country is big enough for all of us and for people of all colours to live in and develop if the government is one voted by all citizens of South West Africa.

"To the government of South Africa we say: Hands off South West Africa."



## FIGHTING MOOD

Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole (right), treasurer general of the National Democratic Party, in fighting mood. He was addressing in Highfield, Salisbury, one of a series of meetings called by the N.D.P. He warned of divisions which had appeared in the democratic struggle, and spoke in particular of the Zimbabwe National Party which recently broke away from the N.D.P. A Z.N.P. meeting on 7th October was attended by only 20 people. The speakers were not given a hearing. There were shouts of "No divisions".

## The Boys Go to Work on Contract

TUESDAY 19th September saw Tus at the Bochum labour bureau. The Bantu Administration Department yard was crowded that day. It was busy as a hive. A requisition for contract labourers had brought together the crowds from various corners of Bochum—hundreds of young men. Nine out of every ten faces were so young they could hardly convince one they were contract labourers. Indeed they could better qualify as schoolboys going on picnic.

The requisition came from the Modderfontein explosives factory, and it needed only 50 boys to be given a free passage, and to earn every month R14.52 (£7 5s. 2d.). The period of the contract is indefinite. Typical of contract labourers, they were herded into a special bus and would share a common ticket for the train, entrusted to a chosen leader.

### Second Batch

It was the second batch of fifty to be sent away from Bochum since the year began. Early in the year one batch was taken by a bricklaying firm in Olifantsfontein. However, most of the Olifantsfontein contract boys are back at home already. It's too heavy, they say. Perhaps these are the "lazy boys" of South Africa. But working at bricklaying is no small task for a teenager. These boys now swell the ranks of those who queue every Monday morning at the labour bureau, waiting for nine o'clock and the unpleasant news that there is no requisition.

### Away from Shame

They were excited, you say! Well may they be: some of them had spent a year at home after returning from northern Johannesburg where they worked for only six months on a golf club contract job. Some would experience working for the first time. But the general desire among them was just to have somewhere to go; to be away from the shame of home and the patched trousers; to avoid the many

scuffles and injuries incurred at drinking bouts; to escape from the languor and awkwardness, for a loitering, aimless chap appears foolish and loses everybody's respect.

This is the only way work-seekers here can ever obtain permission to go to any town to work. The same happens in all South African



"... herded into a special bus . . ."

reserves. Should the job slacken, the contract expires and all the contract boys are told to return home to wait for a fresh one. Whoever remains and attempts to seek a job in town does so at his own peril.

Now in the cities of South Africa hundreds of these country fellows, ex-miners, fired factory hands, are arrested every week, endorsed out of town. To ensure that they actually clear out of town, such are conveyed home in municipal lorries if they are many. One or two may be handed to a policeman to see them safely off to the reserve.

### Good Education

Among these contract fellows are some with a good education. Many have passed Std. VI, while quite a good number have obtained the Junior Certificate or are of J.C. standard. These J.C. boys are always a cause of amazement and gossip among the queuing boys, who do not understand why educated people should join contract teams when normally such people never struggle to find a good job.—J. M.

### AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance

P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruis / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829

### SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

FOR RATES SEE PAGE 2

# LUTULI URGES "VOTE LIBERAL"

DURBAN: In a dramatic eye-of-election appeal to the White electorate Chief Albert J. Lutuli threw his weight in, on 13th October, behind the Liberal Party. In a statement received in Cape Town Chief Lutuli expressed the hope that voters would support the Liberal Party's candidates in the Cape and the Transvaal. He said he feared that race discrimination was leading to such bitter antagonism that "a terrible race conflict threatens us all."

"I deplore the exploitation of race, fear and prejudice by the two major parties. Each manifestation of White

determination to hold on to privilege and power is a cause of deeper non-White resentment and non-White determination to secure the abolition of White privilege. And each new manifestation of this non-White resentment provokes greater fear and hardening of attitudes among many Whites.

### Non-racial South Africa

"South Africa desperately needs every individual act which may help break this vicious circle. Such an act is a vote for a candidate in this election who shows faith in a non-racial South Africa.

"I hope that the Liberal Party candidates in the Cape and the



LUTULI

Transvaal, with their belief in a society whose opportunities are open to all, will receive good support from the White electorate."

### L. P. Manifesto

## "BE LIBERAL OR PREPARE TO LEAVE S.A."

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: In his manifesto to voters, the Liberal Party candidate in the Constantia constituency (Cape), Mr. Randolph Vigne gives the following reasons for voting Liberal:

- To give concrete proof to non-White people and to the whole world that thousands of Whites do not condone discriminatory legislation and the denial of rights to the great majority of South Africans

- Give the lie to the charge that race conflict in South Africa is inevitable because no significant number of White South Africans is ready to share rights with others



VIGNE

- To reject the claim that sharing of rights means the end of the Whites. People who believe this to be so should get out now: this is no country for them because rights will be shared by all and soon.

In her manifesto, the Liberal Party's candidate for Hillbrow (Johannesburg), Mrs. Mary Walker, declares: "By voting Liberal on October 18:

- You can build the non-racial democracy that will guarantee your future well-being.
- You can show the world that you are awake to Africa of the 60's."

# CLEAR CALL BY MOKHEHLE

THE session of the Basutoland National Council which ended on 5th October saw Paramount Chief Bereng Seeiso (Moshoeshe II) and Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, President of the Basutoland Congress Party, grow in political stature and influence.

### Initiative Seized

On a government-supported motion, the Council asked the High Commissioner to authorize the Paramount Chief to appoint a committee to review the Constitution and make recommendations for the next instalment of Constitutional advance. But the motion carefully avoided any positive committal on policy—it was neither for nor against the immediate establishment of an elected majority in the Legislative Council, responsible government with a Chief



MOKHEHLE

Minister, and the recognition of Moshoeshe II as Head of State. The initiative was seized, and rightly seized, only by Bereng Seeiso and Mr.

Mokhehle. In a dramatic speech the Paramount Chief stated firmly that he should be recognized as Head of State. Mr. Mokhehle was not content with vague generalities; he asked specifically for:

- the Paramount Chief to be Head of State
- Responsible government
- An elected majority in the Legislative Council, and
- A court-enforced Bill of Rights.

Mr. Mokhehle's motion did in fact accurately reflect the views of a large majority of the members of the Legislative Council. The fact that it was not carried was due to successful pressure exercised by the Administration. The initiative remains with the B.C.P.

## "CONVENTION MOVEMENT"

# Big Step Taken Towards National Conference

CAPE TOWN: One hundred and eight delegates from 26 organizations and 56 observers attended the Cape Provincial Consultative Conference of the South African National Convention Movement (which grew out of the Malmesbury "Coloured" Convention) held in Cape Town on 14th October.

Among organizations represented were: The Liberal Party, The Institute of Race

Relations, The Congress Movement, The Black Sash, The National Union of South African Students.

The first speaker was Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, and representative at the conference of the Natal Convention (held in April this year).

After outlining the processes which led to the calling of the Natal Convention, Mr. Brown ended by saying: "I believe that the mere fact of coming

together over several days would have the inevitable and highly desirable effect of swelling the ranks of the growing body of non-racial South Africans and the larger that body of opinion the sooner the end of apartheid."

### Professor Matthews

Professor Z. K. Matthews, formerly Acting Principal of Fort Hare University College, was unable to deliver his paper personally. It was read for him by Mr. Thomas Ngwenya of the African General Workers' Union.

Professor Matthews discussed the National Convention of 1909 when the Union's constitution was agreed. He said that in neither this Convention, nor in the so-called National Referendum in 1960, did the non-Whites of South Africa take part.

### "The Hour is Late"

In the course of his speech he said: "The hour is indeed very late but I feel sure that the non-Whites are still prepared and ready to co-operate with their White fellow-citizens in creating and building up a South Africa in which the legitimate rights of all sections of the population are adequately and effectively protected, on condition that they are given an effective share in that creative process.

Mr. Dennis Brutus spoke on the immediate tasks of the Convention Movement.

Speaking on "What is meant by a National Convention—and is it practicable to call for a National Convention in South Africa?" Professor Denis V. Cowen, Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape

Town, said one must distinguish between a sovereign National Convention empowered to draw up a binding constitution, and a Convention which suggested a constitution.

The first kind, which was what he was dealing with, could only be set up by the legal government, or by a successful revolutionary government.

### No Chance

Speaking of South Africa, Professor Cowen declared that there was "absolutely no chance at all of the existing government summoning a National Convention".

On the other hand, there was no prospect of successful revolution in South Africa because the forces of the state were completely adequate to deal with any attempt to overthrow it.

It should be possible, Professor Cowen said, to build up a pressure group which would put forward the demand of most South Africans for a new deal.

But, Professor Cowen added, the people doing this should be quite clear as to their basic principles. They must accept the total abolition of the colour bar in all its forms whether they be restrictive covenants on property or exclusive segregated schools, and subscribe to the principle of one man one vote.

Before the meeting separated a Continuation Committee of 28 was elected, with instructions to negotiate with other similar movements in other provinces and to seek to call a National Conference.

# P.A.C. TO LEAVE UNITED FRONT?

By an Observer

IT is probable that Mr. Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, former leader of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, has issued orders from gaol that his followers must withdraw from the South African United Front, an overseas organization in which they have hitherto co-operated with the Congress Movement.

Signs of strain inside the Front have appeared from time to time recently: the P.A.C. and the A.N.C. differed over the plan for a stay-at-home at the end of May; Mrs. Oliver Tambo publicly criticized the P.A.C. for this; Mr. Ronald Segal, active in Congress movement circles, prophesied a United Front break-up shortly after Mr. Robert Resha's arrival in Britain; Mr. Kerina, chairman of the South West African People's Organization, recently withdrew from the Front; and the Pan-Africanists have felt increasingly restive at the presence in the same organization with them of Dr. Yussuf Dadoo, and at the influence of Mr. Segal.

None of these factors, it is believed by observers, would have meant the end of the United Front. But recently, from Central Prison, Pretoria, Mr. Sobukwe sent orders that P.A.C. principles must be respected overseas as strictly as they were respected inside South Africa.

### Talks Held

As a result talks were held in Dar es Salaam between the two sides on 20th August, and in London at the end of August when a full meeting was held. It is understood that the presence of Dr. Dadoo was the main point at issue. At the London meeting it was decided that a further full meeting would be held six weeks later (about this time, in fact) and that during the six weeks attempts would be made to reach a formula agreeable to both sides. If such a formula could not be found, then the Front would be broken up.

Both sides are approaching the question with care, as neither wishes to be held responsible for the break.

# Britain Avoids her Obligations as Protecting Power

By the Editor

IT is almost certain that three refugees, Mr. Anderson Khumani Ganyile, who had applied for asylum in Basutoland, Mr. Paul Bolofo, and a Mr. Majola, were kidnapped at about 10.30 p.m. on 26th August by agents of the South African police on British territory in the mountains near Qacha's Nek, Basutoland, badly beaten up and handed over to the South African authorities for imprisonment.

There is already a *prima facie* case that the kidnapping happened. If the case were to be conclusively proved, then the British authorities would have a clear duty to demand the return of the three men from the South African authorities, and to ask for assurances that no such acts will again happen. The case can only be proved if the investigations are pressed on with, and if the best available evidence is called. The British have a clear duty to do both these things.

BUT . . .

1. THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES HAVE IGNORED GOOD EVIDENCE ALREADY IN THEIR POSSESSION.
2. THEY HAVE TOLD UNTRUTHS.
3. THEY HAVE TRIED TO SUPPRESS IMPORTANT CLUES ALREADY FOUND. AND
4. THEY HAVE SHOWN NO WILLINGNESS TO CALL THE BEST EVIDENCE—THE EVIDENCE OF MR. GANYILE AND HIS TWO FRIENDS.

These are the conclusions that I have been compelled to come to after investigating the matter myself, on the spot in Maseru, Johannesburg, and Qacha's Nek.

## Chapter and Verse

Let me produce chapter and verse for my accusations:

1. THE BRITISH HAVE IGNORED GOOD EVIDENCE ALREADY IN THEIR POSSESSION. The authorities were told on Friday, 15th September, that the lonely hut in which the refugees lived was open and empty and that "the clothes, groceries and other property of the occupant" were "strewn all over the floor. Boxes were overturned and the contents thereof were also on the floor. On two of the three beds in the hut were blankets with large stains of what appeared to be human blood." (From an affidavit by Mr. Jackson Nkosiyan, friend of Mr. Ganyile.) They knew, on about 18th September, of a letter smuggled out of Kokstad gaol, written by Mr. Ganyile, saying they had been kidnapped. Yet the Government Secretary of Basutoland said on 22nd September "that the Executive Council was not aware of the alleged incident". (*Cape Times*, 25th September.) And, "The Basutoland police sent an officer to investigate the alleged kidnapping, but 'no corroborative evidence' has been found" (*Observer*, 24th September). And Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, senior British official in Basutoland, said that "investigations so far had disclosed that it was most unlikely that the South African police entered the protectorate to kidnap three political refugees" (*Argus*, 25th September).

## "Manufactured"

Encouraged by this sort of statement White settlers and others in Basutoland were saying that the whole incident had been manufactured in order to put the South African government into difficulties.

Yet we know that the bloodstained blanket and other exhibits had been in the police hands for over a week when these statements were made.

What steps had the authorities taken then to have the bloodstains analysed?

2. I REGRET TO HAVE TO SAY THAT ON THIS POINT THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES HAVE TOLD UNTRUTHS.

On Tuesday, 3rd October, Mr. B. K. Lee, Superintendent of Police, Qacha's Nek, told me and two other persons in his office that the bloodstains had been sent to the South African Institute of Medical Research, Johannesburg, and that he was waiting for the report. He also said that he had been put in charge of all investigations in the case. Yet, when I visited the Institute in Johannesburg on 5th October, an official in the Medico-Legal section checked the books and reported that no bloodstains of any kind had been sent to the Institute from Basutoland since 15th September for analysis. What Mr. Lee said was thus untrue, unless it can be shown that the bloodstains had been dispatched from Basutoland, but had gone astray along the route to the Institute.

## Embassy Comment

When I brought the above facts to the attention of the public, the British Embassy in Pretoria first said that "Mr. Duncan's accusation hardly merits comment" (*Rand Daily Mail*, 6th October) and then (*Argus*, 7th October) said that "the contents of the hut included a bloodstained blanket which the police sent to the Institute of Medical Research at Johannesburg where it was being analysed".

Perhaps, in the two days after my visit to the Institute, the blanket had been rushed up for examination. (If the British had been on their toes they would have done this immediately after getting the blanket, on or just after 15th September.) But I challenge Sir John Maud and his officials to produce proof that the blanket was ever sent before my visit on 5th October. If they are unable to produce such proof, then I think I am owed an apology, and

an admission that not only was my accusation "worthy of comment", but that it evoked lightning-like covering-up action on the part of the authorities.

3. THEY HAVE TRIED TO SUPPRESS IMPORTANT CLUES ALREADY FOUND. When I visited the lonely hut on 3rd October a member of our party found some pieces of bloodstained cardboard, which seemed to have been used as shutters for the windows. We took them with us, as well as a blanket with small bloodstains on it which Mr. Nkosiyan gave us. We took the cardboard and blankets up to the South African Institute of Medical Research. An official of the Institute agreed to examine the bloodstains if the High Commissioner's Office, Pretoria, would give permission. This permission was refused by Mr. R. Latimer of that office. He advised me to hand over to the police any evidence of value that I might have, but I pointed out that the best bloodstains were already in the hands of the police, and that they had not been sent to the Institute.

4. THE BRITISH HAVE SHOWN NO SIGNS OF CALLING THE BEST EVIDENCE—THE EVIDENCE OF MR. GANYILE AND HIS TWO FRIENDS. *Prima facie* we know that Mr. Ganyile and the two others were in Kokstad prison shortly after the kidnapping. It is most unlikely that they have since managed to escape from the clutches of the South African authorities. If they were in gaol anywhere but in the Transkei they would have to go before a court for remand. They have not gone before a court for remand. Therefore it seems likely that they are now in prison somewhere in the Transkei, where an eleven months' old state of emergency gives the government power to hold people indefinitely without warrants and without remands. If they are in prison in the Transkei, it is possible for a commission of the British government to visit them and to take their evidence. A demand for such a commission has come from the



The hut at Qacha's Nek in which Mr. Ganyile and his companions lived. The ridge in the background is the South African border.

Basutoland Freedom Party (leader Mr. B. M. Khaketla, who is also Member for Education and Health in the Executive Council, see *The Friend* of 3rd October) and from the massive Basutoland Congress Party (leader Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle, see *Rand Daily Mail*, 10th October). And Mr. Mokhehle went to see the Paramount Chief and the Resident Commissioner on 9th October to press for the setting up of such a commission.

## Nothing Done

Despite these pressures, and despite the obvious need for such a commission, the British authorities have done nothing to appoint one. Nor have they departed from their earlier position denying that there is any proof that a kidnapping took place.

Every human being in the world is entitled to protection against foreign marauders. In Basutoland it is Britain that for nearly eighty years has been the protecting power.

IS BRITAIN NOW PREPARED TO CARRY OUT THE CLEAR DUTY WHICH LIES ON HER TO PROTECT THE BASUTO PEOPLE?

This is the simple question that the above facts posed to Sir John Maud, the High Commissioner, when he returned to South Africa a week ago from a long visit to Britain.

mittee which is considering constitutional advance.

## Campaign

But the S.P.P. did not take the setback lying down. It called in Professor Cowen, who had so successfully fought for real political advances in Basutoland with the Basutoland National Council Together Professor Cowen, the European Welfare Association and the S.P.P. produced a 34-page printed report.\* And the S.P.P. campaigned up and down the country, enrolling thousands of members.

At first the government did not take the party seriously and Chief Sobhuza stated that political parties did not suit Swazi political life.

## Situation Radically Changed

The triumphant meeting held on 7th October has radically changed the situation, and the S.P.P. can no longer be ignored as a lot of upstarts.

It is believed that the meeting has convinced highly-placed British officials, and will almost certainly convince Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, the adviser called in by the British administration, that there is no future in the "Sobhuza-Todd plan" and that it will be necessary for a much more democratic plan to be drawn up, if the approval of the British government in London is to be won.

\*"Swaziland: A Report on Constitutional Reform", by D. V. Cowen (S.P.P.), 25c., obtainable from Swaziland Progressive Party, P.O. Box 6, Mbabane, Eurafrikan Welfare Association, P.O. Manzini.

## SWAZILAND'S GREATEST POLITICAL MEETING

By a Reporter

THE biggest political meeting in the history of Swaziland was held under the joint chairmanship of Mr. J. J. Nguku (Swaziland Progressive Party) and Mr. A. Selstrom (Eurafrikan Welfare Association) at Manzini on 7th October when some 4-5,000 Swazi from all over Swaziland and some hundreds of Whites and Coloured citizens gathered to hear Professor Denis V. Cowen and Dr. R. E. van der Ross speak on constitutional plans.

## "Plan" Will Fail

The meeting was the culmination of some three months' hard work by the sponsoring bodies and by Professor Cowen who has been appointed their constitutional adviser. In the view of well-informed observers it marked a turning-point. For up till the meeting it had seemed virtually certain that a particular plan for a new constitution would be accepted, while after the meeting it seemed virtually certain that the plan would fail, and that the future constitution would have to be based on a compromise between this plan and the demand for a fully democratic

system. This was the so-called "Sobhuza-Todd plan", named after the Paramount Chief (because it was he that put it forward at the beginning of the constitutional talks), and the leader of the White settler community, Mr. Carl F. Todd, who supports it.

## Half-Half

Under this plan roughly half the members of the new Legislative Council would be nominated in a tribal way by the Swazi National Council, headed by Paramount Chief Sobhuza; and an equal number would be elected by Whites and a few Coloured residents voting on a common roll. There would be no democratic elections whatsoever for the Swazi, and no room for political parties.

Three months ago the White settler community, the chieftainship, and the British administration were united on this "Sobhuza-Todd plan". Only the Swaziland Progressive Party strenuously opposed it, calling for democratic elections on a basis of "one man, one vote". In order to steamroller the "Sobhuza-Todd plan" through, the representatives of the S.P.P. were forced out of the com-

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## One mighty party

**SIR.**—In Northern Rhodesia there is one mighty party, the United National Independence Party, and in Nyasaland also one mighty party, the Malawi Congress Party and these two parties fight Sir Roy Welensky and his Federation because they think Federation is a hindrance to freedom and independence.

But the two minority parties, the African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia and the Christian Liberation Party in Nyasaland attack the former two parties. Are they sure that by fighting those parties they are gaining freedom, or do they only want to delay independence? The party leaders do not co-operate with each other. Why not, if they are fighting the same thing?

**A. T. A. MANDA,**  
Chintechu, Nyasaland.

## Non-racial sport wanted

**SIR.**—Now that South Africa has been suspended from world soccer—after a fair warning—one wonders what the results will be.

Either the sport will stagnate in this country through lack of competition or—as I hope—non-racialism will enter

it. Soccer is probably the most popular sport amongst all South Africans. It is certainly more popular than rugby, which has only a sectional appeal.

One hopes that the powers that be in other sports will follow suit and suspend South Africa, thus forcing her into the line of just, free sport: **NON-RACIAL SPORT.**

The **SONREIS** campaign to "Support Only Non-Racial Events in Sport" deserves the support of all true South Africans.

Many prospective sportsmen have missed their opportunities because of a selfish minority who have not the courage to select genuine teams to represent South Africa non-racially.

**YOUNG NON-RACIALIST,**  
Cape Town.

## PRIZE LETTER

### Badge of slavery

**SIR.**—As a peace-loving African, I become mad when I see the way Verwoerd and his boys are running the country of which I am a citizen.

Day after day our fellow Africans are chased like wild beasts only because

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Keep on writing
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- Contact free for a year for the best letter of the fortnight

they failed to produce the badge of slavery, the dompas.

Now that our sisters, wives and mothers are carrying the same badge, what will really happen to my children if their mother is arrested for failing to produce the badge?

The crime wave is flourishing while the police are busy with the demanding of passes.

Dompas have broken hundreds of thousands of African families since they were issued. Why didn't the Nationalists try this nice badge on themselves before giving it away to Africans?

Surely they wouldn't like it; we don't like it either, because when you carry it you'll always be grabbed by the police who want to see it all the time.

Verwoerd's government gives you brandy and gin when you demand higher wages, so that you must be drunk and forget about higher wages.

We want bread for our children but not brandy.

**MAXWELL J. MOTIIBA,**  
Johannesburg.

## Victory is ours

**SIR.**—Sons and daughters of this soil, let's call for unity. We want a United States of Africa. White domination must cease. No matter if our brothers have been jailed and killed, victory is ours. Our freedom is coming just as the sun moves from east to the west.

Izwe lethu iAfrika!

**NDALA NDLELENI,**  
Vereeniging, Tvl.



## Deeply impressed

**SIR.**—I am deeply impressed by your way of fighting for a democratic government in which every human being will be unoppressed by the so-called civilized sophists.

What I know is, if the White man does not want the African to have his privileges, how will he allow his wife to swim with the African he hates?

**SAMUEL J. CHIMONJO,**  
Salisbury, S.R.

## S.A. STUDENT IN SALAZAR GOAL

By a Reporter

A **YOUNG** South African has been held in one of Salazar's political prisons in Portugal since April, despite several attempts to get him released. He is Christopher Lindi Payi, a 28-year-old Arts graduate of the University of Cape Town. Some time ago he was offered a scholarship in librarianship in Nigeria. His efforts to secure a South African passport were unsuccessful but he was apparently granted an exit permit subject to renouncing his South African citizenship. On this exit permit he obtained a Portuguese visa, and his passage money to Nigeria was paid by well-wishers in Cape Town. On arrival on the island of São Thomé in Portuguese West Africa, wishing to tranship to Nigeria, he found that his exit permit and Portuguese visa had expired. He was arrested as a destitute person and a suspected Angolan terrorist, handed to the P.I.D.E. (Internal Defence Police) and sent to Lisbon where he has been held virtually incommunicado in a political prison since April.

### Consul's Visit

He finally succeeded in getting a visit from the South African consul in Lisbon who promised assistance, but this promise was apparently countermanded by the South African ambassador to Portugal on the grounds that, as Payi had renounced his citizenship, he was not entitled to help.

### Most Difficult Position

Other interested parties such as the Nigerian university authorities, his friends in Cape Town and the diplomatic representatives of a friendly country have been trying to secure his release, so far without success. Payi's position is a most difficult one, as being a stateless person without papers or means of support he can now enter Nigeria only with the personal sanction of the Federal Minister in charge of immigration. This authority has not yet been granted.

It is understood that there are other refugees from South Africa who are in a similarly tragic position.

## SUCCESSFUL EXHIBITION IN "CONTACT" BOARDROOM

By a Reporter

**CAPE TOWN** artist Miss Gladys Mgudlandlu recently held her first exhibition of paintings and drawings in *Contact's* boardroom, which is usually used for meetings and lectures.

The exhibition was highly successful, and all but a few of the pictures were sold. Most of the pictures were bought by people who had read a review of the exhibition in the Cape town Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger* (8th October).

The critic, F.L.A., praised Miss Mgudlandlu as a painter whose "fresh sincerity" was a rare quality, and urged *Die Burger's* readers not to miss the exhibition.

He wrote that he found in her work



Miss Mgudlandlu (centre) with visitors to the exhibition.

a true originality comparable to that of the French primitive painter "Douanier" Rousseau.

Miss Mgudlandlu is a school teacher who only started painting four years ago.

## KIVUKONI ADULT RESIDENTIAL COLLEGE

Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika requires—

- (1) PRINCIPAL.
- (2) TUTOR.

Both posts require University degree or comparable experience in adult education, some knowledge of African Affairs. Subjects: Politics, Industrial Relations, Sociology, or International Affairs; subsidiary Applied Economics an advantage. Three year contracts with family passage. Provident Fund. Principal's salary minimum £1,500; Tutor's minimum £1,200.

Details available from Secretary, Ruskin College, Oxford, or Secretary, Tanganyika Education Trust Fund, P.O. Box 1976, Dar es Salaam.

Closing date: 15th November, 1961.

## CRICKET NON-RACIALISM IN EASTERN PROVINCE



**NON-RACIAL** sport took another step forward when the Eastern Province Cricket Union was formed last week. Four separate unions in Port Elizabeth (African, Malay, Coloured and Indian) have dissolved to form this new one. The first fixtures will be played on 21st October. Picture shows the new officials at work (from left to right): Messrs. A. S. Mpondo (recording secretary), M. Johns (vice-president), N. P. Umley (President), R. G. Doraswamy (secretary), G. Hendricks (match secretary), W. M. Ross (assistant secretary) and W. Yon (treasurer).

## Wildlife Conservation

# "A RICH AND PRECIOUS INHERITANCE"—Nyerere

AT Arusha, Tanganyika, on 5th September, was opened a conference that may profoundly influence the future of our continent. This was the International Wildlife Conference, at which, for the first time, scientists and specialists from many countries met to discuss nature and wildlife conservation in Africa.

The question of African freedom is a great question. So is the question of the relations between the African races. But there is an even greater, and in some respects a more urgent question: that is the question whether Africa's own, unique, animals and plants will survive, and whether man in Africa will succeed in achieving a harmonious balance with his environment.

### "Be Fruitful"

The last ten thousand years have seen man establish himself as lord of the world. Before the advent of the city, man lived on a basis of equality with the animals, and shared the world with myriads of sorts of beautiful, varied beings. After the advent of civilization, about ten thousand years ago, man multiplied, in exact accord with the words of Genesis 1:28: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

Man has obeyed this injunction almost too enthusiastically: in Asia, America, and Europe live nearly three billions of human beings, many of them at starvation level. To feed themselves they have massacred millions of animals, and have squeezed out most of the remainder by cultivating their grazing grounds. The vast herds of buffaloes of the North American plains are no more; the European bison is extinct, except for a few in Poland; Ceylon's wild elephants and the Indian rhinoceros tremble on the brink of annihilation. Everywhere the domain of the wild forests and the wild animal is shrinking, while that of man is spreading.

Is this desirable? Do we wish man to "replenish the earth" in such a

way that he is the only animal left, he, with his camp-following rats and dogs and cats? Is the forest everywhere to make way for the concrete pavement, the fish-and-chip shop and the garage? Surely to these questions we can only give "no" for an answer.

Now, if the answer really is to be no, then our beloved continent, Africa, becomes the centre of the world's stage. In all other continents man has already colonized the whole domain of the wild things: only in Africa does the original pleistocene environment survive. But it can only continue to survive if this generation of Africans supports a policy of wildlife conservation.

### Gratitude of Human Race

If this generation of Africans is able and willing to support such a policy, and if action is taken in time to save all existing African species from extinction, and in time to save a fair area from human invasion, then Africa will have earned the gratitude of the whole human race, for all the aeons of time that lie ahead of us.

But if we, of this generation of Africans, were to fail to make this decision, then future ages will execrate us. They will call back to us, from their vantage-point far in the future, and they will say: "You in twentieth-century Africa failed in this great test. You, alone of all the peoples, came to awareness of this problem while there was still time. You alone had the technical means of acting to save what was left. The Asians, Europeans, and Americans did not realize what they were doing, but you did. You in Africa willingly and knowingly destroyed the richness and beauty of the wild, the heritage not of Africa alone, but of the whole world, and you destroyed it for all time."

### Colonial Rule

For the animals the last twenty years of the rule of the colonial powers in Africa have been disastrously destructive. True, in many territories laws of game-preservation were made. But in many territories millions of buck were deliberately shot in an attempt to destroy nagana, the tsetse-fly disease; thousands of tourists were encouraged



(Courtesy: African Consolidated Theatres, from the film "Serengeti Shall Not Die")  
Trapped in a poacher's snare on the Serengeti plains, a young oryx is an example of the cruel destruction of Africa's wildlife.

to come from far countries to butcher game, sometimes in vast quantities; and tens of thousands of Africans lived by illegal shooting because the colonial governments were too weak to enforce the law.

### Independence

And now that independence has come to most of Africa, new difficulties have arisen in a few areas: in the Kivu province of the Congo, for example, because governmental authority has collapsed, the great National Parks are not being properly maintained; and it is probable that the new, democratically-based African regimes will be sometimes slow to stop poaching through fear of unpopularity. In Kivu, for example, it seems as if the rare mountain gorilla has already been exterminated.

The destruction now going on is great. All the following facts appear in *Oryx* (Vol. vi, No. 3), organ of the Fauna Preservation Society: in Togoland dynamite is used by poachers to kill hippopotamus and fish; in the Eastern and Western regions of Nigeria no staff is specifically assigned to wild life conservation; in Tanganyika illegal meat hunting has become a large, highly organized profitable business which requires immediate control; in Uganda in the past 2½ years 28,000 animals have been destroyed in one district alone (Ankole) by tsetse control officers; in Somalia 400,000 dik-dik (a tiny buck)

skins were exported in one year, 1960. From the Southern Region alone; everywhere transport and the gun are allowing man to kill today where he could not kill yesterday.

### Hopeful Aspects

Yet all is not dark; independence does not necessarily mean that government control of shooting breaks down: witness India, where Mr. Nehru's government has done more for the rare Indian fauna than the British Indian government did. In Africa there is space: our vast continent contains less than 250 million people, or 20 per square mile compared with 290 per square mile in India. And all over Africa are game reserves and national parks, many in English-speaking Africa, and perhaps even more in French-speaking Africa. And the Arusha conference put up several ideas which may revolutionize the co-existence of man and animal in Africa. Perhaps the most exciting idea, an idea which found general acceptance, was the idea that the game of Africa should be used in a planned way to provide meat for the people of Africa. Sir Julian Huxley, the world-famous biologist, believes that each acre of middle Africa can provide much more meat via wild animals than via cattle, and that, in fact, conservation is economically sound as well as being morally right.

### Nyerere's Message

Most inspiring of all, Dr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, sent the following message to the conference:

"The survival of our wildlife is a matter of grave concern to all of us in Africa . . . in accepting the trusteeship of our wildlife we solemnly declare that we will do everything in our power to make sure that our children's grandchildren will be able to enjoy this rich and precious inheritance."

Sir Julian Huxley, commenting on this pledge, wrote (*Central African Examiner*, October 1961): "So far as I am aware (this is) the first declaration by any government in the world's history of solemn intention concerning wildlife conservation." Perhaps in this, as in other ways, Tanganyika is destined to give a lead to our whole continent.

The savage slaughter of Africa's wildlife began with the colonization of Africa by the European powers. Will free Africa be great enough to save what is left? That is the question that the Arusha conference has left with all the people and governments of Africa.

## UNITED FRONT AGAINST PORTUGUESE

THE Portuguese governors of the west African colony of Guinea, lying between the independent republics of Guinea and Senegal, are now faced with a united Front determined to bring freedom to the people of the colony.

On 2nd July this year various freedom organizations fused to form the Front for the Liberation of (Portuguese) Guinea (F.L.G.). This body was formed out of the Movement for the Liberation of Guinea, led by Messrs. François Mendy, Balbino Dacosta and Pereira Victor; the Democratic Assembly of Guinea led by Mr. Doudou Seydi, and the Movement for the Liberation of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

The new Front has its headquarters in Dakar, capital of Senegal (which recently broke off diplomatic relations with Portugal in protest against that country's colonial oppression).

In charge of the Front's office in Dakar is Mr. Balbino Dacosta (seen at his desk in the picture). He was born in Dakar but his people are from Portuguese Guinea.

Story: "Afrique Action"  
Photo: Eve Dessare



Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

# contact

**TRIBUTES TO**  
**LUTULI**

Vol. 4 No. 22

5c (6d)

Registered at the G.P.O.

as a Newspaper

2nd NOVEMBER 1961

— see page 3

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**

## **PLANNING AFRICA'S GREATEST STATE**



Mr. Jomo Kenyatta with Dr. Julius Nyerere (right) and Mr. Oscar Kambona at Dar es Salaam airport. He was in Dar es Salaam for "one of the most important conferences in the history of Africa".—see page 8

# contact

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.

## Congratulations to Lutuli

CONTACT congratulates Chief Albert Lutuli on the award of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize to him. Elsewhere we give details of the prize, together with tributes to "Chief", and we touch on the question of his passport to enable him to go to Oslo for the award. Here we merely wish to record that the award has inspired millions in our country, that it has given recognition to his greatness, and that it has honoured South Africa.

The award was reported on the same page of some newspapers as the Dutch Reformed heresy trial. The magnificent and warm humanity of "Chief's" spontaneous remarks to the press when he learned of the award contrasted with the sour mediaevalism of the heresy trial, and recalled a figure of speech in Mangaliso Sobukwe's call to action of March, 1960: "We (the fighters for liberation) represent the fresh fragrance of flowers in bloom: they represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation."

Whether the government allows "Chief" to go to Oslo or not makes little difference: a shrewd blow has been struck against dictatorship. If "Chief" is not allowed to go, the government of apartheid places itself in a class hitherto occupied only by Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, which made it impossible for Boris Pasternak to leave the Soviet Union for his award. If "Chief" is allowed to go, his presence will dignify and strengthen the opponents of apartheid.

Although a shrewd blow will have been struck against dictatorship such was not, one can be sure, the principal purpose in the award of the prize, which clearly was the recognition of the fact that "Chief" ranks today with the greatest figures in the modern world.

## The D.R.C. discovers heresy

IN the fourth century Christians killed each other in the great Arian controversy, and for sixteen hundred years the world has marvelled how much hatred could be provoked by insignificant doctrinal differences. And until last week no one believed that anyone could ever again be charged with Arian heresy.

But in South Africa all things are possible, especially with our present masters. And now Professor A. S. Geyser, Professor of New Testament Theology at Pretoria University, is in the dock, charged in secret trial with a whole catalogue of crimes, one of them being that he is an Arianist heretic. As in Nazi days, pupils have been incited to lay charges against their teachers, and behind the whole sordid prosecution stand the power-drunk masters of the Nationalist Party, the Broederbond, and, one has to say it, part of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The true reasons for the prosecution emerge from the strange behaviour of Professor S. P. Engelbrecht, one of the "judges" in this farcical trial, and also probably one of the secret instigators of the prosecution. Seeing some journalists he shouted at them, "You write lies. I am ashamed of you. It is lies, all lies. . . . If you want to see animals, go to the zoo. Don't make a circus out of this. It is a Christian place. You want to make a spectacle out of it. Go to the circus. . . ." And, later, seeing the "accused", Professor Geyser, talking to journalists, he interrupted, and shouted at Professor Geyser: "Tell them that we don't want to live under Ghana." (*Cape Argus*, 25th October.)

Professor Geyser is one of those courageous ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church who have had the honesty to condemn apartheid. That, in our view, is the real reason for the trial.

The trial has already made headlines round the world. The trial is one more sign of the unbelievable arrogance and mediaeval intolerance of the Nationalists.

## Tristan, the Cape and apartheid

FOR a century and a half the lonely islanders of Tristan da Cunha have had the Cape as their nearest neighbour. Thus, when the eruption forced them to leave their home and to move into the modern world, it was to the Cape that they might have been expected to move. Yet the British government clearly never once considered leaving them at the Cape, but moved them as fast as possible on to Britain.

Why was this? It was because some of the islanders were dark-skinned, while others were blond. So, if they had stayed in South Africa the government would, according to the evil philosophy of apartheid, have had to classify them as "European" and "non-European". No doubt pencils would have been run through their hair; noses would have been studied; experts would have decided which should be called "White", which should be sent to "Coloured townships", and which should be sent to "Bantu locations". And it would not be the first time that apartheid had torn children from their parents for racial reasons.

Life anywhere else, thought the British correctly, would be preferable to such humiliation.

And so, in small things as in big, apartheid is preventing our country from playing its true part in the world of to-day.

## Theft of the Dole

THE 1946 Unemployment Insurance Act gave some security to all workers in South Africa. Irrespective of race, any man who lost his job would be supported by the Unemployment Insurance Fund, to which all workers and employers contributed.

In 1949, a year after the Nationalists came to power, they amended the Act, introducing racial discrimination into it, and depriving of unemployment benefits all Africans who earned less than £182 a year. The millions of pounds that had been contributed by Africans to the Fund were never refunded but were kept by the Fund.

Now that unemployment is bad, these accumulated monies are being used to pay unemployment benefits. But hardly any will go to the tens of thousands of Africans unemployed. In 1957, just to make sure that the majority of African workers could never qualify, the income limit (for Africans alone) was raised from £182 to £273 per annum.

## Shorts . . .

- People of all races resident in Tanganyika will, if they desire, become residents of that country when it becomes independent in December. Attacking those who want to discriminate against non-Africans, Mr. Julius Nyerere, the Prime Minister, declared that they were "drunk with atmosphere, talking rubbish and behaving like Hitlers". (*Evening Post*, 19th October.)
- Mr. J. J. Nquku, President of the Swaziland Progressive Party, is at present in London for talks on Swaziland's constitutional future. While he is there negotiations are continuing in Swaziland, where they are reaching a critical stage. Observers in the territory expect important and decisive developments during the next few weeks.



In their own lives 70,000 White voters have thrown apartheid into the dustbin. Now let's see it done in the country as a whole.

# contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly

47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN

P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524

Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

### CORRESPONDENTS

Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg,  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Lagos.

London.

### SUBSCRIPTIONS

African Postal Union:  
R1.40 (14/-) per year.  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year.

Airmail:  
R2.70 (£1.7.0.) per year.  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year.

Elsewhere:  
R1.70 (17/-) per year.

Airmail:  
On application.



# Nobel Prize for a Great South African

ON 23rd October, 1961, it was announced that the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960, the world's highest award for service to mankind, was to be awarded to Chief Albert John Lutuli, ex-president-general of the banned African National Congress. The Prize is awarded to the man "who has done the most or best to further brotherhood amongst the peoples, to abolish or cut down standing armies, and to create or further the work for peace congresses". Chief Lutuli is the first African to receive the Prize.

Chief Lutuli has been invited by the Nobel Institute to go to Oslo, Norway, to receive the Prize and deliver an address. He is to apply to the South African government for a passport. Only one person has ever been prevented from receiving the Prize. He was a German writer, Carl von Ossietzky, who was in a Nazi concentration camp at the time of the award.

TRIBUTE has been paid to Chief Lutuli by leading South Africans, and in his attack on the South African government's policies, the United States delegate in the Political Committee of the United Nations, Mr. Plimpton, said of him:

"We rejoice in the bravery of the people of South Africa who fight on day by day for racial justice and in the fact that a Zulu chief has been awarded the Nobel Prize for his peaceful fight against apartheid."

"All of us should profit from his wisdom and courage."

(Cape Times, 25th October)

In a statement to *Contact*, Mr. Alan Paton, winner of last year's Freedom Award, famous writer and national president of the Liberal Party, declared:

"Most of the people I talk to get two kinds of enjoyment from the news of the award of the Nobel Prize to Chief Lutuli. The first is gladness that the Chief has been recognized by the world for the noble man that he is. The second is delight that the government is in such a predicament."

"The Chief is a man with a big soul. He lost his chieftainship; he was tried for treason; he was banned; he was put in prison for the emergency, yet he remained unembittered."



CHIEF A. J. LUTULI

"His A.N.C. was banned but still is strong in spirit. That is largely due to the Chief."

"He is the only man in South Africa who could lead both the left and the right, both the moderns and the

traditionalists, both Africans and non-Africans. All of us join in congratulating him."

"The government tried to isolate Lutuli, and now he is known to the whole world. That must infuriate them. It must infuriate them that a man whom they branded as an agitator, a trouble-maker, an extremist, should get a world prize for peace."

"I suppose that from a high ethical point of view one should not be delighted over the government's embarrassment, yet one is. If they let Lutuli go to receive the Prize, he will speak. If they don't let him go he will send the speech. Whichever way it goes, that speech is going to go round the world. It is going to destroy several years' work by the South African Information Service."

"No pronouncements by any South African since the establishment of Union in 1910 will have received one fraction of the attention that this speech will receive."

"We believers in non-racial democracy have often felt powerless but never have we been powerless on the scale that the government is today. Lutuli commands the situation and there is nothing, literally nothing, that they can do about it."

"Look how silent they all are, the Prime Minister, De Wet Nel, the Administrator of Natal. Even the State President has not said a word."

"My advice is to let Chief Lutuli go. Let the government take this for their comfort; he can't do half the damage overseas that is being done by Mr. Eric Louw."

## Liberal Chairman

Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Party, said:

"The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Chief Lutuli is fitting recognition of the great qualities of personal and political leadership which he has shown during the past ten years."

"For a decade Chief Lutuli has remained calm in the face of government provocation, undaunted in the face of its persecution, steadfast in his opposition to its racialistic policies."

"At this time when the Nationalists have just been returned to office once more it is a great encouragement to those who reject apartheid to have the world award this, its greatest individual honour, to a South African who is committed to struggle peacefully but

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

## A HUNDRED-YEAR TIDE IS TURNING— TOWARDS EQUALITY

### "Contact" Surveys the Election

A CENTURY-OLD tide is turning: this is the most important fact that has emerged from the election in which over 70,000 White voters, in 26 constituencies, have stood up to be counted against the colour bar, by their votes for the Progressive and Liberal parties.

In 1853 Britain gave the Cape a democratic constitution, with a vote for all men of all races on a low qualification. Over the following 108 years there has been a succession of retreats from decency and democracy towards greed and racism with never one compensating advance.

## PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The immediate credit for this momentous change must go to the Progressive Party, which threw massive enthusiasm and resources into its campaign. But the Liberal Party, by its courageous walk into the wilderness eight years ago, and by its constant reiteration since then of the truth that men were born to live in friendship and not in enmity, has also contributed mightily to the result.

To say that the tide is turning is not to suggest complacency; there are too many factors which are disturbing, factors which, in its new-found enthu-

siasm for the Progressives, the English press of South Africa is forgetting, factors which the country as a whole must not lose sight of.

Firstly, to win only one seat out of 160 is by no stretch of the imagination a parliamentary victory. It is difficult to see how, even if the Progressives could completely replace the United Party, they could ever form a government, relying, as they explicitly say they do, exclusively on parliamentary means of struggle. Indeed, if only because the Progressives are so English, their very success may inhibit the growth of liberal thought among the Afrikaners, from whose hands no competing White group has any hope of wrenching the steering wheel.

Secondly, the Progressives have made compromises to racist thought and some of them are shocking. They have told the Whites that under Progressive policy they may keep segregated schools, transport and amenities generally. They have promised a franchise that, as *Contact* has already pointed out, would enfranchise only 2% of the country's non-Whites on the *A Roll*.

## LIBERAL PARTY

Thirdly, the relative success of the Progressive Party has had the immediate effect of tending to weaken the Liberal Party. It is true that there are voices within the Liberal Party which suggest that the election result has not hurt the party, and that the party can continue indefinitely to move in the same direction. But such complacency seems to have little basis in reality; just a week ago the news was released that Professor G. H. le May had joined the Progressive Party. He is only the latest in a lengthening list of ex-liberals that have made the move.

Again, the Progressive success and its exaggeration in the English press is encouraging the dangerous illusion that apartheid has already been disposed of, or that it can be dealt with constitu-

tionally, and that the main struggle is inside parliament. This belief, though comfortable, has only to be stated for its absurdity to be obvious. Because non-White South Africa is not going to stand idly on the touchlines waiting in the hope that the Progressives can form a government.

The Liberals have for years proclaimed the importance of the struggle outside parliament, here and abroad. To proclaim a hard road ahead is difficult, as Winston Churchill discovered in the thirties. But, as Britain discovered in the forties, a nation's safety sometimes requires that it be done. This election result has not made the Liberal Party's task any easier in this regard.

## UNITED PARTY

The United Party lost voters on both wings: to the Progressives they lost about 70,000 in the 24 contested constituencies alone, and to the Nationalists they also lost heavily.

No party can suffer so shattering a vote of no confidence with impunity, and one can say now that in spite of the United Party's having 49 members in parliament, it will cease from this time to leave any trace on the book of South African history. It may oppose some of Dr. Verwoerd's worse laws, but the Nationalists will in future pay as little attention to Sir de Villiers Graaff's opposition as once they paid to Mrs. Ballinger's.

## PARLIAMENT

The principal result of the election is thus likely to be that less opposition will take place within parliament, and more outside. Parliament will slide further out of the limelight, and out of the consciousness of the nation.

There is an opportunity for greatness awaiting the movement that can best proclaim the extra-parliamentary struggle, and best rally mass support for it.

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance  
P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Krulis / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829

## ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE TO INTENSIFY FREEDOM STRUGGLE

THE Steering Committee of the A.A.P.C. held a routine meeting in Conakry from 27th-30th September in the Presidential Palace. The Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress were represented respectively by Mr. Peter H. Molotsi and Mr. Tennyson Makiwane.

The meeting reviewed the struggle of the African people for the overthrow of colonialism and imperialism and considered at length a Programme of Activities to be implemented early next year. Most important on the agenda was the burning issue of African Unity.

The meeting decided to promote the formation of Pan-African movements of Youth and of Women:

- The holding of a preparatory conference of youth in Accra on 10th-15th October, 1961.
- The holding of a Youth Plenary Conference in Conakry on 25th-30th January, 1962.
- The holding of a Preparatory Committee meeting of Women's Conference in Bamako, Mali Republic, 16th-17th February, 1962.
- The holding of a Women's Plenary



MOLOTSI

Conference in Dar es Salaam, July, 1962.

The fourth session of the A.A.P.C. will be held in Bamako on 19th-25th February, 1962, and the next meeting

of the Steering Committee will be held in Bamako on 16th February, 1962.

### On African Unity

The Steering Committee observed that the unity of popular forces is the fundamental basis of all revolutionary changes whether political, economic or social, and it called on the liberation movements in Angola, South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar and other places to constitute united fronts for the speedy and total overthrow of colonialism and imperialism in all its forms.

The view of the P.A.C. on this point was that a firm positive basis must be laid down and that wishful thinking and pious calls for unity will not produce it.

A sharp rift between the P.A.C. and A.N.C. developed when the A.N.C. representative gave notice that he would sponsor the admission of the South African Indian Congress to membership of the A.A.P.C.

The P.A.C. delegate gave notice that at the discussion stage he would oppose this application. The P.A.C. delegate's view on the admission of the S.A.I.C. was simply that it would be unconstitutional. He said that there were no racial considerations attached to it at all.

## Lady Selborne Declared White Group Area

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: An announcement in the local press on 21st October notified the people of Lady Selborne township that their freehold township had been proclaimed a White area.

In 1958 Lady Selborne was declared an area for future White occupation but was not then proclaimed.

The Village Committee, the Liberal Party and many other organizations petitioned the Group Areas Board, appealed to the City Council and spent a great deal of money on legal advice in order to try to prevent the area from being proclaimed. At the beginning of the year the Liberal Party obtained over 5,000 signatures from residents to a petition addressed to the Secretary-

General of the U.N.O. appealing against the threatened proclamation.

Throughout the township there has been strong resistance to the move. Lady Selborne in one of the last freehold urban townships open to Africans in South Africa. The township is near Pretoria where most of its residents work; the residents may own their own properties. Many old people live off rents from rooms. People have always been able to come and go as they liked, and have been able to have relatives to stay with them, which is not permitted in municipal locations.

### Locations

The Pretoria City Council has stated that: "freeholders in Lady Selborne

have been offered alternative freehold rights in Garankua (Uitvalgrond) 18 miles from Pretoria; that they will be allowed to work in the Pretoria Municipal area without 'influx control' restrictions; that there will be a proper train service to Garankua at the same rate as to Vlakkfontein and Atteridgeville Municipal locations and that tenants living in Lady Selborne will be offered homes in the municipal locations."

What has not been made clear is that residents of Lady Selborne now enjoy all the facilities of the City of Pretoria which will not be available to them at Garankua; that even though they will be allowed to work in Pretoria now, they cannot be certain that this will also apply to their children; that the distance to Garankua will make it difficult to cycle to work as they did from Lady Selborne, which was six miles from Pretoria centre.

Hardest of all, at Garankua they will be eligible for a house only after they have worked in Pretoria for the same employer for at least five years, and only then if they have a good record.

Once again the Group Areas Board has shown itself quite unconcerned with the sufferings of the people it forces to move.

## GANYILE: JUDGMENT RESERVED

JUDGMENT has been reserved in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, on the urgent application to produce Mr. Anderson Khumani Ganyile, the Pondo leader who was alleged to have been kidnapped in Basutoland.

The Court had been asked to issue an order compelling the Minister of Justice and police in the Transkei to produce Mr. Ganyile in court. (*Evening Post*, 14th October.)

Although according to the High Commissioner's office a bloodstained blanket was sent over three weeks ago for analysis by the S.A. Institute of Medical Research, no results have yet been made public. Nor have any other moves been made to have Mr. Ganyile's own statement taken.



ROBERTO

with the object of cutting off from the rest of the country a vast tract of Angola bordering on the Congo."

Meanwhile it is reported from Lisbon (*Cape Argus* 27th October) that the nationalists are active in some places in the highlands and along the Angola-Congo border, and that many thousands of Africans are "asking for the protection of the Portuguese authorities."

## ANGOLA WAR CONTINUES

DESPITE the Portuguese announcement that the war in Angola had ended, the Union of the Populations of Angola (U.P.A.) is preparing for a continuing campaign against the Portuguese regime.

In an interview with the Tunis weekly, *Afrique Action* (25th October), Mr. Holden Roberto, leader of the U.P.A. and commander-in-chief of the war against the Portuguese, said that his people were going to obtain 400 machine guns, and seven of his men were going to be trained by the Algerian Liberation Army.

"The U.P.A., organ of people oppressed for five centuries, has been trying for several years to persuade the colonizers to recognize the aspirations of the people of Angola.

"But the obstinacy of the Portuguese dictators over the centuries made it impossible for us to go on assisting passively in the physical, moral and material destruction of our people.

"We could no longer bear the yoke of a colonialism so barbarous . . ." Mr. Roberto said.

*Afrique Action* (14th October) wrote: "According to a generally reliable source, the Angolan nationalists are soon to launch a large scale offensive

## Russia's Giant Bomb

RUSSIA'S giant bomb, detonated despite universal protests, has released vast quantities of atomic poisons on the world, on communists and non-communists alike.

Dr. Linus C. Pauling, who won the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1954, has declared that Russia's 50-megaton bomb would endanger the life and health of thousands of persons for six thousand years. He predicted that explosion of this bomb would have the following specific effects: the birth of 40,000 babies with physical defects in the next few generations; pollution of the atmosphere by radioactive debris for six thousand years, causing an additional 400,000 defective or still-born babies; uncounted cases of bone cancer, leukemia (blood cancer), and related diseases among human beings now alive and among future generations; serious irradiation to persons within the area of the bomb with physical effects within a year or two; and eye damage to persons who look at the explosion from within a radius of several hundred miles.

The thermonuclear explosion now released by Mr. Khrushchev, with its explosive force of 50 million tons of T.N.T., would be 2,500 times more powerful than the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Such an explosion could completely wipe out any city on earth and start fires over a forty- to fifty-mile radius.

—Copyright International Feature Services.

## SUPPORT FOR MOKHEHLE

BASUTO LAND'S oldest newspaper, the Paris Mission's widely read and respected *Leselinyana*, came out in a front-page signed editorial on 21st October with a strong attack on South African refugees in Basutoland who seek to dominate Basutoland's local political movements. The editorial also strongly attacked communist refugees, and gave its support to the recent campaign against communism initiated by Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle, president of the Basutoland Congress Party, whose portrait the newspaper published on its front page. Points from the editorial:

- Although we should receive people who have fled from persecution in the Union, we should watch their behaviour very closely in politics.
- Visitors should learn carefully what their host likes and should try to please their host.
- Often astonishing reports in Basutoland appear in Union newspapers, especially in *New Age*. When one looks closely at them one quickly sees that the motive behind them is to confuse the nation.
- Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the B.C.P., says that he does not wish communism to come and oppress the Basuto.

## "LIBERAL OPINION"

A WARM welcome from *Contact* to *Liberal Opinion*, a new quarterly journal published by the Liberal Party of South Africa.

Volume One, No. 1, has appeared. It consists of 16 pages, rounded, within attractive printed covers. It is available in English or in Afrikaans, at 75c (7/6) for six issues, from Box 66, Wynberg, Cape.

The first issue, supplies of which are limited, contains articles on: the general election, the United Nations in Africa, freedom of expression, the new face of apartheid, together with news of the provincial divisions of the party.

# "S.A. MUST GET OUT"

## HISTORIC REPORT BY U.N. COMMITTEE ON S.W.A.

THE United Nations Committee on South West Africa in its report on that territory, has called for the departure of South African troops from South West Africa, that South African rule be terminated, and that it be replaced by "a direct or indirect United Nations administration to enable South West Africa to assume sovereignty and independence" (*Cape Argus*, 27th October).

The Committee urged the Security Council and all other United Nations organs to consider measures to implement its recommendations, and to use force if necessary.

The Committee recommended the organization and training of an indigenous South West African police force in South West Africa by the United Nations, the withdrawal of all South African forces from the territory and the abolition of all discriminatory legislation and the cessation of organized immigration by Whites, especially South Africans, once the territory had been placed under U.N. control.

This epoch-making report will now have to go to the General Assembly for consideration. Observers believe that the General Assembly will accept the report virtually without alteration.

It will then be for the United Nations to take concrete steps to remove the Union's administration.

The Committee's recommendations follow closely those set out in a memorandum submitted by the South West African People's Organization to all delegates to the General Assembly.

The memorandum states:

"In view of the gravity of the situation the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) wish to urge the General Assembly to undertake the following decisive political action:

● Establishment of a United Nations Commission composed of African States to go to South West Africa with or without the co-operation of the South African Government to:

(a) Arrange for the termination of the South African administration and the immediate withdrawal of

all its military forces present in South West Africa,

(b) arrange for free general elections within a period of six months on the basis of direct universal suffrage under United Nations supervision.

(c) establish complete internal self-government.

(d) abolish all apartheid legislation and pass laws.

● That the United Nations Commission act in an advisory capacity to the interim government until such time as national independence has been achieved by or before 1963.

"It must be abundantly clear to all delegations as it is to the people of South West Africa that the United Nations measures heretofore attempted have been a failure because they have ignored the total reality of the situation, including the degree of determination of the South African Government to remain in South West Africa at all costs. United Nations action in South West Africa must take a new positive course. **Short of war or the use of force and other compulsive measures within the purview of the Charter, no peaceful solution to the question of South West Africa will be acceptable to the South African Government.** In order to strengthen the work of the proposed United Nations Commission, the South West Africa People's Organization calls upon this General Assembly to establish a United Nations Police Force for South West Africa to:

(a) restore a climate of peace and security,

(b) maintain law and order.

- (c) protect the lives of inhabitants,
- (d) protect and assist the United Nations Commissioners in the carrying out of their duties,
- (e) disarm all South African military and para-military personnel and to arrange for their immediate repatriation to South Africa,
- (f) abolish all South African military bases in South West Africa,
- (g) disarm all organized and individual civilian elements engaged in the terrorization of African people,
- (h) free all political detainees and imprisoned leaders, members and non-members of the South West Africa People's Organization.

"The South West Africa People's Organization strongly emphasize that military personnel for the proposed U.N. Police Force for South West Africa be drawn from all member states, except the great powers and that the great



MBURUMBA KERINA,  
Chairman of Swapo

powers be asked to provide material supplies in order to ensure the strength and the effectiveness of the Force."

## Strong Basuto Protest Against Deportation

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Widespread indignation was felt here last week after the conviction of Mr. Mohau Joshua Mokitimi for contravening the 1958 Entry and Residence Proclamation.

Mr. Mokitimi, who was Organizing Secretary of the B.C.P. Youth League, was found guilty on 20th October, in the Maseru Magistrate's Court and was declared a "prohibited entrant". The evidence was that he was not born in Basutoland. His parents are Basutoland nationals and Mokitimi has grown up in Basutoland and has received his education here.

He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment or a fine of R50.00. He noted an appeal.

A storm broke out when the Maseru police ordered Mr. Mokitimi to leave Basutoland within 24 hours and go to the Republic of South Africa. The B.C.P. called a huge protest meeting on Monday night attended by about 2,500 men, women and children.

This deportation order gave rise to an urgent application to the High Court by Mr. W. M. Tsotsi, who appeared on behalf of Mr. Mokitimi, to have the deportation order set aside pending the hearing of the appeal. The judge granted the application.

As a result of the urgent application to have the deportation order set aside, the date of appeal is to be brought forward as the respondents wish to dispose of it at the earliest opportunity, and the appellant himself is very anxious to have the appeal heard.

After Mr. Mokitimi's conviction last Friday many people expressed great disapproval of the Proclamation. The people think it is too nebulous and arbitrary. By a stroke of the pen hundreds of thousands of Basuto men and women who were born in the Republic of South Africa when their parents were working in South Africa's mines, farms and industries as migrant labourers can be summarily deported from their homes and sent back to the Republic of apartheid.

## PORTUGUESE SPY-RING BROKEN IN TANGANYIKA

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: White-supremacy spy-rings are more active than ever before all over Southern Africa. One has just been exposed and probably broken in Dar es Salaam, where the Tanganyika government has expelled the Portuguese consul, Octavio Neto Valerio, and closed down the consulate.

Valerio was the first White Portuguese consul in Tanganyika, and had replaced a Goan who was his predecessor. It is now clear that he was the centre of a well-organized spy-ring. When he arrived three Africans from Moçambique who pretended to be refugees, but who are now known to have been members of the Portuguese secret police (International Police for the Defence of the State, P.I.D.E.), managed to insinuate themselves into official positions in Manu (the Moçambique African National Union which is backed by Dr. Nyerere's Tanu) and also in Udenamo (União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique), led by Mr. Adelino Gwambe.

● One of those who were almost certainly spying for the Portuguese was Benedito Jaime Mapange. He had a good position in the Tanganyika government medical department as a dental mechanic and laboratory technician. But he posed as a refugee, resigned his post, and joined Udenamo. In Udenamo he managed to become National Treasurer.



VALERIO

CHAMBALE

But Mapange carried on him a "safe conduct" issued by the Moçambique "Native Affairs Department" (Direcção dos Serviços dos Negócios Indígenas) showing that the request for his safe-conduct had come from the P.I.D.E. This document was found on him, and a copy was found in one of the top secret files in consul Valerio's office. When this fact was discovered Valerio immediately sent Mapange off to Portugal.

● With the disappearance of Mapange the spying did not stop. David Daniel Chambale of Lourenço Marques, a former typographical worker, succeeded Mapange in the office of Udenamo, though he was not elected to any official position in the organization. Later, he was alleged to have stolen files and other papers from the Udenamo office, and to have passed them on to the Portuguese consul. He was interrogated by the Dar es Salaam police, and charged with stealing documents. His case was set down for 11th October, and the consul and one of his African clerks, Aurelio Jaime Bucuane, stood bail for Chambale. Bucuane is known to have once worked for Manu. Now both Bucuane and Chambale have returned to Moçambique.

Strengthening of Movements

The closing-down of the Portuguese consulate, although an act of an administration which is still British in name, was clearly done with Tanganyika's coming independence-day (9th December, 1961) in mind, and in deference to Dr. Nyerere's feelings. One of the results must be a strengthening of the African nationalist movements against the Portuguese dictatorship in Moçambique and Angola.

Official circles recall at least three other occasions when people believed

to be spies have succeeded in operating inside Tanganyika. One was a White South African who called himself Dr. Buchner. One was a teacher, known in Basutoland in 1960 as "Mr. K.", whose real name was Khumalo. And a third was a newspaperman, Zollie Sonkosi, who later admitted that he had been working for Tass, the Soviet news agency. All these people were deported from Tanganyika. Observers here expect that spying activities will be stepped up, now that Tanganyika is to win full independence. In view of the ease with which the three Moçambique spies escaped from the country it is felt here that Tanganyika will have to strengthen its security services.

### Basutoland Work Camp

THE Southern Africa Work Camp Association, which has planned successful inter-racial projects over the last few years (as reported in *Contact*) is to hold its next camp in the heart of the lovely Maluti mountains in Basutoland during the months of December and January.

The workers will work under the supervision of skilled Basuto builders and will build up to four rondavels, a kitchen and ablution block for a tourist rest camp being built by the Maseru District Council. Subsidies are available for those who cannot afford the full cost. Details are available from:

P.O. Box 506, Durban.

## MASS WORKERS' MEETING CALLS FOR NATIONAL CONVENTION

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The futility of government attempts to stifle the growth of extra-parliamentary movements was again demonstrated at a mass meeting called by the South African Congress of Trade Unions in Durban's Bantu Social Centre on 21st and 22nd October.

About 2,000 people, mainly Africans and Indians, crowded into the hall to hear speakers from Sactu, the Congress of Democrats, the Liberal Party, the African Residents' Association, and other organizations.

### National Convention

The meeting called for an end to unemployment and the factors—such

as the pass laws, influx control and job reservation—which create it. It also called for a National Convention and government consultation at all levels of the economy with the employers' and employee organizations including unregistered trade unions.

Bantu Authorities and the Bantu Education Act were roundly condemned and there was a call for the recognition of all trade unions.

### Organizations Represented

An "army" of Security Branch men including at least six White "sleuths" heard Mr. Stephen Dlamini, of Sactu, Mr. Brian Chayter of the C.O.D., Mr. David Evans of the Liberal Party, Mr. George Mbele of the Residents' Association and a host of others.

Messages were read from Mr. Ronnie



The hall at the Durban Bantu Men's Social Centre during the meeting.

## TEMBU LEADER'S ARREST FEARED

IT is feared that Mr. McGregor Mgolombane, one of the four Tembus deported in May 1958, has been arrested by the South African police. He left Basutoland, where he has been living, for a destination in the Union in June this year and his friends have not heard from him since then. It is rumoured that he is being held in Umzimkulu prison. As Umzimkulu is in the Transkei, where a year-old state of emergency is in force, it is legal for the authorities to hold him there without a warrant, and without remanding him.

Mr. Mgolombane, with Messrs. Twalimfene Joyi, Bangelizwe Joyi, and Jackson Nkosiyanane, produced a booklet in 1957 entitled "The Tembu Resist Bantu Authorities", a booklet which

had an immense effect in Tembuland. The group had a meeting with Mr. Young, of the then Native Affairs Department, in Pretoria in November 1957, when they put the case against Bantu Authorities, and protested against a plan to take half of Tembuland from Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo and to give it to the quisling chief Kaiser Matanzima. The group had a further meeting in Umtata in March 1958. Then, on 14th May 1958, government struck and dealt with the Tembus' opposition by deporting the leaders. The Joyis and Mr. Nkosiyanane were sent to Vandaland and Bechuanaland, while for a long time Mr. Mgolombane evaded arrest by hiding. In the end he too was arrested and deported. Last year all succeeded, with the help of friends, in escaping from their exile, and all reached Basutoland. One day it will be possible for the dramatic story of their escape to be told.

The Joyis are still in Basutoland, where they have been granted asylum, as is Mr. Nkosiyanane.

Kasrils, secretary of C.O.D., who had been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, and Mr. Melville Fletcher, a trade unionist, banned earlier this year. News of the ban on Mr. Kasrils and of the conviction of African leaders, including three Liberals in Johannesburg under the Unlawful Organizations Act read with the Suppression of Communism Act, were greeted with angry cries.

### Election Result

Mr. Evans expressed the hope that the election result and government action to follow it would press all democratic extra-parliamentary organizations together into one mighty group and push the Progressive Party into the extra-parliamentary fold. He said that it was the duty of all freedom lovers to convince the White worker that he was being "betrayed by the government for which he betrayed the working class movement".

Tribute was paid by other speakers to the success of the Progressive and Liberal candidates in the election. But the crowd was warned that this was not enough.

### Marred by One Incident

The conference, conducted in a spirit of co-operation, was marred by one

incident. In a message from Mr. Fletcher the Pan Africanist Congress and the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa were attacked as "instruments of American imperialism". This was of course a matter between Congress and the P.A.C.

But then Mr. Patrick Duncan and *Contact* were also attacked in strong terms.

Mr. Evans said he would have to withdraw from the platform unless spokesmen dissociated themselves from Mr. Fletcher's remarks about a fellow Liberal.

After discussion Mr. Dlamini told the meeting that the views expressed by Mr. Fletcher were his own and should not be associated with the C.O.D. or the Congress Alliance. He apologized for any embarrassment the remarks may have caused Liberals present. It was not Congress policy to attack democratic movements.

Mr. Dlamini said afterwards that the organizers of the meeting had not had any prior knowledge of the attack and would not have allowed it to go forward if they had, particularly as there was a Liberal on the platform.

## IINCWADI ZESIXHOSA ZASEOXFORD OXFORD XHOSA READERS

Umhleli H. W. PAHL  
Ezi ncwadi zodumo zala  
mabakala angezantsi  
ziyafumaneka ngoku

Ibanga 3	34c
Ibanga 4	36c
Ibanga 5	40c
Ibanga 6	42c

Zifumaneka kuzo zonke  
iivenkile zencwadi

## OXFORD University Press CAPE TOWN

## E. Province "Convention" Meets in Spite of Bans

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: The Eastern Cape Regional Consultation on a National Convention was opened on the 21st October here. The chairman was to have been Mr. Frank Landman, but he was served with a five-year banning order a week prior to the meeting. Mr. Dennis Brutus who was to have read a paper to the meeting was banned on the eve of the consultation.

The regional consultation unanimously passed a resolution deploring the banning orders as "depriving two valuable members of our community of the right of free speech and free association".

The Rev. H. F. C. Thorpe read a paper on the "Need for a National Convention". He said that unless the "real representatives of the people can be brought round a conference table on equal footing, the country would go from crisis to crisis until the final showdown". He insisted that "the voices of the people must be heard—and when we say the people we include the present government".

He said that the chance to reason, the opportunity for consultation, the generation of a political climate in which men can live together without fear was what those who call for a National Convention wanted.

A former treason trialist, Mr. M. B. Yengwa of Durban, said that "by banning our leaders who support non-violence, the government robs them of control of the direction of resistance. We do not want violence but our leaders who can prevent it, are in gaol," he said.

Dr. Edgar Brookes outlined the form the Natal Convention had taken, and stressed the fact that peace and justice in South Africa would not become a reality unless all sections of the community met as equals and as fellow citizens.



Dr. Edgar Brookes addressing the conference.

Resolutions were adopted supporting the Claremont Conference (see *Contact*, 19th October), calling on the committee elected at Claremont to begin work towards a National Convention, and asking that 16th December be set aside as a national day of dedication.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## If we believe in non-racial Democracy . . .

SIR.—I appeal to all our non-White Liberals and non-Liberals to support our Liberal Party, because I believe that the Liberal Party is the only one which stands for world freedom.

Let's co-operate together in this, brothers and sisters, let us consider and see what is come upon us.

Our inheritance is turned over to strangers by the Minister. We Africans in South Africa can be moved by the government whenever they feel like moving us. In our own communal lands our chieftainship is regarded as nothing by the government.

This is the time for us Africans to stand together with our Liberal Party to fight for our rights throughout South Africa.

If we believe in non-racial democracy based on one man one vote and the creation of a truly democratic society in South Africa, why not all come together in unity in the Liberal Party and also become agents for *Contact*. South Africa's most freedom-loving newspaper so that our people can read and understand what is going on in our beloved country which has been taken from us by force?

Throughout South Africa, Africans are mourning because the republic is for one section only.

N. J. RAMOROESI,  
P.O. Phokeng, Tvl.

## The great task

SIR.—The great task of the future is the reorganization of society in the interests not of enjoyment but of moral manhood. No man can come into his own except in a society of men. He cannot become free except in a society which limits freedom. That is what President Nkrumah was wisely aiming at when in July this year he introduced the "austerity" budget in order to regulate the earnings and savings of

the whole nation. The passing of the "austerity" budget cannot be deemed an oppressive economic measure as Ghana, a young nation, needs educational and industrial facilities to furnish the needs of her people.

By raising enormous loans from foreign states to achieve the national ideal would be hampering the pride and prestige of any nation since it would be enslaved for a prolonged time in paying back. A nation can turn to asking for foreign loans when the nation itself feels that a gigantic undertaking cannot be achieved without the aid of another country. Ghana has done this in raising a loan from the United States of America for the Volta dam electricity project.

HENRY LUGOJOLO,  
Alexandra, Johannesburg.

## "Gone are the days of Tribalism"?

SIR.—What is the future of our beloved country South West Africa? Will we get freedom or will we stay in the same position or will we get a second Congo instead of independence?

All the Africans call for unity. Some of them say, "Gone are the days of tribalism", but according to their actions there is no sign of any unity, because every race wants to become a leader of other races and every race wants its name well known and big and everyone tries to get his race's name in the newspaper. This sort of competition makes it impossible for us to get unity, and these ambitions cause there to be four parties.

Here in South West Africa are Damaras, Namas, Ovambos and Hereros. These four races form the inhabitants of the country, and they all have the same standards of civilization. None is better than the others.

Every one of these four races has got its trouble or something to tell other countries and people about. That is why we are very sorry that the

## AFRICAN LEADERS "MUST THINK MORE CLEARLY"

SIR.—I hope and look forward to the day when all the peoples of South Africa can learn to live together, work together with equal chances and opportunities for all. It is therefore most disappointing to read the article from your correspondent in Dar es Salaam (*Contact*, 5th October), concerning the two P.A.C. leaders, Mr. Lawrence Mgweba and Mr. Philip Kgosana.

Presumably these two gentlemen would be potential leaders if and when South Africa's government includes all races and colours. I can only hope they try to sort out their ideas before that time comes. Do they really believe that "South Africa, free by 1963, under African rule", could possibly maintain itself in its present economic position? And under what circumstances?

Mr. Mgweba is reported as saying, "We want the independence of South Africa under African rule. This means we want a government of Africans for the Africans by the Africans. The word 'African' includes everyone of every colour or race who has made South Africa his or her home—brown, black or white. We do not recognize the government of settlers that is ruling us now" (but these are at least a section of those who have made South Africa their home).

Later on, Mr. Mgweba is quoted as saying, "We are not looking for a good White government. We are looking for a government of Africans by the African people." (Fair enough, but one assumes

that in his desire to get this, he won't throw away South Africa's economic potential just because it has been developed by a White government.)

But then Mr. Mgweba seems to give the game away, for having claimed that the government is to be by all those who have made South Africa their home, he goes on to say, "And all those who support a Black government in Africa, irrespective of their colour or creed, and who support the democratic rule of the African majority, are Africans as far as we are concerned." (So the government is not going to be an African government, meaning all those who have made South Africa their home, but it is to be a Black government. In other words, the present position is going to be reversed. In which case, as a White, I could be forgiven, surely, for thinking that I'm better off the way I am.)

No, Mr. Editor, maybe the Nationalist government commands and deserves no respect, but with muddled thinking, thoughtless and senseless slogans, the African Black leaders are not going to command respect either.

May I beg Black African leaders, if they wish to command the respect of the world, to think more clearly, try to be really constructive, and show that they have a love for the country and the people rather than, as it appears, for power.

PETER BURTWELL,  
Manzini, Swaziland.

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Keep on writing
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- *Contact* free for a year for the best letter of the fortnight

reporters from South Africa who were supposed to be writing an article on South West Africa were only interested in the Herero people. They did not pay any attention to the others.

D. HAO-KHOIB,  
Walvis Bay.

## New names for parties

SIR.—Today there are numerous political parties among the non-White oppressed of South Africa. This, however, may be a good sign of political awareness. But a good many of them are diametrically opposed to each other. In fact, when you read something about one party referring to another, it is nothing better than wrangling and mud-slinging.

I will put down an incomplete list at random—African National Congress, Pan African Congress, Non-European Unity Movement, Indian Congresses, Coloured Congresses and Conventions, Liberal Party. The reader will add many more to these.

Supposing we overthrew the government somehow (I mean we, the oppressed); whichever of these parties came to power, would find itself sitting on a volcano. It might be called, by its disunited opposition, any of the following: quislings, petty bourgeoisie, arm-chair philosophers, neo-colonialists, or what have you.

For most of these parties I suggest a change of name. Here are some of the changes I would suggest:

A.N.C.—Affairs of National Concern.  
P.A.C.—Peace for the African Continent, etc.

As the names I have suggested show, there is one thing common to all of them, namely, the cause of our country. Let us, like statesmen, be prepared to sacrifice our own views for the sake of our country, and not be sentimentally attached to a name just because it

## AFRIQUE ACTION

A weekly news review published in Tunis gives wide coverage to events affecting Africa and non-aligned countries.

### Subscriptions

Airmail: R14.50 (£7. 5. 0.) per year  
R 7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per 6 months  
Surface mail: R7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per year  
R3.63 (£1.16. 3) per 6 months

20% reduction to students and teachers

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
P.O. Box 1979,  
Cape Town.

was the first organization we affiliated to when we first woke up to political awareness.

The Liberal Party—I would rather it called itself Labour Party or something else—what has it to be liberal with? As the name stands, it gives one the impression that someone is holding some rights, the giving out of which depends on whether the holder is liberal or prejudiced.

OBSERVER II,  
Kanye, B.P.

## Too deaf to hear?

SIR.—Discrimination is a dead ideology. If then such a policy is practised, does it mean that the South African government especially is too deaf to hear?

All good opportunity is reserved for "Whites only" though there are many intelligent Africans. The reward for these people is a job fit for a non-educated person.

If you were wise, you discriminators, you would at once stop this wrong policy of yours for it is a wrong one. I deny that the discriminating class is civilized. If it is civilized then there are no barbarians on earth.

"Not in vain have some clear-sighted persons been preparing to fight those who try to impose the heavy yoke of slavery" (Archbishop Pretz).

This is just what we Africans aim at doing now. We shall crush this foolish policy of discrimination beyond recognition.

HOWLER SPECIAL,  
Manzini, Swaziland.

## Prize Letter

### NO WHITE CASH BOX

SIR.—I see that many things are changing in various ways, but there is one persistent thing which has not yet changed. That is this bad habit of the settlers which is known as "colour bar".

In this country, which is Swaziland, I don't think that this bad habit will be finished unless Swaziland gets self government.

In some hotels, cafes, and butcheries you find that there are special places where Africans are not allowed to enter and have their meals. You can notice that it is written "Europeans Only". In these places you find that they are very clean and tidy and there are comfortable chairs.

Now let us go and see where Africans are placed. Yo! It's wonderful, even a cattle kraal is far better.

Now let's proceed to money. Is there any white cash box for the money which the settlers pay? Is there any black cash box for the money which is paid by Africans? The answer is no. How many boxes are there? There is only one cash box for putting in both monies paid by two people.

The same thing applies to the government of this country. You notice that the settlers own high places and they get regular salaries and free houses. Does this happen to Africans? No. Why? Because of the colour bar.

I hope that the Swaziland Progressive Party will finish this bad habit of the settlers.

E. DLAMINI,  
Manzini, Swaziland.

Each fortnight the best letter will earn its writer a prize—a year's free subscription to "Contact". This fortnight Mr. Dlamini wins. He gets the free subscription.

Well done Mr. Dlamini!

—EDITOR.

# Plan for Africa's Greatest State

From "Contact" Correspondent

**DAR ES SALAAM:** At a conference here on 14th October further steps were taken towards the establishment of what will probably be Africa's greatest state, a Federation of East and Central African States.

Top African leaders attended from all East and Central African states and it is believed that they gave their blessing to Mr. Mbiu Koinange, a Kenyan leader who is secretary of Pafmeca (the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa), to travel widely to gather support for the Federation.

Present were: Dr. Julius Nyerere (Tanganyika), Mr. Kenneth Kaunda (N. Rhodesia), Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda (Nyasaland), Mr. Abeid Karume (Zan-

zibar), Mr. Jomo Kenyatta and Mr. Oginga Odinga (Kenya), Mr. Joshua Nkomo (Southern Rhodesia).

If their countries and Uganda were to form a federation a new state containing thirty million people and extending over an area of 1,166,000 square miles would arise.

Moving spirit behind the drive is Mr. Koinange who believes that the time is ripe for the new state to be formed. The principal barrier at present in the way of its establishment is the existence of minority rule in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Commenting on the conference, "Afrique Action", Tunis, (14th October) says, "If it marks the birth of an independent African federation, it would have repercussions throughout the continent, and particularly in west Africa where it could speed the process of unity."

"Afrique Action" declares "this conference, will without doubt, be one of the most important in the history of Africa".

— see front page



## Kozonguizi Explains Remarks

**MR. Fanuel Jariretundu Kozonguizi**, who styles himself "leader of the South West Africa National Union", has sent a lengthy statement referring to the item in *Contact* (5th October) reporting that he had pleaded on 22nd June at Accra for the expulsion of all the Whites from South West Africa.

In the course of his statement Mr. Kozonguizi says: "The document which was posted to the *Windhoek Advertiser* apparently by Swapo representatives was not the only document we presented to the United Nations Committee . . ."

Mr. Kozonguizi enclosed with his statement a copy of another document which, he says, the *Windhoek Advertiser* withheld from its readers because of "its evil intentions against Swans". In the course of this second document, which is Mr. Kozonguizi's "supplementary statement made before the Committee on South West Africa", occur these words: "The White settlers from the Republic of South Africa who are determined to die fighting the United Nations or any other administration in South West Africa. Our humble submission is that there can never be peace in South West Africa until they have been removed. But if there is a way which can guarantee that their presence will not constitute a danger to the security and peace of South West Africa they will always be welcome."



KOZONGUIZI

Mr. Kozonguizi does not explain the contradiction revealed in his supplementary statement. If "there can never be peace" until the White settlers have been removed, how can he also speak of "other ways" which do not involve their removal? Nor does he explain how he can reconcile this supplementary statement with the first, which he does not disown, and which was quoted in *Contact*. In the first statement he said: "The only way to restore a climate of peace and security in South West Africa is by removing lock, stock and barrel, the creators of the oppressive rule and their laws—in short, all the Whites must be ejected from South West Africa". Elsewhere he asked for "the withdrawal and departure of all the Whites from the Territory of South West Africa".

## DRASTIC LAW FORECAST

**A** JOHANNESBURG Nationalist weekend newspaper, *Sondagblad* (22nd October), reports under front page banner headlines that "strong laws" are being prepared especially for "White agitators".

The papers says: "Agitators, especially Whites, will be dealt with and made harmless next year."

"*Sondagblad* understands that legislation is now being prepared which will contain drastic measures against people who try to incite others against the State, and undermine the safety of the country."

"The cabinet is at present holding a series of meetings to discuss proposed legislation, which will be made law during the 1962 session."

"Minister John Vorster, before the election, promised drastic measures against White agitators. He repeated this in Vereeniging last Saturday.

## SABOTAGE "WHITE LED" SAYS "GUARDIAN"

**S**OUTH AFRICAN political exiles now living in London have claimed, writes Patrick Keatley in *The Guardian* (Manchester) of 12th October, that an underground sabotage organization calling itself the National Liberation Committee has scored its first success by cutting one of the main power lines supplying electricity to Johannesburg, causing a temporary blackout in the city.

### Anonymous Exiles

The exiles, who are anxious to remain anonymous for the time being, say that the N.L.C. has established branches in the main cities of South Africa, and has appointed a London agent. He has been supplied with an initial budget of £5,000 and orders to buy dynamite and other supplies and to smuggle them into the country by any means available.

### London Branch

The exiles, who constitute the London branch of the N.L.C., believe that the authorities in Johannesburg have tried to explain away the power line episode as a technical failure. But this is not believed here because of a message received in a coded cable.

One London sympathizer—not a member of the N.L.C.—said last night that the saboteurs have "other gran-

diose and dramatic plans", but he confirmed that there was a serious political purpose behind the new movement and that it is predominantly White-led, with members drawn from White and non-White opposition parties in the republic.

## POISON GAS FOR FUTURE "SHARPEVILLES"

**C**ONTACT learns that a senior official in the South African Department of Defence has discussed the possibilities of using poison gas (not tear gas) in future Sharpevilles, if the police or soldiers should be heavily outnumbered by demonstrators. Officials have also discussed the question of using bacteriological warfare in similar cases.

This information was told to our informant by a senior Western army officer at a recent conference on strategic studies. We are not given to understand that there exists a definite plan for the use of such weapons in the defence of apartheid. But we are assured that the suggestion was made by a senior official, and in our view it is in the public interest that this fact should be made known.

"Contact" wishes its Hindu readers a happy Deepavali and a happy New Year.

## LUTULI:

(Continued from page 3)

relentlessly for a good life for all South Africans.

"We honour Chief Lutuli at this great moment in his life, we look forward to the day when we will be a part with him of a new and greater South Africa whose privileges and responsibilities will be shared by all."

### "Die Burger"

*Die Burger* commented (24th October) "We regard (the award to Chief Lutuli) as an exceptionally immature, ill-considered and deliberately unwestern (onwesterse) decision of the Norwegian prizegivers." (Our italics.)

But on 26th October the same paper, following the Johannesburg Nationalist daily *Die Vaderland*, called on the government to allow Chief Lutuli to go to Oslo to receive the Prize.

SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

FOR RATES SEE PAGE 2



Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, is a member of the board of *Sondagnuus*.

# contact

Vol. 4 No. 23

5c (6d)

16th NOVEMBER 1961

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

**“CONTACT”**

**FINDS GANYILE**

— see page 5

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**

## “Zik” Plans Pan-Africa

DR. NNAMDI “ZIK” AZIKIWE, first Governor-General of independent Nigeria, reached that high office after a quarter-century's campaign for the freedom of his country from British rule, finally achieved last year. He was born in 1904, the son of a clerk and educated at mission schools. He completed his higher education at Lincoln University in the United States, working as a miner and casual labourer to pay his fees.

He was much influenced by the idea of Negro emancipation in the States, and this developed into his life's work, the winning of freedom for his country and the whole of Africa.

He rose to success in Nigeria as a journalist, editor and leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the largest party in Eastern Nigeria. But he had been active in politics since his return to Nigeria in 1937.

In 1952 he became Prime Minister of the Eastern Region, and after the 1959 Federal elections, President of the Senate, soon followed by his appointment as Governor-General.

His ideas on Pan-African unity are outlined on page 4.



# contact

*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.

## Capitalism — Potent Instrument to Abolish Backwardness

### LENIN'S VIEWS EXAMINED

**"O**NLY under state socialism (or communism) can backward countries progress and become modern; under capitalism or free enterprise really backward countries cannot progress: an example is Russia, which has progressed from nothing in the forty years since the communist revolution." This belief is widespread in African and Asian countries. **But though it is widespread it is false.**

It is false for two main reasons: firstly it is false because the greatest leap forward in the history of man has taken place under a capitalist system — the modernization of Japan.

It is false, secondly, because capitalist Russia before the communists took over was not undeveloped. On the contrary, it was a country developing with fantastic speed. In some respects it was progressing faster than it has progressed since the revolution of 1917, when the dictatorship of the emperor (called the Tsar) was destroyed, and replaced by a communist dictatorship.

Perhaps the best witness on this question is Lenin, the man who led the communist revolution against the Tsar. In 1907, ten years before the revolution,

working mostly in exile, he wrote a book called *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Here are a few facts from the book:

The output of pig-iron in Russia increased from 200,000 tons in 1867 to nearly 2,000,000 tons in 1902, an increase of 1000% in ten years. The output of coal, in the same period, increased from 300,000 tons to 12,000,000 tons, an increase of 4000%. Lenin's comment: "We now see that the development of mining is proceeding faster in Russia than

in Western Europe and in some respects even faster than in the United States." (p. 536)

The output of the Russian oil industry increased from 9,000 tons in 1856 to 8,000,000 tons in 1902 (p. 538). The exports of timber were increased sixfold in the forty years following 1856, and the amount of building timber and wood conveyed along the inland waterways increased four times between the years 1866 and 1890. In the twenty years succeeding 1866 the number of workers in the wood-working trade increased over three times, and the output by nearly five times (p. 518).

These are only a few of the many thousands of facts quarried by Lenin out of official and other reports. All the facts show that, before the 1917 revolution, capitalism had awoken Russia from her age-old sleep, and had launched that country on a career of spectacular development with increasing productivity. Let us hear Lenin's own comments: "It is capitalist large-scale industry that rapidly increases the number of workers, at the same time enormously increasing the productivity

of their labour." (p. 537) And "these figures clearly show what a technical revolution is now taking place in Russia, and what an enormous capacity for the development of productive forces is possessed by large-scale capitalist industry." (p. 535)

Despite the vast expansion of railways in the Soviet Union, no less than 60% of all existing miles of track were laid by 1913, four years before the revolution (*Whitaker's Almanack*, 1960, p. 950).

Now these statistics are facts and show that Russia was progressing at a great speed before the communist revolution.

What was Lenin's attitude to this capitalist development? He gives it clearly at p. 654, where he recognizes "the progressiveness" of the "historical role" of capitalism, while fully recognizing "the negative and dark sides of capitalism . . . the profound and all-sided social contradictions which are inevitably inherent in capitalism . . ."

Perhaps if Lenin were alive today and could see the way that capitalism has reformed itself and also the unspeakable miseries which communism inflicted on Russia, miseries only now being revealed by Mr. Khrushchev, he would not have attached so much importance to what he called capitalism's "inherent contradictions".

The world accepts today that early and unreformed capitalism produced disorganization and misery together with the fabulous progress which it made possible. What is in danger of being forgotten is precisely the fact that the swiftest examples of progress in history have been under capitalist systems, and that Russia under capitalism was not an undeveloped country. On the contrary, pre-revolutionary Russia was a country burgeoning with creative energy, and developing with dramatic speed.

(All references to 1956 edition: "The Development of Capitalism in Russia", Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.)

## Shorts . . .

● Radio Monrovia (Liberia) can be heard in South Africa in the evening in the 19-metre band. There is a comprehensive English-language bulletin of unslanted news about Africa at 8 p.m.

● The traditional dislike felt by South African business for African trade unions is beginning to disappear. "Most manufacturers," says the *Financial Mail* (3rd November), "accept that the creation of properly run African trade unions is inevitable. Many are prepared to urge that this happens now." This new attitude appears in an article in the current issue of *The Manufacturer*, organ of the Federated Chambers of Industries, where it is argued that African workers are beginning to resent "handouts" by employers; they wish to negotiate terms with their employers themselves.

● The United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia has produced a special 24-page issue of its newsletter *Voice of U.N.I.P.*, in which are detailed alleged brutalities and other forms of misconduct committed by the Security Forces in the Northern Province of the territory during the rebellion there earlier this year.

Apart from giving a well-documented account of the alleged behaviour of these troops and police, it is in itself a most revealing document on the breakdown of the rule of law. Called *A Grim Peep into the North*, it has an introduction by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of U.N.I.P., and is obtainable from U.N.I.P.'s International and Publicity Bureau, P.O. Box 302, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia. No price is stated.



VERWOERD: "The country is all ours now that THEY are all in their Bantustans."

# contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly  
47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN  
P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524  
Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

**CORRESPONDENTS**  
Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg,  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Lagos,  
London.

**SUBSCRIPTIONS**  
African Postal Union:  
R1.40 (14/-) per year.  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year.  
Airmail:  
R2.70 (£1 7.0.) per year.  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year.  
Elsewhere:  
R1.70 (17/-) per year.  
R0.85 (8/6) per half year.  
Airmail:  
On application.



**Basutoland:****COMMUNISTS PLAN TAKE-OVER**

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Basutoland's communists have opened an all-out attack on Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle, President of the Basutoland Congress Party, the country's only sizable political party.

The recent disgraceful rioting in Maseru over the threatened expulsion from the country of Mr. Mohau Moki-timi, B.C.P. Youth League leader, has caused such a revulsion of feeling inside the B.C.P. that a clear division is now almost unavoidable, with a further weakening of the position of Mr. Mokhehle.

The immediate communist aim is to take over the B.C.P. by replacing Mr. Mokhehle with someone who will owe his position to the communists, and who will take orders from them. One of South Africa's top communists has told three people known to me that "I will destroy Mokhehle locally and internationally". "New Age", the South African pro-communist weekly, has launched out on a campaign to smash Mr. Mokhehle's reputation.

If successful in removing Mr. Mokhehle, the aim then would be the establishment of a communist (or communist-dominated) republic in mountainous, remote Basutoland. If they succeeded, it would be almost im-

possible in the existing climate of world opinion for them ever to be removed or evicted.

**Good Deal Against Him**

Mr. Mokhehle has a good deal against him. Ample funds are available to the communists, and they are able to get free tickets and free passports for people to travel to and from Moscow and the communist lands. They have just been granted a site in Maseru by the British authorities for setting up a large printing press. And Mr. Mokhehle has weakened his own position by issuing statements that he has later had to withdraw.

At the same time Mr. Mokhehle is one of the biggest figures in Basutoland, and none of his rivals are in the business of full-time political work, as he is. He is now fighting for his political life, and can be depended upon to fight hard. His erstwhile enemies, the Roman Catholics, have ceased to criticize him as they used to, and will almost certainly give quiet support to him against Mr. Motloheloa. As reported in last fortnight's *Contact*, the newspaper of the Church of Basutoland (Paris Mission) has already come out in strong support of Mr. Mokhehle. Mr. Mokhehle can also count on the support, tacit or active, of many of the ex-P.A.C. refugees now in Basutoland,

who greatly fear a growth in the influence of their old opponents, the communists.

The crisis will come to a head in December, when the B.C.P. holds its annual conference. If Mr. Mokhehle is ousted, it means that he will not become Basutoland's first Chief Minister when, as is expected, Britain grants responsible government to the Basuto in 1962 or 1963.

MR. JOHN MOTLOHELOA is the driving force, though almost certainly not the leader, of the Basutoland communists. He returned from Moscow, where he had spent three months, on about 16th October. He has now issued a *Programme*, and a *Draft Constitution* (dated November, 1961), both of the "Communist Party of Lesotho" (Basutoland).

In the draft constitution the first aim of the party is given thus: "to act as an independent party of workers and peasants of Lesotho, aiming at a socialist republic of Lesotho". The programme speaks of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress as "our nearest allies".

The programme calls for "complete and genuine independence" which is defined as meaning "control of (our) own defence force, foreign policy, inter-

(Continued on page 6, col. 1)

**Liberals Wake People To Politics**

Walter Hain, Pretoria Liberal Chairman, addressing a meeting in Cape Reserve.

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: There is no doubt that at last the Coloured people of Pretoria are beginning to take a real interest in the political situation in the country and have made up their minds about the sort of future they want.

This is proved by the rapidly growing interest in the regular Liberal Party public meetings which are held with a loud speaker in a backyard in the Cape Reserve, the "Coloured location". At every meeting more and more people gather to listen to "the voice of freedom"—talks by members of the Liberal Party Pretoria Branch and sometimes by visiting members from Johannesburg. At each meeting there is the feeling that the people are less and less concerned about the presence of the Special Branch with their tape recorder, are more contemptuous of these political policemen whom they know well as intimidators in time of emergency.

**Questions and Membership Forms**

After each meeting groups form round various party members who answer questions, sell literature and take in membership forms.

It is most encouraging to meet in the Cape Reserve and Asiatic Bazaar a rapidly growing number of people proudly displaying the party badge upon their lapels. A Cape Reserve resident remarked to L.P. members recently, "Before your Liberal Party meetings began nobody talked politics—now even the children are beginning to take an interest".

**"We Are All South Africans"**

The second very encouraging development is the attitude of most Coloured people to the vote question. It is generally accepted that one man one vote is the answer and with the threat of removal to Derdepoort and Claudius (Coloured and Indian townships respectively) hanging over their heads, the demand for free choice of residential area is growing. More and more the Liberal Party cry is repeated, "We are all South Africans no matter what the colour of our skin".

This is a most gratifying advance in a city like Pretoria where almost everything is on the side of the government.

**Personal Files**

DR. A. C. JORDAN, passportless University of Cape Town lecturer, has started work at the School of Oriental and African Languages in the University of London. Having left South Africa illegally, he forfeited his Carnegie grant, but will visit the United States in December to lecture at the University of California. His younger son, Lindi, is at Kingston High School, Hull, Yorkshire, and is living with family friends in the town. He is due to matriculate there in June next year. Dr. Jordan and his son called on Dr. Julius Nyerere in Dar es Salaam on their way north. Friends are wondering if Dr. Jordan will get to Oslo in December to see Chief Lutuli get his Nobel Peace Prize.

THE OVERSEAS PRESS contained in full the verse that Alan Paton read out for Lutuli at the 1,200-strong tribute meeting in Stanger on 28th October. Local papers lacked space, it seemed:

You there, Lutuli. They thought your world was small. They thought you lived in Grootville. Now they discover it's the world you live in.

You there, Lutuli. They thought your name was small. Lutuli of Grootville, now they discover your name is everywhere.

You there, Lutuli. They thought you were chained like a backyard dog. Now they discover they are in prison but you are free.

You there, Lutuli. They took your name of chief. You were not worthy. Now they discover you are more chief than ever.

Go well, Lutuli. May your days be long. Your country cannot spare you. Win for us also, Lutuli, the prize of peace.

STORIES from East Pondoland of bloody reprisals by government-supporting chiefs and their retinues against the now crushed rebels are cir-

culating in the Transkei. Apart from serious outbreaks of violence among Chief Victor Poto's people in West Pondoland, arising out of a purely local feud, there have been no recent press reports of trouble in the Transkei. Non-co-operation is reported in Tembuland once more, however, and in parts of the Engcobo district there has been no dipping for weeks, as dipping tanks have been damaged and dipping records destroyed. Police "nylon" vans are much in evidence as tension rises in this Transkeian resistance outpost.

IF MR. B. J. VORSTER is so proud of "our non-Whites who have achieved distinction in the arts and science and other fields", it must puzzle him that they show no desire to stay here and bask in his affection. A recent, regretted departure was that of Mr. Todd Matshikiza, the musician, composer and journalist. He has produced what an informed person calls "a strangely violent and bitter outburst". Others whom Mr. Vorster showed no sign of being proud of when they were here, were Lewis Nkosi (U.S.A.),

*Personal Files*, a new feature, will appear each fortnight. It will present news about political figures that doesn't normally get into any papers!

Gerard Sekoto (Paris), Miriam Makeba (U.S.A.), Ezekiel Mphahlele (Nigeria), Peter Abrahams (West Indies), Albert Adams (Switzerland), "Bloke" Modisane (London), Alfred Hutchinson (London), Hugh Masekela (U.S.A.) to name a few. A fellow Afrikaner who went the same way was Patrick van Rensburg, whose memoirs, *Guilty Land*, have been published in London and are eagerly awaited here. It was not, like Marion Friedman's novel, *The Slap*, banned in advance through the mistaken efforts of the publisher not to offend the S.A. government.

THE Dr. W. J. B. Pienaar who was photographed carrying an anti-Lutuli poster outside a Cape Town meeting honouring Chief's prize, is Cape Town chairman of the rent board—a government appointment. He is also the amateur historian who unintentionally made half Cape Town laugh

when he was quoted as saying that the mixture of European blood in the Coloured people "was infinitesimally small". He also called the whiteness of the Whites their "great miracle and great achievement". It was a new twist to see Dr. Pienaar and his fellow members of the Mosleyesque "Association of (White) South Africans" placarding a non-racial meeting. We'll have Dr. Verwoerd carrying a poster yet.

HAS VERWOERD got his followers fully under control at last? Stanley Uys, a shrewd observer, says so and calls this no mean achievement after 13 years of rule, when cracks should be showing. A possible crack at high level might come from personal differences. Between Dr. Albert Hertzog and Mr. B. J. Vorster, for instance. Though both "hard" Nat. authoritarians, John Vorster is known to be a loyal ally of his former colleagues at the Johannesburg bar, whereas the implacable Albert has been out to "get" Johannesburg's outspoken advocates for a long time. Vorster will have a powerful voice against recommendations that bar and sidebar (i.e. advocates and attorneys) be merged, and that magistrates have power to try bigger cases, which would knock out nearly all junior advocates, who rely on lesser work. The Johannesburg bar has been a thorn in the government's side, and has issued statements attacking government measures when others have kept silent.

THE D.R. Church's revolt is not over, despite the break with the World Council of Churches. A much-admired Transvaal dominee whose rebellion is not yet, like Dr. Geyser's and the others, in the open, told a private meeting in Johannesburg in July that he knew 100 Transvaal dominees who would sign a memorandum against apartheid. We will hear more of him and his kind.

FOOTNOTE: In London, Rev. Martin Luther King, anti-segregation champion in America's deep south, said he "had had no real support in his campaign from White Ministers in the south although there had been individual exceptions. One of the great tragedies was the fact that the church often stood behind rather than led the way. It was an echo instead of a voice."

# Schoolmaster Explains Why He Quit S.A.

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: In an interview with *Contact*, Mr. M. D. Bolofo, former history master at the Botha Sigcawu High School, Flagstaff, Pondoland, has explained why he quit South Africa to go into exile in Basutoland (where he has a post as interpreter in the Legislative Council).

Mr. Bolofo says that following a strike at the school, when the pupils protested against one of their number being sjambokked by a policeman for writing slogans on the wall, he was accused by the Principal of having assisted the boys in organizing and fostering the strike.

"I was also accused of having done the following things:

- Being an agent of the anti-government press in Pondoland.
- Having helped the students in drawing a memorandum listing their grievances.
- Having held a press conference — as I was supposed to have been seen talking to a reporter.

"After the strike the local circuit inspector interviewed members of the school staff as to the causes of the strike. Later I was informed that a Commission of Inquiry would come from Pretoria to 'try' my case as based on the accusations mentioned above.

"I immediately demanded that there

should be legal representation for me but this was refused. The Principal told me that there were already sworn statements made against me by other members of the staff.

"This was astonishing since only a few days before I was being patted on the back by the Bantu Education Authorities, and had been praised for 'the high standard of his work in general and outstanding ability as a teacher'.

"At a combined staff meeting that followed I pointed out that the strike at the school had been caused by the harsh methods of punishment which the Principal meted out to the students. I told them that the whole thing arose out of the fact that a Matric. boy had been expelled because he had refused to be sjambokked."

Mr. Bolofo revealed to me that there was a large number of police spies at the school.

He had expressed his feelings against the cruelties done by the armed forces occupying Pondoland at the time.

"The day before the Commission arrived, I decided to leave Pondoland," he said. He did not feel that a Commission composed entirely of Nationalists would do justice.

## Authorities Silent

On hearing Mr. Bolofo's story, I telephoned the authorities at the Botha Sigcawu High School, asking his whereabouts. I was politely refused any in-



BOLOFO

formation and referred to various officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education, who also refused to comment.

Mr. Bolofo is a widely-travelled man and a veteran political "backroom-boy". He drew up the first presidential address of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, now headed by Dr. Banda.

MOKITIMI:

## NO IMMEDIATE EXPULSION

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The Maseru magistrate, police officers, the Maseru District Commissioner and defence lawyers moved into the Maseru Central Prison with their briefcases on Wednesday morning, 8th November, when the cases of the B.C.P. leaders and members who were arrested after last week's rioting, were due to be remanded. About 50 men and women are involved.

The defence lawyers, Mr. W. M. Tsotsi and Mr. J. Matthews, made the bail applications on behalf of their clients, but bail was refused after it was formally opposed by government authorities, on the grounds that the situation is still too tense.

The 50 men and women have been held in custody without bail since 31st October and 1st November after violent rioting broke out in Maseru. The riot followed an appeal by Mr. Mohau Mokitimi, B.C.P. Youth Leader to the Basutoland High Court against a magistrate's decision declaring him a prohibited entrant in Basutoland. He had earlier been found guilty and sentenced by a magistrate to six months' imprisonment (or R50 fine). The Control Officer in Maseru subsequently issued a deportation order against him. On 31st October Mr. Justice I. V. Elyan reserved judgment on the appeal; he gave his decision on Monday, 6th November, and dismissed the appeal. The judge has, however, not yet confirmed the deportation order, and Mr. Mokitimi is in no immediate danger of being expelled from his country.

I learn from very reliable sources that a special magistrate from Johannesburg will preside over the trials and also that a special prosecutor is being brought from Johannesburg to lead evidence for the Crown.

The trials, on charges of public violence and incitement, are provisionally set down for 15th November.

The ban on meetings has been extended.

## COVER PICTURE:

# "Zik" Urges Pan-African Union

DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE, has published in the Nigerian *Daily Times* a series of articles giving something like a blueprint for Pan-Africa. He begins by commenting on the Commonwealth and the French Community out of which so many of the new African nations have been created. Azikiwe considers that the ideals of British Parliamentary democracy have influenced the English-speaking African States and encouraged the two-party system; while the fact that parliamentary institutions have not been able to create stable government in France has tended to foster the one-party system in French-speaking African States.

## Impediments

In his second article in the Nigerian *Daily Times*, Dr. Azikiwe discusses the factors in Africa making for fragmentation and thus impeding Pan-African solutions. He notes the diversity of races — Mediterranean, Negroid and Nordic (in small numbers) — and the multiplicity of languages; and he says that it was fear on the part of many African States of one another which evoked the principles, laid down at the Monrovia Conference, namely equality of sovereignty, the right of self-determination, the right to federate, and the principle of non-interference. Dr. Azikiwe cites Mauretanian fears of Morocco and Togo fear of Ghana, to illustrate his point. Of the economic factors making for division in Africa, Dr. Azikiwe points to tariff walls, separate currencies, competition for markets and different communication systems.

## Optimism

Having enumerated these many difficulties, it comes as something of a surprise that Dr. Azikiwe's estimation of the prospects of Pan-Africa being realized is such an optimistic one. He writes: "My considered views are that Pan-Africanism has come to stay and will yet be a shining example to the rest of the world." In order to

realize it, Dr. Azikiwe declares, "it will be up to African leaders to disentangle themselves from written and unwritten defence pacts (with European Powers) and from open and secret military alliances". As for the political structures of Pan-Africa Dr. Azikiwe enumerates some of the dilemmas: The states will have to decide whether to surrender internal sovereignty or simply sovereignty over foreign policy; they will have to decide whether the government of Pan-Africa is to be unitary, federal or confederate. The Nigerian Head of State advocates a British type of democratic constitutional structure and he appears to favour a confederate system.

## Concert of States

"A concert of African States . . . should be organized to enable top-level decisions to be made probably by Heads of State or Heads of Governments of their representatives. A parliament of African States will have to meet periodically for general discussion of the problems confronting the African concert. Naturally, it should be organized on the basis of the United Nations Assembly."

Thus, a very loose form of Pan-African union is recommended — perhaps a wise prescription in the light of Africa's great diversity.

It is in his suggestion for Pan-African economic unity that Dr. Azikiwe is most precise. He proposes a Convention on Economic Co-operation which should declare a customs union, an African common market and a common currency. He praises the removal of customs barriers between Ghana and Upper Volta, and declares that Ghana and Nigeria made "inexcusable mistakes" when they "virtually destroyed the unifying influence of the West African currency on their attainment of independence". But Dr. Azikiwe goes on, "This mistake can be rectified now, and thus help to revamp the economies of Sierra Leone, Gambia, and other countries which may be willing to join

such a concert". The Nigerian Head of State further proposes a regional road authority, a trans-African railway system, a Pan-African airways and a telecommunications authority.

## Pan-African Foreign Policy

Dr. Azikiwe outlines his concept of a Pan-African defence and foreign policy. He suggests that the members of his concert of African States should subscribe to a Mutual Defence Pact stipulating that an attack on one member would be construed as an attack on all. An African High Command, "consisting of the General Staff of each member of the concert," should be set up; and a doctrine of "no foreign intervention" in Africa, on the lines of the Monroe Doctrine, should be promulgated. Dr. Azikiwe continues:

"This doctrine should make it clear that the establishment or the continued existence of any colonial territory in the continent of Africa by any European, American, Asian or Australian powers shall be regarded not only as an unfriendly act, but as an act of aggression against the concert of African States."

Finally, the concert of African States should sign a Pan-African Declaration of Neutralism and promulgate an African Convention on Human Rights. And, in the last of Dr. Azikiwe's articles in the Nigerian *"Daily Times"* he expresses fervent wishes for a reconciliation between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups of African States.

## Mokhehle for Tanganyika Freedom Celebrations

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, has received an official invitation from the Government of Tanganyika to attend the Tanganyika Independence Celebrations from the 7th to the 12th December in Dar es Salaam.

## "Soft Sell" Apartheid

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The Nationalist government is adopting a "soft sell" technique in trying to make apartheid acceptable to non-White people.

Following speeches by Dr. W. M. Eiselen, Commissioner General for the Northern Sotho — asking for more courteous treatment of Africans — and other prominent Nationalists' similar appeals, the Department of Health has launched a courtesy campaign.

All magistrates and district surgeons in the Republic have been sent circulars headed "Promotion of Amicable Relations Amongst Different Racial Groups".

It makes "an urgent appeal to each district surgeon, in so far as it lies within his power, to treat non-Whites with whom he comes into contact in his official capacity in such a manner as not to kindle a feeling of justifiable resentment or rancour".

This, the circular states, is necessary to promote "in accordance with government policy, amicable relations among the different racial groups".

The circular adds "The avidity with which actual or imaginary racial tension is exploited by persons and organizations who are not well-disposed towards the Republic renders it imperative that goodwill in connection with race relations be fostered at all times".

The circular is issued with the concurrence of the Department of Justice and Bantu Administration and Development.

## LOCATED BY "CONTACT" CORRESPONDENT

# Ganyile is in Umtata

## Bloodstains Analysed in Britain

ON 25th October Mr. Anderson Khumani Ganyile, the Pondo leader kidnapped by the South African Security Branch inside Basutoland, was in solitary confinement in Umtata gaol. Probably he is still there. This is first-hand information, given to our correspondent by an official of the Union government.

The Union authorities have never admitted that Mr. Ganyile is in their hands. Since his kidnapping no remand has ever been made in court for his detention in any prison.

But, under the year-old state of emergency still in force in the Transkei, no remand or warrant for his detention in Umtata is necessary. Under this state of emergency it is possible for the police to hold people in prison secretly for unlimited periods. In the Transkei no court authority is necessary for the detention of anyone.

Some five weeks ago, on 13th October, a *habeas corpus* application was made to the Supreme Court in Grahamstown. The Court was asked to order the authorities to produce Mr. Ganyile. Although it has not yet been admitted by the authorities that Mr. Ganyile is in prison in the Transkei, the real question before the judge (Mr. Justice Wynne) is whether a court has the power to order the appearance of a prisoner who is in prison in the emergency-gripped Transkei, even though he may have been arrested outside the Transkei. The court reserved judgment on 18th October, nearly four weeks ago.

### Bloodstains Analysed

It is clear that the case is also a source of embarrassment to the British authorities in Basutoland. Despite clear proof of a struggle inside the hut in which Mr. Ganyile used to live, and despite the letter which Mr. Ganyile was alleged to have sent out of Kokstad gaol saying that he had been kidnapped inside Basutoland on 26th August, the British authorities have publicly denied that there is any reason to believe that Mr. Ganyile was kidnapped inside Basutoland. And they have said nothing in the matter since 7th October.

As pointed out in *Contact* (19th October) a bloodstained blanket was in the possession of the British for three weeks before it was taken to the South African Institute of Medical Research. Although it was presumably analysed six weeks ago, no statement has been made by the British giving the results of the analysis.

When the editor of *Contact* visited the hut, a bloodstained piece of cardboard was found. Medical experts in Johannesburg were unwilling to analyse the bloodstains, knowing what had happened in the case. So the cardboard was posted over to England, where it was analysed. A preliminary report from England says that the bloodstains are human, and that they belong to blood group "A".

Since this independent analysis has made it is unlikely that the British will stick to their story denying that there is any proof of a kidnapping. But what will they do?

The Basutoland Congress Party and Mr. B. Makalo Khaketla's party, the Basutoland Freedom Party, have both called for the establishment of a commission to go and take evidence from Mr. Ganyile. So far the British are believed to have taken no steps to set up a commission.

### SUMMARY OF HAPPENINGS IN THE GANYILE CASE

#### August

26th. According to a note later smuggled out of Kokstad gaol, Mr. Ganyile and his friends were captured at 10.30 p.m. and taken to Kokstad gaol.

#### September

15th. Mr. Ganyile's friends in Basutoland discover that he has vanished, and tell the authorities in Basutoland, giving them the bloodstained blanket and other exhibits.

#### October

7th (approximately). Blanket believed to have been sent to S.A. Institute of Medical Research, Johannesburg, for analysis of bloodstains.

13th. Application to Supreme Court, Grahamstown, for production of Mr. Ganyile.

18th. Court reserves judgement.

25th. Report reaches *Contact* correspondent that Mr. Ganyile is in solitary confinement in Umtata gaol.

COMMENT: On March 12th, 1868, Britain accepted the Basuto as British subjects, and Basutoland was proclaimed to be British territory.

That remains the position today. Mr. Ganyile had asked for political asylum, and was living inside British territory with the permission of the British authorities. If nothing is done by the British, then it will be taken as a sign that Britain is unable, or unwilling, to protect people living under the Union Jack from the aggressions of apartheid. Dr. Verwoerd's Gestapo-like Security

Branch will know that they are able to roam where they will, illegally seizing anyone they wish to seize, anywhere in the High Commission Territories. It will be taken as a sign that Britain is shielding, not the Basuto, but South Africa's Security Branch from the consequences of their aggression into British territory.

Must the world believe this? Only a full and frank statement from the High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, can answer this question.

If, when Sir John Maud has spoken, it should appear that Britain is indeed shielding the Security Branch in the Ganyile case, there might be catastrophic results on British influence and even on British trade, in the whole world. For at this very same moment Britain has emerged at the United Nations as South Africa's shield in the sanctions debate. No nation was so hostile to the idea of sanctions against apartheid as was Britain.

If in these two matters Britain were to emerge as the shield of apartheid, then it is certain that Britain's reputation in Asia and Africa would stand lower than it has stood since Suez.

### SWAZILAND

## Committee Fails to Reach Agreement

### LONDON CONFERENCE LIKELY

MBABANE: The Swaziland constitutional committee ran into real difficulties here on 6th November. It assembled expecting to sign an agreed report on what Swaziland would like the new constitution to be. Instead of harmony reigning a dogfight broke out, and after long discussions the committee failed to agree and adjourned until 13th November.

As already reported in *Contact*, this committee was set up by the Swaziland government a year ago on the initiative of the traditional ruler, King Sobhuza. Although in the beginning Mr. J. J. Nquku and Dr. A. P. Zwane, representing the Swaziland Progressive Party, were members of the committee, they were forced out after a few months because King Sobhuza said that he was against the participation of any political parties.

The committee thus contains no representatives of the only modern political party in the country, the S.P.P. It also contains no representative of the Eurafrikan (Coloured) community.

For most of last year it seemed that the committee would recommend a form of "racial federation"—i.e. that the White inhabitants would vote for their members of the new legislative council on an adult suffrage roll, and that the Swazi nation would nominate its representatives to the same legislative council, and that there would be parity as between White and Black.

Then the S.P.P. called in Professor Cowen, who now represents them and also the Eurafrikan Welfare Association. Together with his clients Professor Cowen produced a report, recommending a non-racial constitution, but with certain compromises to allow the White and Coloured communities more seats than a purely one man one vote system would have allowed them. And then the British Government sent Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, one-time Governor-General of Ghana, to help Swaziland produce agreed and reasonable proposals.

### London Conference

Because the constitutional committee is unrepresentative, the S.P.P. has now come out with the view that the new constitution must be hammered out in London at a conference between all the interested parties, including the S.P.P. and the Eurafrikan Welfare Association. Acting for the S.P.P., Professor Cowen addressed a request on 9th November to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for such a conference.

So far the High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, has been strongly against the idea of a London conference, but there is strong support for it in Swaziland, and the *Rand Daily Mail*, in an editorial dated 9th November, said "Professor Cowen and his clients, the S.P.P. and the Coloured community, have a strong case in requesting talks in London at which all points of view could be put to the Secretary of State". And it is known in government circles in Swaziland that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke would like a conference in London.

Taking all in all, it is reasonably certain that such a conference will be held, early in 1962.

## Tagore Play A Great Success



The cast of the play "King of the Dark Chamber", produced by Krishna Sha of New York, was scheduled to open a week's run in Cape Town on 20th November. The play has just finished a three weeks' run playing to packed houses in Durban. The tour is one of the ventures of Union Artists, a Johannesburg group which has done much to broaden South Africa's cultural field. Picture shows the cast arriving at Port Elizabeth where they played for a week.

### AFRIQUE ACTION

A weekly news review published in Tunis gives wide coverage to events affecting Africa and non-aligned countries.

#### Subscriptions

Airmail: R14.50 (£7. 5. 0.) per year  
R 7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per 6 months  
Surface mail: R7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per year  
R3.63 (£1.16. 3) per 6 months

20% reduction to students and teachers

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
P.O. Box 1979,  
Cape Town.

SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

FOR RATES SEE PAGE 2



## N.D.P. to Open Offices Abroad

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, President of the Southern Rhodesian National Democratic Party, bids farewell to Mr. Leopold Takawira, Director of external affairs at the party's London office, at the end of the party congress held in Bulawayo in October.

On Mr. Nkomo's right is Mr. Robert Mugabe, the N.D.P. Publicity Secretary. The others are (from left to right) Messrs. Morton Maliangu (vice-president), T. G. Silundika (secretary general) and Rev. Ndahaningi Sithole (treasurer).

Mr. Mugabe said that a number of N.D.P. men will leave Southern Rhodesia soon to open offices abroad, including one in Ghana.

## SWAPO MEN HANDED OVER TO PORTUGUESE

From "Contact" Correspondent

ONDANGUA, OVAMBOLAND: The South African Police have for the first time in history now set up police stations in Ovamboland, in the north of South West Africa, and they have begun to act against opponents of the government here in a manner which reminds people of the Ganyile kidnapping.

On 4th October the police went to the home of Mr. Ahsalom Nangonya and arrested his son Mr. Godfrey Nangonya. They took him over the border into Angola and, although he was wanted for political reasons, handed him to the Portuguese authorities.

Mr. Nangonya had worked in Cape Town until 1952 when he left for Angola. He went from there to Sierra Leone where he stayed a few months and then returned to settle in Angola where he became an "assimilado". He remained constantly anxious about the

liberation of the oppressed people in Angola and South West Africa.

It is believed that when the Portuguese became aware of his activities he was sent to São Thomé penal colony where he was kept for two years. He was returned to Angola last year.

Early this year the Portuguese authorities wanted to hang him, but he escaped from Angola to Ovamboland (South West Africa) where his parents live. He has been hunted continually by both the Portuguese and South African police, but he was sheltered by the South West African People's Organization of which he was an active and valuable member.

Mr. Nangonya, who is about 35 years old, evaded arrest until 4th October. Nothing has been heard of him since then.

On 24th October, the South African Police arrested Mr. Mathews Hikupulua, a member of Swapo, and took him to Vila Pereira da Eca (Ondjiva) where they handed him over to the Portuguese authorities.

The programme ends: "The party will maintain close relations with the S.A.C.P. and with the world communist movement."

The *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg) comments:

"There are no laws against Communism in Basutoland.

"A 'central committee' has been formed in Maseru and will issue a draft constitution and a draft programme. A conference to inaugurate the new Communist Party will be held in Maseru on March 14 next year." (5th November.)

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** When the present Chinese dictator, Mao Tse Tung, was hurried by the Chinese Nationalists in the 1930's, he and his followers withdrew to Yen-an, a remote province of China, where government authority was too weak to resist them. There they set up a Chinese communist state and organized a tough army. When the right moment came this army swept out and conquered China. There is little doubt that South Africa's communists are dreaming of a "Yen-an" in Basutoland. Many of them have been holidaying there and photographing the interior of Basutoland. These dreams explain their hysterical attempts to discredit Mr. Mokhehle.

## BASUTOLAND:

(Continued from page 3, col. 3)

nal security, posts and telegraphs, airlines . . ." It calls for Basuto representation at the United Nations.

### Faint Praise

The programme then faintly praises existing parties in Basutoland, but says that "they are not adequate" at the present time. "To meet the . . . problems of today it is essential that the Basuto should have a party of the new type, . . . a party guided by the most advanced political and economic theory, namely Marxism-Leninism . . ." This party would "greatly assist the B.C.P. by working for national unity . . . it will work for a united front with the B.C.P. and all other progressive forces."

### Extraordinary Promise

Perhaps the most extraordinary promise made to the people of Basutoland is this: "The party will demand that negotiations be opened to provide Basutoland with an outlet to the sea in return for territories wrongfully included in the Union by British Imperialism." It is not stated with whom the negotiations will be held.

## "Contact" Suggests an Exam. to the S.A.B.C.

IT is rumoured that journalists who want to join the news or talks departments of the South African Broadcasting Corporation may soon have to write a special examination. This examination—Dr. Albert Hertzog and Dr. P. J. Meyer are expected

to be the examiners—will ensure that only the most suitable people work for these departments of the S.A.B.C.

Contact has drawn up the following examination paper for these candidates which it respectfully submits to the S.A.B.C.:

- Write an essay of not less than 500 words on two of the following topics:
  - "Some people say we are one-sided because we put our country first." — Mr. Gert Fourie, head of the news department.
  - "All news shall be treated objectively, impartially, and on the basis of its factual news value." — S.A.B.C.'s code of ethics.
  - "Every effort shall be made to give equal emphasis to both sides of any controversial issue." — S.A.B.C.'s code of ethics.
  - Explain the difference, if any, between the "South African" and the "National Party" point of view.
- Which of the following politicians would you describe as "Mr." in a news broadcast, and why: Adoula, Tshombe, Nkomo, Mboya, Kenyatta, Blundell, Nyerere, Lutuli, Nehru, Khrushchev, Kennedy?
- Which of the following topics would be more suitable for a discussion programme on the English Service, and why: Press Control — for and against or Should South African rugby become professional?
- Why are lecturers at English-speaking universities rarely asked to broadcast on current affairs?
- How would you define an "unpatriotic listener"?
- Complete the following phrases, using these words: chaos, events, riots, disturbances. Each word can be used once only.
 

"The — at Sharpeville."  
 "The — in Basutoland."  
 "The — in Pondoland."  
 "The — in Southern Rhodesia."

Explain your choice of words.
- Analyse the difference between a Hungarian freedom fighter and an Angolan rebel.
- Which of the following items would you exclude from a news broadcast because they were not of sufficient news value:
  - Dr. Hertzog today opens a new post office in Kei Road.
  - Ex-Chief Lutuli has applied for a passport to go to Oslo.
  - The Chicory Control Board has warned retailers that price control will be reimposed if they continue to make excessive profits.
  - President Kennedy today said that he did not think apartheid would ever work.
  - Floods have caused severe damage in Formosa.
  - Serious riots are expected in Ghana next month.
  - A Portuguese editor visiting the Republic says that South Africa is misunderstood overseas.
- Arrange the following items in their order of news value:
  - South Africa will soon make its own knitting needles.
  - Professor Geyser has been found guilty of heresy and will have to give up his professorship.
  - Many nations have protested against the Soviet nuclear tests.
  - Dr. Verwoerd today appealed for greater unity between the two White groups.
  - A leading South African industrialist says that job reservation is unnecessary.
  - The Minister of Agriculture has said that South African farmers are the best in the world.
  - The Minister of Defence today warned school children that they would soon be called upon to defend Christian civilization.
- Distil the news from the following report:
 

"Mr. A. Bogotã, of Colombia, told the General Assembly that his country abhorred South Africa's racial policies. He said the time had come to take positive action to bring South Africa to her senses. He urged that military action be considered to end South Africa's mandate over South West Africa. Referring to suggestions that South Africa be expelled from the United Nations, Mr. Bogotã said he did not think this was a wise course. Expulsion of South Africa would set a precedent. It would also make it more difficult for the world body to criticize South Africa if she were not represented there."

## Harsh Rule in Alexandra

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The control of Alexandra, the freehold African suburb to the north of Johannesburg, passed from the Health Committee to the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board in 1958. Since then there have been great encroachments on the already limited freedom of residents.

The latest incident was a raid for passes and permits conducted by the Health Board on 20th October. Fifty women were arrested for not having permits of residence, something never experienced before.

The women were not permitted to

hold a public meeting to protest against the arrests and raids, and fines of from R8—R16 (£4—£8) were imposed on them when they appeared at the Alexandra Bantu Commissioner's Court. Some who paid fines were refused permits to continue living in Alexandra; they were referred to such places as Sophiatown, whence they came, to get permits.

Many people are worried by the prospect of having to move from their homes in Alexandra to Diepkloof, a leasehold township in the south west of Johannesburg.

Attempts to evade this removal have been met with threats of banishment to where the person concerned was born.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## A hollow victory

SIR.—We, the people of South Africa, let us build a new South African nation. The Nationalist party with its biggest majority has been returned to power, but we must not be downcast. It is a hollow victory which can bring no joy to the victors because it has been procured by trickery and is not based on genuine support of the majority of the people. But we must not remain calm in the face of this victory. Apartheid must be destroyed at all costs.

The future of South Africa along its present line of advance is dark. Let's devote ourselves to the struggle for freedom, justice and independence in this country.

I further call on all South Africans regardless of colour or creed to support and strengthen the Liberal Party in its attempts to create a true non-racial democracy in this country.

**NON-RACIALIST,  
Pretoria.**

## "Five errors in one paragraph"

SIR.—In your issue of the 2nd November (page 2), you have what appears to be an editorial comment on the D.R.C. Heresy Trial. Whether or not that trial has political undertones is a matter on which I do not propose to touch. What I find remarkable is the first paragraph, into which you pack at least five errors. The most outstanding is the reference to Arianism as an "insignificant doctrinal difference".

If we admit that Professor Geysler, as an authority on Calvinist theology, must be concerned with the divine nature of Christ, and if we concede that the divinity of Christ is important to Christians, what is insignificant about this "difference" to the parties concerned? Of course, if you have made up your mind that Christ was not a divine person, you are just as dogmatic about it as either the Professor or his accusers, since you do not appear to entertain the possibility that any sane man will differ from you on the point. It is not clear why you seem to

think that there is something sinister about the fact that "a part of the Dutch Reformed Church" is behind the prosecution. Why shouldn't it be? Has a church not the right to try one of its own members for preaching, within its own household, something it regards as wrong? If it has not, Professor Geysler has a simple remedy: he needs but to walk out of the investigation.

You will observe that I am assuming that the church court will try him on the doctrinal charge, and not on his politics. As a Catholic, and therefore not directly concerned, I am not entitled to decide, *a priori*, that the court will be untrue to its function.

**J. POTHIER,  
Cape Town.**

*[Please tell us which the five errors are. Unrepentantly I stand by my view that there is no significant difference between the view that Christ was of similar substance to God, and the view that Christ was of the same substance as God. The brutal killing of thousands of people in the course of that argument was one of the crowning follies of the human race—and that is saying something.—Editor.]*

## Free to kill

SIR.—Why is it that Mr. R. M. Sobukwe, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for demonstrating against the notorious pass laws, has not been given a republican remission, while Sergeant Arlow, who has a record of killing thirteen Africans, has been released from prison and when he came out had a good job waiting for him?

In the past few years a sum of about 23 Africans were hanged because they killed five policemen in Bergville in Natal and a good number have been sentenced to death because they killed a few policemen in Cato Manor.

Recently about 30 Africans have been sentenced to death because they killed a few quislings in Pondoland, but a man who has killed 13 innocent African people has served one year in prison and is now free to kill more.

**C. MLOKOTHI,  
P.O. Nyanga, Cape.**

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Keep on writing
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- Contact free for a year for the best letter of the fortnight

## "Surpasses in evilness"

SIR.—The Nationalists' so-called apartheid/separate development is a policy of sheer extravagance, and is a measure to incite one race against the other.

It is a policy devised to keep Black men in a perpetual state of degradation, and Afrikanerdom as a demi-god with its Bantustans as a rotten slice of bread buttered to puzzle the narrow-minded Bantu Authorities and urban Bantu councillors-to-be.

It is being frequently said that communism is number one evil on earth. But Nazism, and its successor apartheid, surpasses communism in evilness.

Freedom in our life-time and fraternity amongst the various races in South Africa!

**THATHI,  
Orlando, Johannesburg.**

## Virulent malady

SIR.—It is a long time that South Africa has suffered this virulent malady of apartheid.

Unfortunately there is a growing number among us who see in apartheid the prospect of becoming affluent as privileged slaves.

What a shame that there should be some among us who accept the position. Yet they see that Verwoerd and his Nationalists intend to blind and dwarf us. Our only hope is to outshine apartheid.

This is our land. "South Africa, Izwe Lethu!"

**SAMUEL S. MDLULI,  
Middelburg, Transvaal.**

*[And the only way to outshine apartheid is to work for non-racial democracy.—Editor.]*

## Can't learn about politics

SIR.—I am a young student very interested in politics. My school is very backward: one can't learn anything about politics, as it is under Bantu Education. Please tell me what to do in order that I may know more about politics, and I also expect some advice from all the readers of *Contact*.

I am in a position to join any political organization through correspondence. I want to influence my country people.

"As Jesus died to make men holy, let us die to make men free."

**L. L. N.,  
Lady Frere, C.P.**

*[We will ask a political body—the Liberal Party—to write to you. Editor.]*

## TSOPANO

Nyasaland's independent monthly magazine, published to promote freedom and justice.  
6d. (5c) per issue.

Publisher:  
P.O. Box 2719, Salisbury, S.R.  
P.O. Box 378, Blantyre, Nyasaland.

## To enslave their minds

SIR.—The minority White settler government in South West Africa has imposed upon the Africans a policy of racial discrimination known as apartheid, a policy which denies them all rights of ownership of land in urban areas, a policy which refuses Africans all fundamental rights such as freedom of movement, association, assembly and public expression.

The South African settler government has introduced Bantu Education—a primitive and backward educational system which teaches the African children to believe that they are inferior to the Whites. The idea of introducing such a system of education is to enslave their minds so that when they are fully grown they will not be in a position to demand freedom and independence in the land of their birth.



**WILLIAM NELULU,  
Swapo Office, Box 2603,  
Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.**

## Prize Letter

### A SIGN OF LIFE

SIR.—"The freedom lighters including the Swaziland Progressive Party, are trying the impossible," said one imperialist to me as we were standing next to a hedge discussing the condition of the world.

"If you look at that flower," said I, pointing to a flower growing in the hedge, "you will notice that the stem sometimes grows downwards, sometimes grows straight, sometimes sideways, but finally it has bloomed above this well-tended hedge, and the bees, and insects are finding a feast on its sweet nectar. But can you seriously doubt the ridicule the stem has met from the branches of this hedge?"

Like the stem of this flower is the way of life of every freedom fighter. A freedom fighter will meet obstacles and cynics, but he must aim to bloom above them as this flower has done. The hungry will then feast on their achievements as do the bees and those insects on that flower.

"You are dreaming," was the answer I got. My reply to that was none except to tell the man that that was a sign of life in me, for dreaming is a privilege of the living and not of the dead.

**KING MNGUNIE,  
Kwaluseni, Swaziland.**

*Each fortnight the best letter will earn its writer a prize—a year's free subscription to "Contact". This fortnight Mr. Mngunie wins.*

*This is the second free subscription to go to Swaziland this month. Let's hear more from the rest of Africa!*

## Together as brothers

SIR.—I congratulate you on sending me your non-racial fortnightly *Contact* which encourages the politicians.

We of the Swaziland Progressive Party are struggling for freedom for all irrespective of colour or creed.

Away with the racialism of the imperialist rulers in Swaziland and in Africa as a whole! We are fighting to meet together as brothers of independent Africa, not as strangers.

**D. D. DLAMINI,  
Sicunusa, Swaziland.**

## CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

SIR.—It is wonderful to see and hear how many nations outside of Africa are interested in making friends with the newly independent African states. Some of those nations intend to pour millions of pounds into African countries in the form of different kinds of technical aid, mostly for development. Others don't only intend to help us with money but try also to establish friendship, which is rather dangerous. I say dangerous because that friendship may push us again into slavery, putting the rope back when it has just been removed after so long a time.

I advise my brothers not to be tempted too much by so many millions of francs, dollars and pounds, either from East or West.

Some people have been engineering deep plans to attack us peacefully, or have got other means of taking over our beloved African continent by means other than shooting us with guns—by the war of ideas.

They may try to trade with us, establish diplomatic relations, invite us to visit them, while the very people we are paying a visit to are preparing our burial. Therefore we must be very careful and watchful.

We have heard and seen people with nice tongues preaching themselves to be the most benevolent to everybody, but especially to Africans and Asians.

So we may ask ourselves what these people have noticed in our countries this time? Riches? Diamonds? Gold? Water?

During the past years when we were fighting out the imperialists they would not come and help us, but today when we have removed the oppressors, there they come with aid and funds with the intention of helping us. I would like to tell our friends that we are standing neutral: we are not in favour of any side, either East or West. It is wonderful that the East claims that it can help us fight for independence when it cannot even free countries like Poland, Hungary, Tibet etc. An Englishman says that charity begins at home.

My last word is the following: "*O God of Hosts, God of Moses, leader of the oppressed, take us out of this house of bondage and drive away the hungry lions which would wish us to go back to our former days of slavery.*"

**ANTHONY MASOETSA,  
Maseru, Basutoland.**



## Freedom Fighter on a Bicycle

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A young housewife of Johannesburg has hit the headlines in recent months for her brave and self-sacrificing one-woman campaign against apartheid.

She is Mrs. A. Brusse, an immigrant from Holland who still speaks with a marked Dutch accent although she has lived in South Africa for many years and has brought up her children here.

### Campaign Against Colour Bar

A few months ago Mrs. Brusse, who lives in a small, modest home in a Johannesburg suburb, was unknown. Her name hit the headlines when she wrote to a newspaper asking people to join in a campaign she had started on her own.

She has been anti-colour bar ever since she came to South Africa, but she came to the conclusion that her Christian principles—she is a member of the Methodist Church—forced her to take some action against apartheid.

Her action consists in not using any kind of public amenity which is confined to Whites only. To avoid having to use buses to go to work—she is a typist in a city firm—she has bought a bicycle and pedals away happily through the streets wherever she wants to go.

She will not use segregated trains, hotels, restaurants, theatres, cinemas, or parks.

This means that the only forms of entertainment she can enjoy are the occasional stage presentations at the University of Witwatersrand, which are open to people of all races.

An enthusiastic music-lover, she has



MRS. BRUSSE on her way to work

had to give up one of her favourite pastimes—attending concerts in the City Hall and other places.

Mrs. Brusse said she sent her children to the Coloured Sunday School "because I believe it is useless to teach children about the love of God with words only. Worse than that it is highly dangerous—we are creating schizoprenic personalities".

Mrs. Brusse has had, regrettably, little response to her campaign from others—few people are prepared to make the sacrifices she is making.

## Rehoboth Community Refuses Loan Bribe

From "Contact" Correspondent  
WINDHOEK: The Rehoboth community of South West Africa, gravely afflicted with unemployment and malnutrition, has been offered a loan of R200,000 (£100,000) if they accept a new Nationalist-devised constitution for the Rehoboth Gebied.

Ninety per cent of the community members are without employment, and children are suffering from malnutrition. A long drought, aggravated by the outbreak of foot and mouth disease among cattle, has deprived most of the men of their work on White-owned farms. Building work, and fence erection, the tasks usually performed by Rehobothers, have come to a standstill.

A meeting of the Rehoboth Citizens' Association was held on 4th November to discuss the situation.

### Toe the Line

Meanwhile the Nationalist government is taking advantage of the difficulties facing the community and is making a bid to force it to toe the apartheid line.

After a vain attempt to re-institute the 1923 Agreement (see *Contact*, 15th June), the government has made a new offer—a new constitution for the Gebied. This new constitution does not envisage eventual independence and sovereignty for the people, but provides for "greater autonomy within the framework of government policy".

The loan has been offered for debt redemption—conditional on the acceptance of the constitution and security on land.

Rehobothers were given only two weeks to discuss the constitution. Their Advisory Council is at present dis-

cussing it but the leaders are not interested in an apartheid constitution.

They are busy drafting their own which will take account of the international nature of the South West African situation, current world developments, and the aspirations of the people themselves.

## NEW PAN- AFRICAN REVIEW

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Professor N. J. J. Olivier, of Stellenbosch, is among those who have contributed to a new monthly "Pan-African review" called *Spearhead* which has just made its appearance here. The editor is a Johannesburg-born journalist, Miss Frene N. Ginwalla, who has been living in Tanganyika since March, 1960. It is published by a company called "Afrepres Ltd."

Among the other contributors to the 26-page first issue are: the Hon. Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, Prime Minister of



MISS GINWALLA

Tanganyika; the Hon. Mr. Masinde Muliro, Deputy Leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, and President Sekou Touré of Guinea.

### "Ideas of a New Africa"

The first editorial in *Spearhead* affirms that the paper will be a forum to discuss political, economic, social and racial problems and will provide the "rostrum from where the ideas of a new Africa will be expounded".

"*Spearhead*" maintains that in any healthy political movement it is necessary that there be a free and frank exchange of views. It said: "Africa has the right to decide her own destiny—her peoples free of all barriers of race or religion and her nations free of international intrigues."

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance  
P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruis / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829

## Nyerere Warns Racialists

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: On 9th December, Tanganyika will be proclaimed a fully sovereign independent state within the commonwealth. On that day the Union Jack will be lowered, marking the

Unfortunately there have been signs of African racialism, and a few malcontents have been going round the country threatening non-Africans with dire consequences after 9th December, as revenge for their past follies and behaviour towards the Africans.

### Firm Action

Fortunately the government is fully aware of what is going on and of the need to show that the government of free Tanganyika will be strong.

Firm action has been taken by the police, and there have been a number of convictions of Africans who had threatened non-Africans on one pretext or the other. "Wait until Uhuru (Freedom) and you will see" has been the common slogan among hoodlums in Tanganyika.

### Campaign by Leaders

The climax to this campaign has been reached. Responsible leaders of T.A.N.U., from Prime Minister Julius Nyerere to branch secretaries, have been going round the country advising people to maintain calm and order after independence has been achieved.

Mr. Kahama, Tanganyika's Home Minister, made no secret of such threats and appealed to all people to maintain "our reputation for courtesy and good behaviour".

"Our honour as an independent Tanganyika must not be besmirched by a single individual at Uhuru," Mr. Kahama said. "The date 9th December is a sacred day, and God does not intend that on that date we should commit crimes against other human beings, but should thank Him in the first place for having enabled us to achieve independence. He wants this day to be one of rejoicing and happiness, a day when

everybody should forget hatreds or grudges against his fellowmen."

In particular the Home Minister referred to threats issued by Trade Union leaders in Tanganyika that "unless their demands were accepted there would be trouble in the country".

Mr. Kahama warned: "Threats like this place a burden on those charged with the duty of maintaining law and order and I consider these threats most unnecessary. I believe quite firmly that one can get what one wants by behaving with dignity. These threats are not consonant with the general peaceful atmosphere prevailing in our country."

### "Very Drastically"

Shortly after this statement, the Prime Minister warned when in early November he addressed a mass meeting of 15,000 people in Mwanza: "Incidents during the independence celebrations will shame us before our visitors, apart from anything else".

Referring to the Uhuru threats, the Prime Minister said: "If those Africans who threatened non-Africans—Europeans, Asians and Arabs—with trouble at Independence were intending their threats to be a joke, then it was a very poor joke," he said. "But if they meant what they said then the government will deal with such Africans very drastically, no matter who they are."

With events in the Congo fresh in the minds of many people, the Prime Minister's warning will do nothing but good.



NYERERE

end of 40 years of British rule and the country will rejoice when, in its place, the new green, gold and black flag of free Tanganyika is hoisted.



Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

# contact

Vol. 4 No. 24

5c (6d)

30th NOVEMBER 1961

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

— see page 6

**GOVERNMENT**

**PLANS RADIO**

**BLACK-OUT**

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**



**Dr. JULIUS NYERERE**  
Prime Minister of Tanganyika — Independent on 9th December

— see page 8

# contact

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.

## Race Hatred Knows No Barriers

RACE hatred knows no bounds. If a man hates another because he is of different colour, he will hate others because they have different languages, customs, or beliefs, different shaped heads or noses. So it is with the Nationalists. They hate the black people of our country, they hate the brown, they hate the yellow, they hate those who speak English, those who are Roman Catholics and those who are Jews.

In the mid 1930's, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Professor of Applied Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch, accompanied five fellow professors in a deputation to the government to protest against the admission into South Africa of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany.

In 1937, Dr. Verwoerd became editor of the Nationalist newspaper *Die Transvaler*, and in his first editorial he described Jewish South Africans as "a group standing in the way of the Afrikaner's economic welfare".

Now, after several years during which the Nationalists have cynically tried to win the support of Jewish South Africans, Verwoerd has again brought into the open his party's forgotten limb of racialism.

He has written a letter to Mr. A. S. A. East, a Cape Town professional man, who had written to Dr. Verwoerd "endeavouring to convey to the . . . prime minister the reasons which prompted Israel to take part in the motion of censure recently passed (against South Africa) in the United Nations Assembly". (From Mr. East's statement to the *Cape Times* 21st November.) In his letter, Dr. Verwoerd says: "The fact that during the past election so many Jews have favoured the Progressive Party and so few the Nationalist Party did not pass unnoticed, and this act of Israel, coming at the same time, together with other attacks on the policy of separate development is a tragedy." (*Cape Times* 20th November.)

By "favouring the Progressives" presumably the Jews have shown that they do not support White supremacy, and consequently stand in the way of "the Afrikaner's . . . welfare".

Will the tragedy for them be that, like others who have stood in the way of Afrikaner advance, they will be robbed under a land act, a group areas act, confined to ghettos, made to carry passes, given "Jewish education", a Department of "Jewish Affairs", and told to "develop along their own lines"?

The people who rule South Africa were in their time admirers of Hitler. They will do these things if they can. If they are to be prevented from continuing their racist rule of South Africa they must be met by a non-racial force greater than their hatred and fanaticism, a force that will destroy White supremacy and establish a non-racial democracy, based on one man one vote.

Let those Jewish South Africans who fear the future under Verwoerd remember that the vast majority of the South African people suffer the present under

Verwoerd: let them too look forward to and work for a new South Africa in which there will be *no discrimination* based on race, colour, creed or social origin.

## Tanganyika's Independence

CONTACT congratulates the people of Tanganyika on their becoming free on 9th December after forty-two years under British mandate.

We wish them all that the people of Africa desire — peace, prosperity and a dignity long denied them.

At the same time a word must be said about the British government's rule over Tanganyika: rule that has brought stability, education and progress to the country, and which has made it possible for Dr. Julius Nyerere, Tanganyika's first prime minister and head of a democratically-elected government, to lead his people confidently into the future.

## Shorts . . .

● "Somalia will consider favourably any invitation to join a future east African federation." — Mr. Abdullai Issa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Somali Republic. (*The Times* (London), 10th November, 1961.)

If Somalia joins the central and east African federation proposed by leaders of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia (see *Contact*, 2nd November), the mighty state will stretch from the Limpopo to the Gulf of Aden.

● Lagos, Nigerian federal capital, now has a stock exchange.

● The Prime Minister of British Guiana, Dr. Cheddy Jagan, has suggested 31st May, 1962, as the date for his country's independence.

● The highest point in Africa, Kaiser Wilhelm's Spitz at the summit of Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanganyika, is to be given another name to commemorate the country's independence.

Mr. Nyerere has expressed the hope that the people of Tanganyika would like to light a candle on top of Mount Kilimanjaro, which would shine beyond their borders, "giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate, and dignity where before there was only humiliation." (Tanganyika Information Services, 16th November.)

● The Queensborough, Natal, Town Council has informed the South African Institute of Race Relations that it sees no necessity to try to reverse the Group Areas Board decision to declare Queensborough "White". (*Natal Daily News*, 13th November.) Six hundred families, some of whom have been living in the borough for 75 years, will have to leave their homes to make way for Whites. (*Contact*, 19th October.)

● Toc H has for the first time in South Africa invited non-Whites to become members. This was announced by the organization's general secretary, Rev. E. Bentley Edwards, on 7th November.

### THE NEW AFRICAN

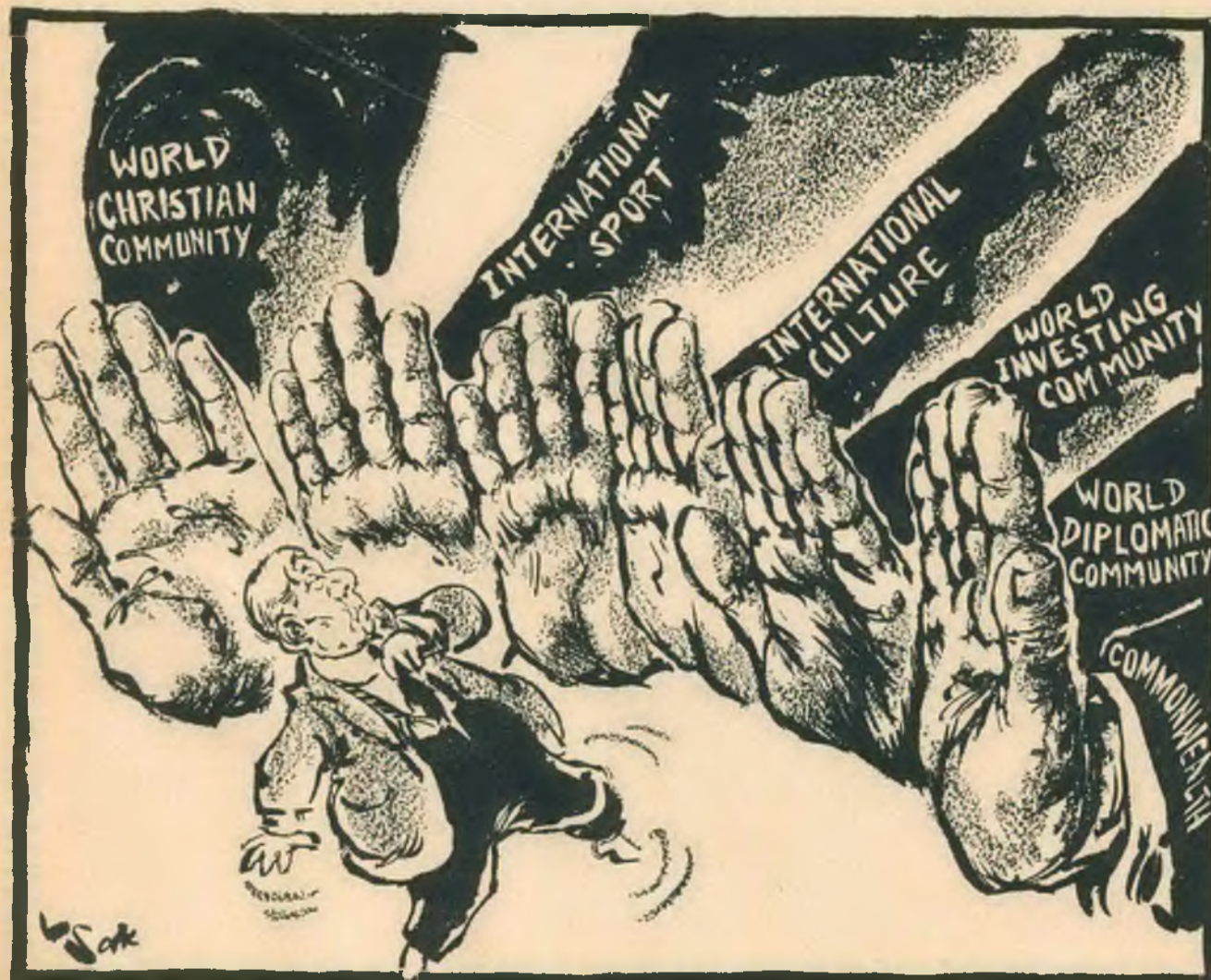
A Monthly Review for Radicals

The first 16 page issue (January, 1962), will carry articles by Dennis Brutus, Rev. Ndabani Sithole (treasurer of the Southern Rhodesian National Democratic Party), Anthony Delius, Fr. Trevor Bush and others.

Subscriptions: R2.00 (£1) per year  
R1.20 (12/-) per ½ year

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
P.O. Box 4232,  
Cape Town, South Africa.



# contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly

47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN

P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524

Telegrams:

CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

### CORRESPONDENTS

Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg,  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Lagos.

London.

### SUBSCRIPTIONS

African Postal Union:  
R1.40 (14/-) per year  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year

Airmail:  
R2.70 (£1 7.0.) per year  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year

Elsewhere:  
R1.70 (17/-) per year  
R0.85 (8/6) per half year

Airmail:  
On application



## Government Isolates S.A. from the World

# THE PRICE OF APARTHEID GROWS

By a Reporter

WHAT is apartheid, racialism, costing South Africa? What effect is it having on the country apart from that of keeping the mass of the people in bondage?

Developments in Africa and throughout the world are beginning to show that apartheid, having lost South Africa its good name, is beginning to lose its trade, diplomatic connections, its cultural and sporting ties, as well as vast sums of money.

### Cut Off from Free Africa

Events are showing that the practice of racialism by successive South African governments since Union in 1910, has made it impossible for South Africa to play any part in the development of free Africa.

Instead of being able to work fruitfully with the free people of Africa in the development of the African continent, South Africa is likely to be expelled from the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa, a major body for the pooling of technical resources. As it is, there are no South African technicians in any of the independent states as the governments will not allow them in.

South Africa is losing many of its best educated people who prefer to live away from a country sick with racialism. In *Contact* (16th November) we gave a short list of South African artists, writers and musicians living overseas. To these could be added scores of

doctors, engineers, teachers, university lecturers and professors, political leaders, artisans and skilled workers.

### Universities

The Universities have suffered heavily: the University of Cape Town has lost 25 staff members since 1959, 14 for appointments at overseas universities. Among those lost are Profs. L. M. Thompson (History), D. V. Cowen (Law), A. C. Jordan (African languages) and J. Irving (Physics). At Witwatersrand University, 8 professorships, 9 senior lectureships and 9 lectureships are vacant. Many leading men have left for overseas universities. Twenty-five staff members of Natal University have taken posts at foreign universities. Among those who have left is Prof. Durrant, one of South Africa's foremost literary critics. Other universities have suffered to a lesser extent. Stellenbosch has lost the head of its English faculty, Professor Hooper, to Canada.

Moreover, the South African universities are finding it extremely difficult to replace lost personnel from abroad. The British Association of University Teachers has taken active steps "to warn anybody contemplating leaving (Britain) to teach in South African Universities against doing so while the present apartheid policy persists."

Belief in apartheid has made it impos-

sible for the Afrikaans churches to remain members of the World Council of Churches.

The South African government has also ceased to be a member of the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (Unesco), the world's largest and most embracing cultural organization, because that body pursues policies contrary to apartheid.

### Commonwealth

These are a few of the links with the outside world broken before the greatest severance—the exit from the commonwealth—took place in March this year.

With that break, South Africa lost its links with the world's greatest association of free people, and apart from the cultural advantages the most serious losses will be in trade. Already the sugar industry has had to negotiate a new, non-commonwealth agreement with Britain—at a loss of over two million rand (£1,000,000).

The position is uncertain concerning South Africa's fruit and other farming exports to Britain, up till now the best customer, because new trade agreements have to be negotiated.

South Africa is also denied access to the knowledge and experience of commonwealth officials in matters of economics, defence, agriculture, education, arts and science.

### Boycotts

Not only commonwealth trade is affected by world hatred of racialism—other trade boycotts are becoming effec-



VERWOERD—taking South Africa out of the world community

tive. Apart from losing a potential R20,000,000 (£10,000,000) a year trade with free Africa, other countries opposed to apartheid are boycotting South African goods.

According to the *Evening Post* (15th November) among them are Communist China, R5,032,000 (£2,516,000) and Malaya, R2,180,000 (£1,090,000).

The other countries were India, R70,000 (£35,000), British West Indies, R218,000 (£109,000), British Guiana, R156,000 (£78,000), Netherlands Guiana, R46,000 (£23,000).

Egypt is also applying a full-scale boycott against South Africa.

The bulk of exports to these countries was surplus farm produce, canned fish and other processed foods and mining machinery.

Some government officials in Pretoria fear that before the end of this year other countries will also cut their trade ties with South Africa.

A Cape Town firm has lost 85 per cent of its trade with West Africa and the West Indies because of the boycott.

### Sport

In the sporting world, hatred of apartheid is beginning to make the position uncomfortable for apartheid sportsmen—the White football association has been suspended from the world body; the same has happened in table tennis; and is likely to happen in cricket. Apartheid teams representing South Africa stand little chance of being able to take part in the Olympic Games. And no South African teams can join in the Empire Games as the country is now out of the commonwealth.

### Diplomatic Relations

Diplomatically, South Africa is completely cut off from free Africa, from India and Pakistan, from the communist world (except Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia), from the Arab world.

Financially, apart from losses in potential and present trade through boycotts, R184,000,000 (£92,000,000) left South Africa in 1960, because of the knowledge that an apartheid government could never be a secure government.

South Africa faces expulsion from the International Labour Organisation, an interstate body for the benefit of workers.

### United Nations Sanctions

All but four less than two-thirds of the states represented at the United Nations have proposed the enforcement of sanctions against the South African government. If these sanctions are put into effect, and if member states of the United Nations abide by them, South Africa will not be able to have any dealing whatsoever with any other country in the world—oil and petrol supplies would cease, trade would cease, no South African ship or aeroplane would be able to call at any foreign port or airfield. South Africa would be completely isolated from the world, until such time as race rule had ceased, and replaced by a non-racial democratic government, based on one man one vote.

## Personal Files

THE Maseru riots were ugly—racial and with a nasty smell of having been planned. There was a real smell, too, in the Roman Catholic Cathedral. This was found to be carefully prepared for firing. Fuses and fuel were laid out in a scientific manner, so that it would go up in a blaze as the mob attacked it, as if their doing. They did not, so the evidence was still there when the riot ended.

SIR ROY HARROD, the economist, recently listed reluctance to assist apartheid as No. 3 of the reasons for which the United States were adamant against raising the price of gold. In recent weeks pronouncements by Reuter's financial editor, by the London *Financial Times*, and by the chairman of the powerful I.C.I. have all hinted at the "revaluation of gold" to meet the threat to the dollar. None so much as referred to Harrod's No. 3 reason. The end-of-May strike failure doubtless reassured the big finance boys that Verwoerd is in for a longer innings than they had thought. The near miss of Ghana's sanctions motion at U.N.O. cheered them up even more. One relieved Johannesburg stockbroker expressed it thus: "It is an interesting fact that London's appraisal of South African gold share investments is being gauged by economic rather than political factors—a distinct change of heart." If this change of heart leads to a lift in the gold price, Verwoerd will clean up more than enough to finance Bantustans galore, and to buy arms to keep the masses down.

PARLIAMENT is only interesting now as a preview of the *Government Gazette* and as an object lesson in the brutalizing effects of racial domination on the dominators. A preview of the

preview indicates a possible tinkering with job reservation, foreshadowed by deputy economics minister Mr. Haak's mention of increased technical training for non-Whites. Job reservation is a hard one for the apartheid apologists to explain away. Besides, it has hardly been used. If there is a depression and jobs are needed for Government supporters a "little bill" could always be passed reserving for Whites this or that job at present done by non-Whites.

THEN WE may see the revised Bantu in European Areas Bill, aimed to deprive every single African of the right to live outside a reserve. *Blueprint for Bondage*, a Liberal Party pamphlet called the draft bill "a rigid system for the control and subordination of the African". And the 10-year-old Press Commission may report at last: its promises of being nearly ready usually raise a laugh, but the appearance of a hasty summary in 1962 may assist the Government with the muzzle they have long been wanting to slip on the Press.

AFRIKAANSE-PERS Beperk's 1961 profits jumped R22½ thousand on 1960's. But shareholders, whose mouths must have been watering at the profits from the compulsory sale of A.P.B. text-books to 1½ million Bantu Education pupils, will get no dividend. The R237,432 profit (pre-tax) will go to building up *Sondagblad*, A.P.B.'s answer to the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*. *Sondagblad*, as last *Contact* revealed, reflects the point of view of at least one of its directors, Dr. Albert Hertzog.

THE WORLD DAILY NEWS, one-cent four-page daily offspring of the old *World* (five cents weekly) is due in mid-January. Bantu Press, the owners, are looking for an African editor, not necessarily a journalist, and they can't find one. As Bantu Press is owned by Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation, the Argus newspaper group and Maggs-Somerset Ltd., they may be expected to be choosy of the editor's political colouration. "Anglo" rather grudgingly

keep the Bantu Press papers alive so that they don't fall into other hands. It looks as if they want to make money this time. There are 3 million Africans in the Reef-Pretoria-Vereeniging area, 80% of them reckoned to be literate—and that excludes the mine compounds. *The World* at present sells 28,000. Big competition may come from the new Afrikaner newspaper group employing the ex-general manager of the S.A. Railways, Mr. D. H. C. du Plessis, to pilot a bunch of new Bantu-language newspapers.

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER outdid his Progressive colleagues in his hopes for the Federation, in the Rhodesian Anglo-American annual report: "I continue to believe that the Federation... has a chance of creating a genuinely non-racial society with a prosperous economy." H.F.O.'s non-racial efforts for South Africa do not at present go much beyond the occasional non-racial party at his Parktown house, Little Brentwood. Yet in the Rhodesias he talks of "breaking down the social barriers" and cheers Rhodesia's multi-racial football teams playing matches "free of racial incidents and the crowds impartial in their applause of individuals".

PROBABLE TRUE answer to the question, "Where does the Bantu Education Department get its spies?" has been furnished by a senior servant in the department who told *Contact* that he believes they are recruited outside the schools. Touts approach semi-literate youthful labourers, who fall for the temptation of an easy life and good pay in a high school or training institution, in return for the simple job of giving names of ringleaders and tipping the authorities (usually over the principal's head) of troubles brewing. Another ugly aspect confirmed by the same source was of the black list that circulates in all post-primary schools, containing names of students who may on no account be admitted to any schools, because of misdemeanours, mainly political.

## Bethelsdorp

# Group Areas Act Smashes Settled Community

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Bethelsdorp, historic London Missionary Society settlement north of the Port Elizabeth Municipal boundary, is an example of the deprivation of rights of non-White South Africans under the Group Areas Act.

People who have lived happily side by side for more than forty years are to be separated: some will lose their homes, other their freehold land, and others will be moved to a new area where rents will be increased.

It had been thought that the rights of the people concerned had been entrenched by Act of Parliament in 1921, but the entrenchment has been rendered void by the Group Areas Act.

The rights referred to "garden lots" granted to the Congregational Church Aid and Missionary Society, which are in the area now known as Veeplaats, one of the four villages in the 8,384 morgen known as Bethelsdorp.

These rights were thought to be entrenched in the Bethelsdorp Settlement Act of 1921. This special Act of Parliament was thought to guarantee for always the rights of "Coloured people and Natives only" to own and occupy land in the area.

### Superseded

But the Group Areas proclamation has superseded the Bethelsdorp Act. About 3,584 morgen west of the national road to Uitenhage, and contiguous with Port Elizabeth municipal Coloured housing schemes, has been proclaimed for Coloureds. There are about 1,200 Africans now living there, mainly in Bethelsdorp and Missionvale villages.

The remaining 4,800 morgen is known as the "African zone". It con-

tains Veeplaats, the village of Kleinskool, and housing schemes for Africans and Coloureds—Zwide and Windvogel Villages—built years ago by the Port Elizabeth Divisional Council, which controls the area.

The Divisional Council is going ahead with plans for a Coloured housing scheme in the group area. They have been held up for ten years, because government departments would not approve plans till Bethelsdorp Local Area had been divided under the Group Areas Act.

These houses are primarily wanted for the 200 tenants of Windvogel Village, who will have to be moved from the African zone. In Windvogel, they pay a sub-economic rent of 75c (7/6) a week, or, as incomes exceed the limit, graduated rents up to the full economic rent of R1.13 (11/3) a week. The houses they will be moved to will carry much higher rents, with government loan funds available now only at 6½ per cent interest.

### "What of the Freehold Rights?"

Apart from the Windvogel tenants, there are about 5,000 Coloureds in the African zone, who will have to be moved to the Coloured group area—where the Coloured population is only little more than 1,000!

There is still hope of Coloured home-ownership in these schemes. But what of the African freehold rights in their zone?

The Department of Bantu Administration confused the Port Elizabeth City Council and the Divisional Council for some years about the future of this area of Bethelsdorp.

In 1958, when the City Council was once more casting around for more

ground for extending Kwazakele, its site-and-service township, Dr. Verwoerd, then the minister gave his "unequivocal final decision". This was that African land in Bethelsdorp was regarded as "released area" or Native Reserve. No "urban location" development would be allowed.

After reams of correspondence, and a deputation from the Divisional Council had seen Mr. de Wet Nel, the new minister, last year, there was another change in policy. The Divisional Council was told its home-ownership scheme for Africans planned on commonage, was "out".

It could submit plans for an African housing scheme on the site-and-service principle—but with leasehold title only to the ground.

The only African home-ownership which would be permitted would be in the "garden lots" areas of Veeplaats. But the baffling thing was that the ground could be sold only to "displaced" African property owners in Port Elizabeth, Walmer and surrounding areas.

The Divisional Council was in the throes of trying to establish the rights of African families in the Bethelsdorp area itself—some there for generations—when there was a new development. The Port Elizabeth City Council again cast covetous eyes on the ground adjacent to Kwazakele.

Negotiations for the handover of the whole African zone to the Municipality are now almost complete. The Divisional Council is making it a condition that freehold rights for Africans in Veeplaats, no matter where they come from, must be preserved.

But the final say will, of course, be with the Department of Bantu Administration, which is drafting the hand-over agreement.

## "Helping to Build a Better World"



MACHOBANE

ON 16th November, Mr. James J. Machobane, founder of the Machobane Mass Agricultural College, and of a new movement in Basutoland farming—*mantsa-tlala* or movement to dispel famine—received the Lane Byant International Volunteer Award, worth \$1,000 (£350) in New York.

The award is given annually to recognize and encourage voluntary projects for the benefit of mankind.

In 1957 Mr. Machobane and his wife founded the Agricultural College near Leribe in northern Basutoland. At it he taught a revolutionary new method of farming and crop growing which he believes will save Basutoland from starvation.

Starting the college in their own home, in 1959 it had grown to comprise 200 members, and in 1960 there were 15,000 names on the waiting list.

### "To Teach the Masses"

The aim of the college is to teach the masses who have been able only to eke out a starvation subsistence on the land to help themselves and the community towards a better life. The stress at the college is on adult education, with immediate emphasis given to intensive farming and co-operative activities.

### Kennedy's Message

Some three hundred people attended the prize-giving ceremony in New York, and President John F. Kennedy of the United States sent a message which read:

"The American people, as a people, are interested and concerned in Africans as a people. By sharing our experiences in overcoming the problems of everyday life, we can help one another to build a better world."

### "Africa's Needs"

Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, America's top representative to the United Nations, expressed disappointment that he was unable to attend the ceremony and said in a message:

"Today, as we honour the Machobanes' achievements, we realize that Africa's needs have an urgency unknown elsewhere. Nowhere in the world do people look forward with more hope or reach out more eagerly for the fruits of modern knowledge and modern techniques. To assist this vast undertaking, this great awakening continent could and should be a great adventure in human co-operation for governments as well as private citizens. It is one, I am happy to say, to which the American administration is wholeheartedly dedicated."

Mr. Machobane was recommended for the award by Mr. Patrick Duncan, editor of *Contact*.

## Swanu Calls for Self-determination

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Addressing a gathering of more than three hundred people in Keetmanshoop on 18th November, Mr. A. Krone of the South West African National Union, said that the people of South West Africa must first forget their racial, tribal and religious affiliations and perceive first that they are human beings and South West Africans.

The meeting was arranged by the Keetmanshoop branch of Swanu, and was addressed by two guest speakers from Windhoek, Messrs. Hitjevi Veii, Swanu publicity and organizing secretary, and Werner Mamugwe, acting national secretary.

### Whites Not Hated

Continuing his address, Mr. Krone said that the Whites were not hated: what was hated were their institutions—apartheid, racialism, colonialism and imperialism.

"We must forget the notion that our freedom will come from abroad or from the United Nations," he added. "We are the people who will in the final analysis sacrifice for it."

The next speaker, Mr. Veii, said that 42 years under South African colonialism were enough. There was no substitute for independence and self-determination.

Mr. Mamugwe said that Swanu does not place the greatest stress on leadership but on principles.

"Our principles," he said, "are based on national unity, termination of the South African regime in South West

Africa, and the securing of self-determination.

Mr. Mamugwe added that there would be no compromise on these principles. National unity means a united national body and not a loose unity of compartments.

He concluded by saying, "Remember, the problem today is not who and which organization will lead, but how to free our mother country."

## Students told "Thank the Government"

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: An extraordinary function was held at the Bantu Education Augustineum Government Training College at Okahanja.

A gathering of students was organized by the principal "to express gratitude and appreciation for what the school and administration had done for them and is doing for them".

The principal told the students that despite their "activities" last year (when the students went on strike and marched forty miles into Windhoek to complain to the government over conditions at the college) the school had not been closed down. The students should therefore formally express their gratitude and appreciation to the authorities.

Students who wanted to protest against the holding of the function were threatened with expulsion and told there was "no room for agitators and politicians at the school".

## Books from OXFORD

### Masibaliselane

S. M. BURNS-NCAMASHE  
Twenty poems and essays  
in Xhosa 60 cents

### Induku

### Ayinamzi

EDITH SETIDISHO  
Xhosa novel 50 cents

### Umucinshi

KAFULA MPASHI  
Bemba 2s. 4d.

### Mulombwana

### Wakemena

### Nabulwe

GIBSON S. KAUNGA  
Azyaano Zimbi, Tonga. 1s 8d.

## OXFORD University Press CAPE TOWN

Alarmed by Sasa's Success**SPORT RACIALISTS FIGHT BACK**

By DENNIS BRUTUS

RACIALISM in South African sport has suffered two crushing blows recently.

First was the suspension of the all-White Football Association of Southern Africa from the International Football Federation, involving over 50,000 White sportsmen.

Next was the much greater blow — affecting over 100,000 White South Africans — when this country was excluded from the Perth Empire Games next year — in spite of some backstage efforts to prevent S.A.'s exclusion.

But the racialists are fighting back. When the soccer suspension took place, *Die Burger* remarked on those who had fought with great determination and ability to get South Africa penalized for her racial policy in sport. *Die Burger* exhorted the protagonists of racial sport to match this determination and ability.

"On Several Fields"

The exhortation is taking effect — backed by large commercial interests.

The fight is being waged on several fields, principally boxing, professional soccer and athletics.

A section of our non-White boxers, led by Messrs. Orrie and Schroeder of Cape Town, have accepted apartheid affiliation to the White body and the bait of a tournament in Bulawayo. There will be two separate South African teams (one white, one black needless to say) and they will meet outside the republic. But the chairman of the all-White union, Frank Braun, has made it quite clear that there will be no mixed fighting in the country, as has the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Jan de Klerk. To spell it out: there will be no equal opportunity in our boxing; there will be boxing apartheid.

In soccer the attack is more serious.

Just when the amateur and professional soccer groups had worked out their differences and were ready to build up soccer, a Brewery has offered large sums and prizes in the Transvaal for a separate professional league — for "Bantu soccer"! And this group has broken away from the non-racial Soccer Federation which is fighting for the international recognition of all our players. Though the White Federation has denied responsibility for this split, it is its affiliate, the National Football League, which is helping this splinter body to establish itself in opposition to the national body.

In athletics, the group which has agreed to accept racial separation and which is affiliated to the White body on inferior terms, is now being offered a possible "overseas" tour. And if this falls through, then an overseas non-White team will be imported to keep them happy. The timing of the announcement is remarkable — there were signs that the non-racial body was ready to build itself into a strong body and to draw in the section which had previously accepted apartheid.

We must be aware of these new developments in the past few weeks and we must be prepared to fight with greater determination. These apartheid projects must be given *no support*.

Intensify Pressures

And we must intensify our pressures: already the cracks in cricket apartheid are widening. And Dr. Danie Craven of the S.A. Rugby Board is a worried man — hence the decision by his Board to have an inquiry into "Coloured Rugby". Sasa (the South African Sports Association) has asked the International Rugby Board to investigate racialism in South African rugby — the scrumming is going to get hotter in the near future.

GANYILE**Students Petition British Government**

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: More than two hundred students at Fort Hare University College have signed a petition to the British Ambassador and High Commissioner for Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland in Pretoria, Sir John Maud. The petition condemns the "illegal removal of Mr. Ganyile by the South African police from the British territory of Basutoland".

Mr. Ganyile was a student at Fort Hare until he was expelled last year for his political activities.

The petition concludes, "We the undersigned students of the University College of Fort Hare wish to petition the British Government not to betray the confidence of the African people, and to intervene by taking immediate necessary steps to secure the release of Mr. Ganyile and his safe return to Basutoland".

Fort Hare students raised a sum of

**"CANCEL 'LIONS' RUGBY TOUR" — SAYS SASA**

THE South African Sports Association, in a letter dated 19th October, 1961, to the International Rugby Board, whose headquarters are in Dublin, Ireland, calls for the cancellation of the projected tour of the British "Lions" team to South Africa next year.

Sasa calls for the cancellation because the South African Rugby Board is an apartheid body, and consequently no non-Whites are permitted to participate in events organized by the board although there is no law in South Africa to prevent non-racial sport.

R12 (£6) to help Mr. Ganyile, who is at present held under Transkei emergency regulations in Umtata jail after being kidnapped by the South African police while he and two friends were living near Qacha's Nek in Basutoland.

**Non-Racial Theatre in Pretoria**

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Pretorians of all races will have the opportunity of seeing *Blood Knot*, Athol Fugard's play which has received rave notices in both English and Afrikaans press during its run in Johannesburg.

The play opens at the Monastery Hall, Duxbury Road, in Hillcrest, on 4th December and will run until the 9th. Admission will be open to all and, according to the producers, there will be no colour-segregation of seating.

With the colour "problem" so much in the minds of most people in this town the play should greatly interest Pretorians. It concerns the tragedy, but also the lighter, comic situations, of two brothers in the tangle of race classification. One is classified White, the other Black.

The characters are brilliantly portrayed by the author Athol Fugard as the White brother and the African actor Zakes Mokae as the Black brother.

I am informed by people close to Zakes Mokae that, in spite of the good notices about his excellent performance, his joy in success has not been unmingled with sadness because he has been performing before segregated audiences. We are proud that in Pretoria he will have no worries of this nature and look forward to a performance surpassing any he has given in Johannesburg.

"TO STRENGTHEN FAMILY LIFE"**But under Apartheid it's Different**

SLUM clearance is nothing new. You take people from overcrowded tenements or shacks and you move them into subsidized, modern houses or flats, one to each family. Crime, broken homes, disease fall back.

With apartheid it is different. A hundred families of Freeground and Hardevlei, Cape, must move, for instance. This is what happens:

- The father must go to the migrant labourers' barracks in the municipal location.
- The mother and children may find homes with other families in Nyanga West location, if they can.
- If not, mother and children are "endorsed out" and moved up to 1,000 miles away to the poverty-stricken tribal reserve.
- But if they qualify and can find a temporary place, they will be reunited in a brick location house in 1962.

If they qualify. There was always a loophole to prove that they did not, but some had a chance. In 1962 that chance will go as a law is to be passed by which not one single African will have the right to a home outside a reserve. And that is not all.

The Cost

- What does it all add up to?
- Homes are broken up and parents and children scattered.
- Overcrowding in the location gets worse, and with it crime and disease.
- More people live in slum conditions rather than fewer.

That is slum clearance, apartheid version. And there are other ugly ironies. Take one family:

● Mr. Klaas Mvambo moved to Freeground when African families were cleared out of Blouvillei three years ago. His wife and two children were with him, with their goats and two dogs. The other five children had to be sent back to the Transkei. Then last year Mrs. Mvambo and the other two children were "endorsed out" and went back too. Now the house itself is gone too. Mr. Mvambo goes to the municipal barracks, ten miles further — and that much extra, unsubsidized transport — from his factory job. His wife and children are 800 miles away, back to the tribalism of Cofimvaba. The goats are sold and sympathetic Coloured neighbours will take the

dogs. The corrugated iron sheets and the furniture must be sold for a song, because the home itself was destroyed on 16th November. It could not be sold or let as a structure on leasehold council ground, even though it was the fruit of his sweat and skill, and a homeless Coloured family might want it. About all that wasn't a problem was pulling it down. A municipal jeep with a rope round each of the four corner poles in turn, and the engine roared briefly. The home and the Mvambo's struggle towards modern citizenship were shattered.

Dignity and Self-Respect

Yet dignity and self-respect thrive, in spite of all the hardships, at Freeground and Hardevlei. Many of the houses were wall-papered, comfortably furnished, snugly sealed from the rain and the harsh Cape south-easter, though the housewives fought a losing battle against the drifts of sand that everlastingly found their way through the cracks and under the doors. There were roads, too, made by some of the residents.

There are neat hedges and fences here and there, one or two homemade windchargers, and all the woodwork, door- and window-frames are painted pastel blue at Mrs. Y's. She built up her home almost alone, having a disabled husband. It must be worth a couple of hundred pounds at least, but will soon be worth the same as Mr. Mvambo's wreckage.

Yes, life may have been hard at

Hardevlei, but men and women made homes there, and were raising their children to be good citizens, against the staggering odds of apartheid. The odds beat them in the end and in mid-1962 the people of Hardevlei of African descent become Bantu male No. . . . and Bantu female No. . . . of the well-controlled and policed Nyanga West Bantu location.

Apartheid is different, indeed. The home, the household gods, family unity, self-respect and dignity are some of its daily victims. And — always — the children.

Cruel Footnote

A cruel footnote is supplied by an appeal going out as the homes of Freeground and Hardevlei crash into the ground. It is for "Our Children's Day" and is from Mrs. C. R. Swart, the wife of the State President of the Republic of South Africa. With Mr. Mvambo's and all the other children in mind we reproduce it here.

to strengthen the home and the bonds of family life — the normal environment in which every child should grow up — and to remove the dark cloud of fear that a child might have to be taken away even for a time, from his parental home. If

as a last resort a child has to be removed to a foster home or other care, contact is maintained with his family and every effort is made to encourage and help the parents to bring the family together again and build up a home in which all can take pride.

*Nellie Swart.*

State President's Residence,  
Pretoria.



MR. MVAMBO

# GOVERNMENT PLANS RADIO BLACK-OUT

By a Reporter

THE South African government is spending approximately R40,000,000 (£20,000,000) on the new system of radio broadcasting it is giving to the country.

This large sum of money is being spent to build a network of relay stations wide enough to cover the whole of South Africa. These relay stations will broadcast on wavelengths not heard on ordinary radio sets. They will broadcast on the ultra-shortwaves using a system known as Frequency Modulation (FM). Transmissions can be heard only within a radius of about 100 miles of the relay station, hence the need for a vast number of such stations to serve the whole country.

"Contact" learns that the government's ultimate object is to isolate South Africa from world radio broadcasts, more and more of which are beamed to Africa, and which give a completely different idea of emerging Africa and of the whole world, than that given by the South African Broadcasting Corporation and by the White-supremacy newspapers.

This isolation will be accomplished by making it as difficult as possible to listen to any but broadcasts from the S.A.B.C. It will be done principally by selling at a subsidized price radio sets which will receive only S.A.B.C. FM broadcasts (Contact learns that the government plans to import FM receivers costing R38 and sell them—principally to African listeners—for R18) and increasing the price of short-wave receivers by imposing heavy customs duty on them as well as rigid import control.

The FM system will carry the following S.A.B.C. programmes: Afrikaans, English, Springbok (commercial), Zulu, Xhosa, North and South Sotho and Venda. The "Bantu programmes", at present limited to a few hours a day,

will be expanded into full-time broadcasts.

Anyone who does not have a short-wave wireless set would not be able to hear any but these programmes.

"Contact" advises all people who do not have a shortwave radio to buy one now, preferably a set with a range from 13 metres, but a set with a range from 25 metres will serve for night listening.

\* \* \*

SINCE CONTACT'S last survey of world radio for Africa, several other stations have come on the air. Here is an up-to-date list:

**Brazzaville:** Daytime, 13, 16, 19 metres; night, 25, 31 metres (French and English news and music).

**London (B.B.C.):** Daytime, 11, 13, 19 metres; night, 25, 31 metres (news, general broadcasting).

**Cairo:** Evening, 16 metres (English news).

**Dakar:** Night, 25 metres (French and English news, African music).

**Monrovia:** Morning, 25 metres; night, 19 metres (English news, music).

**Leopoldville:** Late night, 25 metres (French and English news, African music).

**All India Radio:** Evening, 19 metres (English news, music).

**Ghana:** 5.30 p.m., 16 metres; night, 19, 25, 31 metres ((news, African music).

The following stations also broadcast for Africa: **Belgrade, Israel, Moscow, Peking, Rome, Voice of America, Japan, Paris, Germany.** They can be heard clearly from sunset onwards in the 19, 25, 31 or 42 metre bands.

\* \* \*

THE FOLLOWING are some of the types of radio obtainable at present: 25 metres—550 metres: Philips, Sierra, National (about R40); Supersonic (R35.70).

13 metres—550 metres: Pyc (R59.50).

These are transistor radios that work off a few torch batteries that last about three months.



Dr. Palley (left) shaking hands with Mr. Nkomo at the end of the meeting. In the background are National Democratic Party executive members (from left to right): Mr. Masawi, Mrs. Robert Mugabe, Mr. Mugabe and Advocate Herbert Chitepo.

## S. Rhodesian M.P. Calls for "Majority Rule Now"

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: Dr. Alrn Palley, Member of Parliament for the Greendale Constituency, Southern Rhodesia, and a leader of the newly-formed New Africa Party (which supports the National Democratic Party), addressed a huge meeting in Highfield, Salisbury, on Sunday, 19th November.

He declared that the only solution to the present tense situation in the country was "majority rule now".

He had called the meeting to let the African people know what his stand was towards the new constitution. Among those who attended were National Democratic Party president Mr. Joshua Nkomo and some of his "shadow cabinet".

In his two-hour speech, Dr. Palley strongly attacked and condemned security laws, the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, the Preventive Detention Act, the Vagrancy Act and said: "This silly and stupid government has concerned itself so much with silly, minor things like the colour bar in hotels and small changes to the laws, leaving out the big things. There must be a big change now that will bring

democracy and justice to this country."

Speaking on the new constitution, Dr. Palley received a thunderous "No! No! No!" when he asked whether the people liked it or not. He told the gathering that there was still time to fight the new constitution, and concluded by saying: "Make your opposition to the constitution heard in every possible way and I am sure that the British Government and the British public will note your protest and some changes may be made. I personally do not like it. I believe that the majority must rule."

**British No Longer Trusted**

A week earlier the N.D.P. announced that they no longer trusted the British Government, and were not going to take part in the coming election. The N.D.P. has formally requested followers to hand their voters' cards to branch officials so as to make sure that they play no part in the new constitution. Party members who have not yet registered as voters, were told not to do so.

Mr. Robert Mugabe, Publicity Secretary, told Contact: "We want all people to refuse to be second-class citizens in our country of birth by refraining from becoming voters under a discrimination franchise."

## "Churchmen must be Conscience of the Nation" — Bishop of Johannesburg

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: In a special interview with Contact the new Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Leslie Stradling (successor to Bishop Reeves, who was deported by the government), spoke forthrightly on his view of the relation between religion and politics.

"God cares for everything He made," said Bishop Stradling. "Therefore religion cannot be confined to what goes on in church. It must have something to say about every department of life."

This did not mean that bishops and other church leaders should try to find a way into positions of national leadership. But it did mean that they should be the conscience of the nation, speaking out in protest against anything that is morally wrong.

The new Bishop, a tall, pipe-smoking man with a pleasant manner, said most Christian laymen did not like their priest or their Bishop to interfere in politics or anything else that was not strictly his business. They said he should

concern himself only with "spiritual" things.

"It is too early for me to be talking about South African attitudes, but I imagine that, if in Johannesburg I confine my activities specifically to church work, I need expect no difficulties from the government, and there will certainly be no danger of deportation.

"It is always a temptation for the church is to take the easy way. But unfortunately for our peace of mind, that is not the way which Christ approved.

"A bishop has the right, like any other citizen, to criticize the government of his country; but he must be very sure where he stands before he criticizes it, not in his own name, but in the name of God. Justice, integrity, truth are moral values, and the church must not fear to say: 'This is right; that is wrong'. Above all, perhaps, the church must raise its voice against the growing materialism of the age, and the tendency to think that nationalism necessarily brings us any nearer to the kingdom of God."

## Swapo News

# CHIEF REFUSES TO PUNISH LEADERS

From "Contact" Correspondent

ONDANGUA, S.W.A.: Contact (7th September) carried a report of the deportation to Ovamboland of Messrs. Cristof Nanjembe and Petrus Nakanyala from Walvis Bay, and of their treatment at the hands of Chief Martin Ashikoto.

**"Not Harsh"**

It should be made clear that Chief Martin is not a harsh man who persecutes his people for the benefit of the Nationalist government. Pressure has been put on him many times to detain Mr. Herman ja-Toiva, founder of the South West African People's Organization, an exile in Ovamboland. The chief has refused to do so, as he

has refused to detain other exiled Swapo leaders.

When Mr. Nanjembe was deported from Walvis Bay, he was only told to report to the chief, and Mr. Nakanyala was told to pay £24. Neither are in detention.

As far as Mr. Elia is concerned, the Chief was told to fine him 80 head of cattle, but this was not done.

Following the report in Contact the three men were summoned to the Native Commissioner and statements were taken from them concerning their treatment.

## Escape from Angola

From "Contact" Correspondent

PALAPYE, B.P.: Mr. Lucas Pohamba, Swapo leader, who was deported from Ovamboland to Angola after severe corporal punishment (see Contact 27th July) has arrived here. He has escaped from Portuguese territory.

After some time in Angola, Mr. Pohamba crossed the frontier into western Ovamboland, and from there made his way on foot to Muhembo in Bechuanaland, a distance of some 500 miles. From Muhembo he came on to Palapye.

## PROGRESS RADIO

26 MAIN ROAD, CLAREMONT, CAPE

will answer any enquiries about radios.

## Former Teacher Deported

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Mr. Sakaria Shikomba, former school teacher and a Swapo leader, has been deported and banished to a remote part of Ovamboland.

He was one of the most gifted scholars in the whole of Ovamboland and was a teacher at the Onguediva Boys' High School and at Oniipa Boys' High School. He left the school because he objected to Bantu Education indoctrination and came to Windhoek where he worked as a clerk.

He was jailed for 40 days for a pass offence, and on his release was escorted to Ovamboland to his home village Onayena.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## Appeal to Liberals

SIR.—Let the Liberals continue their campaign against the colour bar. They must dig a big grave for that policy and bury it because it is useless.

Any people who make friends between White and non-White are regarded by our government as communists and are visited by the Special Branch. Only stooges are allowed to make friends with government officials so that they can inform about others.

We have lost the friendship between White and Black manhood; we lost our education, lost our privileges, lost our rights to the country and lost peace.

I therefore appeal to you Liberals to reorganize the campaign to crush the apartheid policy.

We are all South Africans; each and every race has to respect the other. We don't want to suffer riots between Black and White. We have only a few friends and we don't want them hurt as they struggle with us.

Take this seriously, Liberals, and you will soon win. And once the battle has been won, it will never be lost again. Keep on without violence. Unity is strength. We want peace with all members of the country.

SOLOMON MOLEFE,  
Bethlehem, O.F.S.

## Capitalists and Imperialists

SIR.—The editorial in *Contact* (16th November), "Capitalism: Potent Instrument to Abolish Backwardness"—seems with palpable fallacies. Permit me to indicate the most important.

The article quotes a statement of Lenin's to the effect that real development in backward countries is only possible under socialism. "This belief," says the writer, "is widespread in African and Asian countries. But though it is widespread it is false."

As evidence of its supposed falsity he then adduces the examples of Japan and pre-revolutionary Russia. But he completely forgets that the very African and Asian countries in which today this belief is widely held are the most powerful examples of its truth.

A very cursory examination of the facts should convince any unbiased

person that the imperialist powers cannot, by the very nature of imperialism, afford to allow extensive industrial development in the countries they directly or indirectly control. Imperialism depends for its existence on profits from investment in underdeveloped countries and on the exploitation of raw material resources. *This kind of "development" does not benefit the people of the countries themselves.*

Further, Lenin was writing about Tsarist Russia in a period when capitalism was an advancing force, before its contradictions had developed to the point of retarding its progress.

As for Japan, its "modernization" is the result of American investment: it is carried out for imperialist profit and not for the alleviation of the basic problems of poverty and unemployment among the great majority of the Japanese people.

RAYMOND THOMS,  
Johannesburg.

[Mr. Thoms should distinguish between "capitalism" and "imperialism", for the world's greatest imperialist power, the U.S.S.R.—a "socialist" state—is as greedy for the natural resources of Africa and other backward lands as western "imperialists" themselves. —EDITOR]

## Point of no return

SIR.—The Nationalist Party has reached a point of no return. One more step and they fall to bottomless Nowhere.

They have no markets in the newly independent African states. They left the commonwealth so that they could ill-treat Black citizens without any country interfering with their "domestic affairs".

Holland, the mother country of the Afrikaners, is standing aloof and looking at the Nats. and their leader with suspicion.

If they do not improve their racial policy, the United Nations economic and social sanctions will lash out very hard. Then the shoes of the Liberals will come marching and the Nats. will run as fast as they can to Nowhere. What about the U.P. and the National Union? They will be annihilated!

What happened to Hitler? He said,

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Keep on writing
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- Contact free for a year for the best letter of the fortnight

"My empire will last a thousand years".  
How long did it last?

Afrika! Afrika! Afrika! Sibany-e-e-e!

M.S.M.,  
Krugersdorp, Tvl.

## Sons of the soil!

SIR.—Sons and daughters of this soil, let's call for unity. We want a united states of Africa. White domination must cease.



J. T. NQWELO,  
Lady Frere, C.P.

Even if our brothers are jailed and killed, victory is ours. Freedom is coming just as the sun moves from east to west. Inkululeko nge-lethuixesha!

## Disturbed by P.A.C. remarks

SIR.—Like Peter Burwell, I am disturbed by the interview which the two P.A.C. leaders, Mr. Mgweba and Mr. Kgosana, gave to your correspondent in Dar es Salaam; both at the aggressive tone and the content of their statement. I for one do not support a "Black government" as a principle in preference to a good government. My own private belief is that the best government is likely to be multi-racial, but the criterion would be the excellence of the government and not its racial composition.

You rightly condemned Mr. Kozoquizi for making racialistic statements. I am sure many of your readers would welcome your editorial comment on the interview given by these P.A.C. leaders.

J. ISACOWITZ,  
Johannesburg.

[We agree with Mr. Isacowitz. The remarks of Messrs. Mgweba and Kgosana were most unfortunate and deserve criticism.—EDITOR]

## AFRIQUE ACTION

A weekly French language news review published in Tunis giving wide coverage to events affecting Africa and non-aligned countries.

### Subscriptions

Airmail: R14.50 (£7. 5. 0.) per year  
R 7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per 6 months  
Surface mail: R7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per year  
R3.63 (£1.16. 3) per 6 months

20% reduction to students and teachers

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
P.O. Box 1979,  
Cape Town.

## Not a bed of roses

SIR.—I would like to make an appeal to all members of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

Though the Swazi National Council seems to be opposing you, sons of the soil, never be discouraged. Let us convince the Council, and make clear to it how democratic government will bring about a better future for Swaziland, and explain to it that we are fighting against apartheid.

Freedom, sons and daughters of this soil, is not a bed of roses in which each and every bee is free to enjoy itself, but hard working.



P. P. PHUNGWAYO,  
Manzini, Swaziland.

The people who are blocking your way towards this new constitution—it doesn't mean that they don't see the truth; they are just pressing you down to see whether you are sure of what you are struggling for.

Forward, members of the S.P.P., freedom is ours. We want to make it a point that by 1963, from Cape to Cairo, and from west to east African people should be without chains.

## PRIZE LETTER

### SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND TANGANYIKA

SIR.—South West Africa was mandated to the Union of South Africa in 1919, at the same time that Tanganyika, also a former German colony, was placed under British mandate. It is now shocking to compare South West Africa with Tanganyika, to see how South West has been kept back by the South African colour bar government.

It is quite clear that South West is still backward because of the lack of education and other developments. It is now a great terror in our country that the little knowledge which existed is now going to be done away with. All schools are Bantuized. This means that we have to remain as we are. There is no progress in South West Africa.

The colour bar is the root of all this evil. It is the colour bar that has made the rulers of South West introduce Bantu Education. They do not want to co-operate with the non-Whites as brothers. They regard themselves as having more of right than the non-Whites.

Now then, friends, get up, let us fight for democracy and brotherhood and avoid communism as well as the colour bar.

S. SHIPANGA,  
Ovamboland.

[Mr. Shipanga will get "Contact" for a year for sending the best letter of the fortnight.—EDITOR]

## Cape Town's Non-Racial Boys' Choir



THE non-racial Cape Town Boys' Choir was founded five years ago. It aims to encourage interest in choral music generally and to enable talented children in need of financial assistance to further their musical education by providing scholarships and obtaining the services of music teachers at reduced fees. The choir performs for charity, to raise funds and to provide help for the education of former members. It is open to any boy who is sufficiently keen, reliable and talented. It does not give public concerts to audiences restricted on the grounds of colour.

Commenting on a recent concert given by the choir, the "Cape Argus" (12th October) wrote that it sang "with a musical instinct for phrasing delightful to hear in such young performers".

Suitable boys are given instrumental tuition. Badly needed donations should be sent to: D. McAdam, "Lathlorien", Flamingo Road, Zeekoevlei, Cape.

## SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

FOR RATES SEE PAGE 2

## Tanganyika

## Nearest Free Country to South Africa

*"Haven of Peace"  
in East Africa*

TANGANYIKA, a country which was once a German colony and later a British mandated territory, becomes independent on 9th December, ending 75 years of colonial influence and rule.

Tanganyika was a German colony from 1885 until 1916 when it was occupied by British forces in the course of the 1914-18 war against Germany. At the end of the war, the colony became a League of Nations mandate, administered by Britain. In 1946, Tanganyika became a United Nations trust territory, still administered by Britain.

Tanganyika is a country of 9,250,000 people, of whom 20,000 are Whites and 100,000 Asians. The Africans are descended from many intermingled stocks, for Nilotic and Hamitic tribes came at different times from the north and Zulus from what is today Natal. Most of the people are Bantu speaking: Swahili, the mixed African-Arab language of the coastal region, is the most widely spoken language.

Most Africans in the country are farmers, most Asians traders and businessmen, and most Whites either civil servants, farmers, missionaries and businessmen.

The government of Tanganyika is centred on Dar es Salaam, the capital, seaport and business centre.

### Constitutional Progress

In the early days of British administration, government was by officials and civil servants. The first elections were held in 1957, and about that time too, the country's largest political party, the Tanganyika African National Union was founded by Dr. Julius Nyerere, the present Prime Minister. In the 1960 election, T.A.N.U. and its supporters won 70 out of 71 seats in the legislature, and it seems likely that the party will be ruling in Tanganyika for some time. Dr. Nyerere has declared that he favours one-party government for the next ten years, so that Tanganyika will be able to consolidate its independence.

Tanganyika was the first country in Africa to have an elected non-racial government, and since March last year, when the first rush of refugees left South Africa, Dar es Salaam has become a political centre of growing importance, being the nearest capital of a free country to South Africa.

Not only have many refugees from South and South West Africa found safety there; offices have also been established of both the South African United Front and the South West African People's Organization. Exiled political leaders from the Portuguese colony of Mozambique also have headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

The South African and South West African exiles have been fed and accommodated at the expense of T.A.N.U., and Dr. Nyerere is known to have given them as much assistance as possible.

### Commonwealth Issue

Apart from this direct aid to victims of apartheid, Dr. Nyerere helped the South African freedom struggle by urging the expulsion of South Africa from the commonwealth, when he told the commonwealth prime ministers in a letter that if South Africa stayed in the commonwealth, Tanganyika would not join.

Nyerere's determination to see the end of race rule in South Africa is

equalled by his determination to prevent the growth of racialism in his own country.

There has been opposition in Tanganyika to his government's citizenship proposals, under which it will be possible for Tanganyikans of all races to become citizens of the independent nation.

### Declaration of Non-racialism

Some people wanted to forbid citizenship to non-Africans. (See *Contact* 16th November.) Speaking to a meeting of Elders of the Tanganyika African National Union on 21st October, 1961, Dr. Nyerere made the position of his government clear. He declared:

"For seven years we have struggled for human rights because we refuse to be denied our rights by other people just because of our colour . . . That is why we refused to base citizenship of Tanganyika on a person's colour . . .

"All over the world people refuse to be denied their rights by other people because of their colour. That is why we protest to any nation that denies the rights of some of the people just because of their colour. We have protested to President Kennedy against discrimination against the American Negroes. We have protested against the Portuguese colonial rule and that is why the Portuguese consulate in Dar es Salaam is being closed even before Independence Day. That is why I told the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference sitting in London in March this year that if South Africa was not expelled



from the commonwealth, we would not join the commonwealth. That is why South Africa left the commonwealth.

"In the past we were weak, but on the eve of 9th December we are going to become strong since the authority of the country is going to be transferred to us. After that date we can if we wish do whatever we please, because there will be nobody to stop us from doing so. We can order foreigners to pack up and go away immediately. We can persecute them as much as we like, even in the face of protests from all over the world. But will that be right? Why should we deny other people human rights which were set up by the United Nations Organization—an organization in which we ourselves believe?

"That is why we refused that citizenship should be based on a person's colour."

But Tanganyika's most pressing problem is not race relations. With completely integrated schooling for Africans, Whites and Asians now the normal thing, and the rapid de-racialization of the government service, it will be possible for the government to devote its



Dar es Salaam (meaning "Haven of Peace" in Arabic), capital of Tanganyika, seen from the air.

greatest attention to the development of the country, to increasing the standard of living of all the people.

### Development Programme

The government's first development programme, which envisages the expenditure of £24,000,000 over the next four years, will attempt to create the infra-structure essential to any development—the building of roads and bridges, power stations, railways and so on. Nearly a third of the £24 million will be spent on these things. Thirteen per cent of the amount will be spent on education.

A university college was opened in Dar es Salaam this year (it will eventually form part of the University of East Africa together with Makerere College, Uganda and the Royal College in Nairobi, Kenya).

The money for the development programme was a gift from Britain, as was much of the capital needed to found the university college.

There are now 450,000 children in primary school in Tanganyika.

### The Economy

Tanganyika is mainly an agricultural country, the largest export being sisal, but there has been rapid development in coffee, tea, tobacco, cotton and groundnuts. A quarter of Tanganyika's agricultural exports are handled by farmers' co-operatives, which also provide services such as bulk marketing facilities, wholesale supply of goods, seeds, fertilizers; the co-operatives provide loans and saving facilities to farmers, and education for their children. There are more than six hundred registered co-operatives in the country.

Tanganyika is rich in minerals, but only gold, diamonds and lead are mined in any quantities. Lack of transport facilities has up till now prevented the exploitation of rich coal and iron

deposits in the Southern Province at the head of Lake Nyasa.

### Manufacturing

Manufacturing industry is still largely confined to the processing of raw materials, such as sisal, cotton and copra, but other industries are being established as the market grows: shoes, aluminium ware, textiles, bricks, metal containers and other light industry. As yet no heavy industry exists, but when transport facilities improve, it will be possible to establish a steel industry, using the deposits of iron and coal in the Southern Province.

A major transport project is the present construction of a railway linking the Tanganyika system to that of Kenya and Uganda, by building a line from Morogoro to Korogwe.

Not least of Tanganyika's assets are the great herds of wild game found on the Serengeti Plains, lying between Arusha and Lake Victoria, in the north. The government is pledged to preserve wild life, which will in its turn become a tourist attraction of major importance.

"Uhuru" (independence) will not solve Tanganyika's problems, nor bring any magical progress or riches: the future of the country depends on the people. With the confusion of the Congo to the west, the mistrust and tensions of Kenya to the north, an explosive Mozambique and a simmering Central African Federation to their south and an unhappy Zanzibar to the east, and poverty at home, the people of Tanganyika have a great challenge before them.

They will have to show that progress, peace and prosperity can be the lot of every person in a non-racial democracy.

Tanganyika has fine leaders, but their task is not an easy one.

### Defence and Aid Fund (Public Meeting)

The Western Cape Branch of the Defence and Aid Fund will hold a Public Meeting in

St. Saviour's Church Hall  
Claremont

on

Wednesday, December 6th,  
at 8 p.m.

All Welcome

### AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance

P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruls / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829



Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

# contact

Vol. 4 No. 25

5c (6d)

14th DECEMBER 1961

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

## **S.A. Press's Own Muzzle**

— see page 6

## **Moshoeshoe II's Interview**

— see page 4

### **SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**

#### **"CONTACT" SALUTES SOUTH AFRICA'S NOBEL PEACE PRIZEMAN**

"I regard this as a tribute to Mother Africa, to all its people, whatever their race, colour or creed. But I also regard it as an added responsibility laid upon us. We have been made answerable for our part in the future development of the world."

*Lutuli, Oslo, 10th December 1961.*



# contact

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.

## THE S.A.B.C.

WHAT is "patriotism" in South Africa and what are the "real interests" of our country? We ask these questions after hearing the Director of Programmes of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Douglas Fuchs, give his version of how to strive for a "balanced, true and fully informative picture" of events and attitudes in South Africa.

This, apparently, should avoid "injury to the security, safety, and interests of the nation, while defending the heritage and the continued existence of Western European civilization, and promoting the development and self-realization of the non-White population groups in their respective spheres". It should also "foster South African patriotism and loyalty to the welfare of the country and its people". Broadcasting, emphasized Mr. Fuchs, would not be used to "slander our country or to encourage anarchy".

The effects of this "policy" are sadly obvious in the new type of programmes and news services inflicted on South African listeners. Patriotism is confined to the support of White basskap; the interests of South Africa are the interests of Dr. Verwoerd and his followers. News is what is good for the "traditional opinion" of the country's White rulers: when an obscure business visitor says he has confidence in South Africa, his remarks head the news

bulletin; a mass meeting of 10,000 calling for decent government is ignored. African heads of state are "natives"; African leaders of world repute do not qualify for the prefix "Mr." in S.A.B.C. terminology. The best achievements of free countries under non-White rule pass unnoticed; only the worst of their news is given at length.

These are standards which should shock any self-respecting radio journalist and news editor into silence and must sicken many of the announcers obliged to read out what passes for news. For most South Africans, the S.A.B.C. has deteriorated into a commercial service with a single sponsor—the Nationalist Party paying its fee with public money. Until the present government really acts in the real interest of South Africa—by getting out—more than 1,000,000 radios will continue blaring the most blatant propaganda to their unfortunate listeners.

There is, however, a way of avoiding this rubbish. With a short-wave set, the listener can shed the burden of the S.A.B.C. and can range the world in search of what he wants to hear and not what the South African Government thinks he should be told.

## Shorts . . . .

- On 3rd December, after Sunday service in the Dutch Reformed Church in Atteridgeville, a township near Pretoria, each member of the congregation was issued with a copy of *Tswelopele*, a propaganda hand-out issued by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (B.A.D.).
- (Katanga's) internal affairs resemble Algeria in miniature . . . 25,000 Whites act and behave like the *ultras* (fascists) in Algeria. They despise the Belgian government for weakness. They revile the U.N. They admire Sir Roy Welensky, DR. VERWOERD and DR. SALAZAR.

—Colin Legum (*Observer*, 26th November)

## ESCAPE OF MOCAMBIQUE LEADER

THE latest leader to escape from the Union without a passport is Paulo José Gumane, who arrived in Dar es Salaam on 25th November shortly after having been elected Treasurer of Udenamo (União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique).

Aged about 45 years, Mr. Gumane was born in Inhambane, where his father was a relatively rich man with 350 hectares (morgen) of land.

He was educated by the Catholic mission, and then sent to Lisbon to study for four years at the university. He became an "assimilado" (honorary White man) before going to Portugal, and as a result was well-treated by the Portuguese.

### Co-operative Scheme

After his education he returned home to help run the farm. During this time, the local priest started a co-operative scheme under which the growers handed over to a committee all their surplus produce, which was used to provide such amenities as schools. Mr. Gumane played an active part on the co-operative committee until the Moçambique government put an end to it.

### Stowed Away

During the riots immediately before World War II Mr. Gumane worked with other young men to give first-aid to demonstrators shot down by the police. Since he was now becoming involved in politics he found it necessary to give up his status as "assimilado". After World War II he joined a nationalist movement, and helped organize a strike. The authorities decided to arrest him, but two hours before his arrest was due he was warned by a friendly policeman, and he managed to reach Lourenço Marques and stow away on a coal ship bound for Cape Town.

After some time he got a good job in Bredasdorp, 100 miles east of Cape Town, and married a South African.

### New Committee

The South African Security Branch eventually traced him by letters which began to come to him from Dar es Salaam calling on him to join the new committee. The police ordered him not to leave his house. They also confiscated his post office savings book and other documents. Mr. Gumane believed that they were communicating with Moçambique and asking what they should do with him. He also believed that if he were sent back he would be executed, so he first hid, and then escaped from the country.

### Five Years

His brother has not been so fortunate: he is now serving a five-year sentence in a Portuguese penal colony off the coast of Moçambique.

## THE NEW AFRICAN

A Monthly Review for Radicals

The first 16 page issue (January, 1962), will carry articles by Dennis Brutus, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole (treasurer of the Southern Rhodesian National Democratic Party), Anthony Delius, Fr. Trevor Bush and others.

Subscriptions: R2.00 (£1) per year  
R1.20 (12/-) per ½ year

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
P.O. Box 4232,  
Cape Town, South Africa.

# contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly

47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN  
P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524  
Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

### CORRESPONDENTS

Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg,  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye.

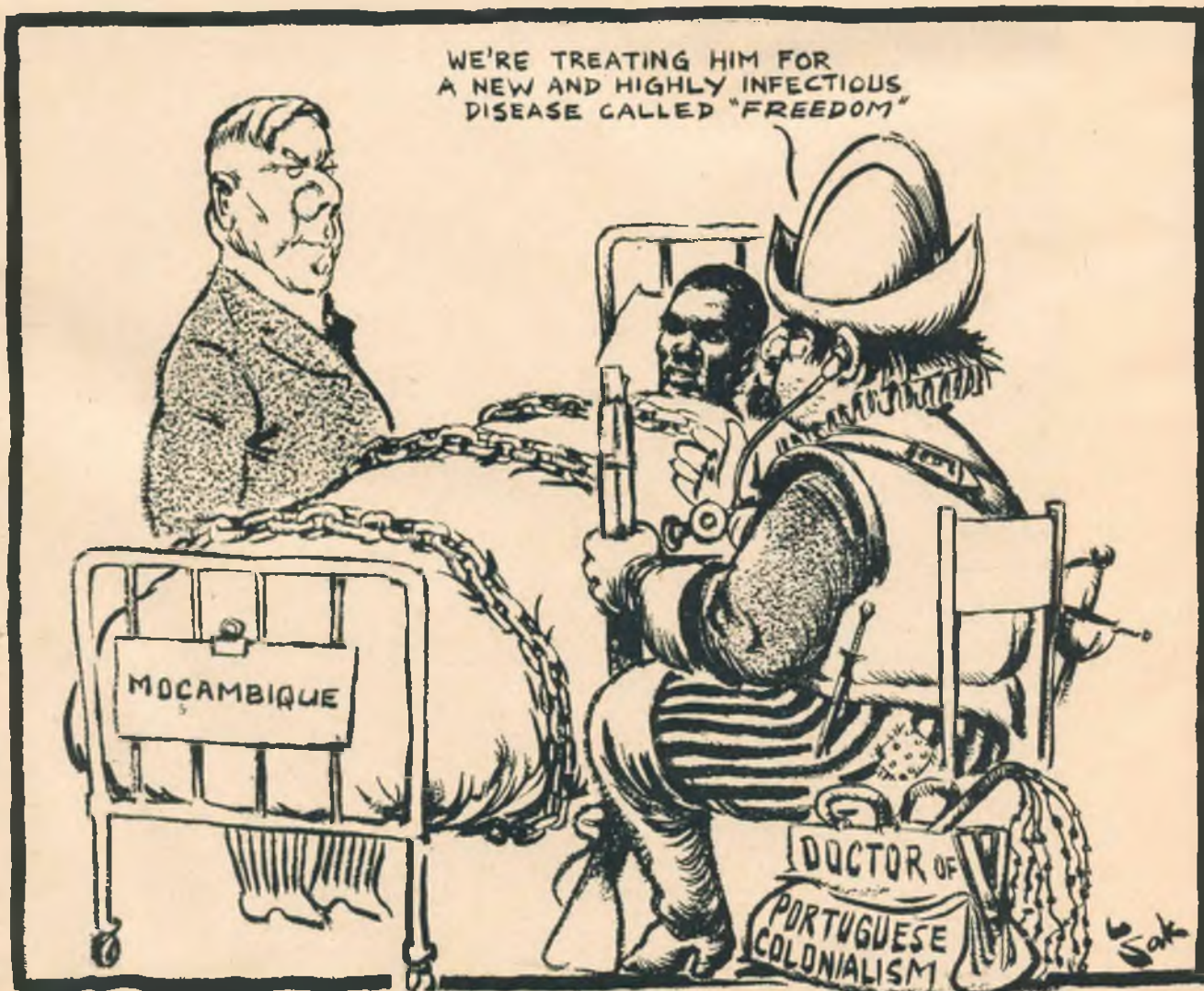
Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Lagos.

London.

### SUBSCRIPTIONS

African Postal Union:  
R1.40 (14/-) per year  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year  
Airmail:  
R2.70 (£1.7.0.) per year  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year  
Elsewhere:  
R1.70 (17/-) per year  
R0.85 (8/6) per half year  
Airmail:  
On application





## Resignation of O'Brien

## U.N. Chief Puts Blame on British Interests

**D**R. CONOR CRUSE O'BRIEN, Irish United Nations chief in Katanga, has resigned his post, left Elisabethville and gone to the United States. Dr. O'Brien said, on arrival in the United States, that the reason for his resignation was British and French policy on Katanga, which had made it impossible for the United Nations to carry out the mandate given it by the Security Council to re-unify the Congo.

*The Cape Times*, (4th December) reports Dr. O'Brien as saying that when he attempted to put into effect last February's Security Council's resolution to remove foreign mercenaries from Katanga, "I found myself increasingly exposed, both inside and outside the organization, to mounting criticism".

This came, not from Belgium, but from Britain and France.

"If either of these countries had frankly opposed the resolution it could not have been carried. They did not oppose the passage but did most bitterly oppose its implementation."

He claimed that mainly because of British pressure he was forced to resign.

British policy on Katanga seems to be worked out to please a group known as the "Katanga lobby"—influential members of the ruling Conservative Party who have large vested interests in Katanga.

The largest foreign interest in Katanga is the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga Company, worth £106,000,000, which is controlled largely by Belgian and British shareholders. Most influential British shareholder is Lord Selborne, who is on Union Minière's Board of Directors (*Moody's*, 1961).

Closely linked to Union Minière is another company, Tanganyika Concessions Ltd., which owns 14% of Union Minière's shares, and has a somewhat interlocking Board of Directors (*Standard and Poor's*, June-July, 1961).

The chairman of the Company is Captain Charles Waterhouse, the British Member of Parliament who led the extremist "Suez group" which forced Britain to attack Egypt in 1956.

Other directors of Tanganyika Concessions are Lord Robins, former chairman and now president of the British South Africa Company, which

has large interests in the Rhodesian Federation, Bechuanaland and South West Africa. Lord Robins is a supporter of Welensky.

These members of the "Katanga lobby" have found support (according to Colin Legum, *Observer*, 26th November) among the Suez group (right wing) Conservative Members of Parliament, and an even more powerful group which supports Welensky and the Central African Federation. They have also won the backing of Lord Salisbury, former chairman of the Conservative Party, and one of Britain's most influential political figures.

These people, together with their financial power, form a strong bloc in the Conservative Party and have great influence on the government of Britain.

Because they believe that if Katanga were forced by the U.N. (or the Congolese themselves) to come under the control of the Central Government they would lose their investments in the country, they have put pressure on the British government to prevent its acting to ensure the success of the U.N. operation in the Congo.

## The New Chief



URQUHART

**M**R. TSHOMBE has reason to feel worried in Elisabethville. Worried because the United Nations has sent one of their best men to Katanga to replace Dr. O'Brien with instructions to put an end to Katanga's secession from the Congolese Central Government.

He is Mr. Brian Urquhart, born and bred in England, but now an international civil servant. He it was who mounted the great United Nations military move-in which stopped Britain and France at the time of Suez. And he it was who coaxed the various nations to send their soldiers to the Congo. He was an intelligence officer with the British paratroopers at Arnhem in World War II. He is now probably the most brilliant military mind with the United Nations.

He is unlikely to make the mistakes which his predecessors, Dr. Conor C. O'Brien, made, and is likely to build up his forces properly before beginning the assault.

Mr. Urquhart means business. It is likely that his name will become well known in Africa south of the equator, an area in which the United Nations still has much to do.

## Who's Involved in Katanga?

**U**NION Minière du Haut-Katanga, a mining company worth £106,000,000, holds concessions covering 13,000 square miles in Katanga and is one of the world's largest copper mining companies. It is largely a Belgian concern, but other interests are represented on its Board of Directors:

Lord Selborne, chairman of the (British) National and Provincial Bank.

Sir Ulick Alexander, chairman of the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank of South Africa.

Another concern with holdings in Katanga, and intertwined with Union Minière is Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. (of Salisbury). On the Board of Directors of this company, which has a 2,000 square mile concession in Katanga, are Lord Selborne, Sir U. Alexander and: Capt. Charles Waterhouse, M.P., chairman.

Sir Robert J. Hudson, Rhodesian Board, Standard Bank of South Africa. (His wife was a De Beer.)

Lord Robins, former-chairman, now president of the British South Africa Company.

Sir Andrew Strachan of Salisbury, formerly federal secretary to the Treasury.

Mr. Harry F. Oppenheimer, chairman, Anglo-American Corporation, chairman, De Beers Consolidated Mines.

for the removal of all discriminatory practices", demanded that "only such missionaries come to Africa as believe in the equality of all men" (and gave a stinging rebuke to the many missionaries already in Africa who fail to visit Africans in their homes). After a constructive request for a crash programme to train Africans for the ministry, he wound up by calling to the European churches to "stop being a bar to the essential Christian unity of Africa". The speech, which brought the militant voice of total rejection of all racial discrimination into top church councils for the first time, was read by Lady Ibiam for her husband, Sir Francis Ibiam, governor of Eastern Nigeria, who was too busy with elections at home to arrive until after the meeting. A further fuss was caused by his mentioning Ghana as one of the countries with whom the World Council of Churches should intercede to change its policies. Challenged at the press conference later Sir Francis said this was because Ghana detained her citizens without trial.

**N**IGERIA'S Federal Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Usman Sarki, has told Dutch Reformed Church missionaries in Northern Nigeria to be out by April. They had said they would be gone by 1963 after the Nigerian parliament had passed an Act changing the status of South Africans from Commonwealth citizens to foreigners. But the Minister decided they should leave almost immediately.

**ALL BEING WELL**, Chief and Mrs. Lutuli will be back in time for the marriage of their younger daughter to Mr. Tulani Gcabashe, Cape Town University law student now articulated to a Cape Town attorney. Mrs. Gcabashe-to-be will work as a nurse, while her husband draws his articulated clerk's pay. He has already paid her dowry. "Chief's" elder daughter, a doctor, is married to a fellow-doctor, the son of Mr. W. B. Ngakane of Johannesburg. They live in Natal.

**JOURNALIST** colleagues might have voted Lewis Sowden the man least likely to cause a rumpus by shouting hard words about Eric Louw from the General Assembly's gallery. A man of more cultural than political convictions, Lew Sowden had held down the assistant editorship of the *Rand Daily Mail*

for four years—hardly a place for noisy public protesters. (He did once get tough with a harpist at a Johannesburg concert, when this performer saw fit to preface a recital by slinging Johannesburg music critics, one of whom is Mr. Sowden's wife, Dora. The Nationalist press was relieved to be able to recall this other evidence of Sowden's temperament.) Pleasure at Mr. Sowden's outburst, which was widely felt, was spoiled by the crawling apology which the *Rand Daily Mail* carried next day. This came from South African Foundation-minded bigwigs over editor Laurie Gandar's head.

Lewis Sowden, 56, is of Russian-Jewish stock, and came to South Africa from Manchester, England, at the age of eight. He has published five books of verse.

"LET US REJOICE," said Lord Fraser of Lonsdale in a speech to Manchester Conservatives on 24th November. "There is at the bottom of Africa," he said, "a bastion of sound, good government, strong enough to maintain itself in all circumstances..." Lord Fraser has big financial interests in the Republic as well as Fraser's stores in Basutoland.

**RUMOURS** of millionaire John Schlesinger's new interest in the South African race situation probably come from his backing a multi-racial musical in New York. But he is believed to be looking at the publishing field in West Africa with interest. Schlesinger is a big man outside this country. He has a sizeable film production unit in England, and he recently backed two major films *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* and *The Long and the Short and the Tall*. His father, I. W. Schlesinger, started as a penniless pedlar among the poor of District Six, Cape Town, rose to riches through insurance and show business, and left his whole empire to his only son, American-educated John.

**ONE** of I. W. Schlesinger's admirers, and employees, was Mr. Arthur Barlow, Nat-fancying father-in-law of Mr. Frank Waring, who has just taken over the new Department of Information, already named the "lie factory" by waspish Unity Movement critics.

## Personal Files

**T**HE reformer-genius, Janio da Silva Quadros, whose brief presidency of Brazil came to an end in June, was responsible for the sending of the cadet ship, *Custódio de Melo*, to the coasts of Africa. After goodwill visits to the west coast, she sailed right past the Republic of South Africa to Lourenço Marques, combining a snub to Verwoerd with a big saving in trouble over Black-White boy-meets-girl situations in Cape Town and Durban. "In South Africa, colours don't mix" propaganda leaflets used to tell foreign visitors, with maximum inaccuracy. In Brazil they not only mix, but are proud to. The chief public-relations booklet put out by the Brazilian visitors plugged Brazil's huge size and mighty resources, as well as her economic progress. It also asked: "Did you know that Brazil is the most anti-racist country in the world?" and set out to prove it.

"Did you know," asked the booklet, "that the native peoples already living in Brazil, the Africans brought in by the Portuguese, and the Arabs, Orientals and Europeans who immigrated later, are inter-marrying to a greater and greater extent without any racial prejudice whatsoever?"

From the Brazilian Dickens, Machado de Assis, of negro descent, to the great football star, Pelé, who has received an offer of one million dollars to play for an Italian team. Brazil's 40% of negroes and mulattoes have contributed to the country's greatness. Whether the new Brazilian policy of friendship with Africa will survive Sr. Quadros's resignation is doubtful. But whether Quadros's presidency is over for good is doubtful too.

**A PRESBYTERIAN ELDER** let fly at the third assembly of the World Council of Churches at Delhi. He made the delegates stir when he vehemently decried the "failure of large parts of the American nation, which boasts of being a Christian people, to acknowledge the equality of the rights of Black men". He called for "united Christian action

EXCLUSIVE TO "CONTACT"

# Basuto P.C.'s Hard-hitting Interview



MOSHOESHOE II

**Q.** "The kidnapping of Messrs. Anderson Ganyile, his brother and Paulus Bolofo from Qacha's Nek on August 12th is a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of Basutoland by the Republic of South Africa." This statement was made by political refugees now enjoying Your Highness' protection in this country. Would Your Highness kindly comment on this statement?

**A.** Because the allegations of the kidnappings have not, to the best of my knowledge, been denied by the Republican authorities even before the matter became *sub-judice*, one cannot but suspect that their silence is an attempt to conceal the truth. But now since the matter is *sub-judice*, by convention it would not be proper to make comments on court proceedings. Normally when an application "which concerns the liberty of the subject" is made, at once the judge puts everything aside, and the application is settled with the utmost despatch. I hope that Her Majesty's Government will, in no uncertain terms, warn the Republican Government to respect our "territorial integrity"; such unconventional behaviour does not promote "good neighbourliness". I hope, also, that Her Majesty's Government will pursue these allegations with firmness.

**Q.** What is the attitude of Your Highness to mixed racial sport?

"Contact" feels privileged to publish this exclusive interview with His Highness Moshoeshoe II, the young Paramount Chief of Basutoland. It is dated 6th December.

In view of its importance it is published unedited and in full.

**A.** I feel very strongly, that the question of race should not be brought into sport at all. Sport was not made for any one particular race, but for all human beings to enjoy.

**Q.** Is it true that Your Highness is preparing to get married soon to Princess Masentle Mojela who is now studying in England? The Princess Masentle is reported to have said that she is willing to wait until 1964 when she shall have completed her course. Has this been correctly reported?

**A.** No comment. This is a personal matter.

**Q.** What is Your Highness' attitude towards the possible action to be taken by the Government of the Republic of South Africa on your subjects working on Republican mines, farms and industries?

**A.** Whatever action the Republican Government may take against the Basotho, the fact remains that they, and their fellow Africans, worked hard, in a way that nobody else could, to make the Republic what it is today, economically. I can only hope that the Republican Government, by its actions, will not show lack of appreciation for the good work which the Basotho and their fellow Africans have done; but rather give them due credit and allow them to enjoy, as equals, the fruits of their hard labour.

**Q.** Mr. Papenfus, the Commissioner-General of the Southern Sotho Ethnic Group stationed at Ficksburg, has publicly announced that there is to be close co-operation between the Basutoland and Republican Governments. Would Your Highness comment on this?

**A.** "Close co-operation" between governments of different countries is a very common platitude. But whilst I welcome Mr. Papenfus' statement on co-operation, I hope that the Republican authorities will accept the

simple and fundamental fact that "close co-operation" and "good neighbourliness" must be based on the recognition of both political and human equality.

**Q.** What steps is Your Highness contemplating with regard to the constitutional transition through which the country is going towards responsible government? There are undercurrents of "independence" among certain political groups in the Territory today in the constitutional struggle. What is Your Highness' comment on this?

**A.** I refer you to my speech in the Basutoland National Council on the 11th September last. We must recapture the heritage of self-rule which King Moshoeshoe left us; without, however, severing our relations with the Queen of England. A Constitutional Commission will soon be announced to work out, in detail, the structure of our Responsible Government.

**Q.** Has Your Highness any comments to make on the formation of the communist party in Basutoland?

**A.** We are informed that there is a Communist Party in Basutoland; but we do not know for certain who its leader is. Communism is a very extreme and severe form of Socialism; in fact, most socialist movements outside the Iron Curtain are opposed to communism because of its extreme and severe revolutionary nature. It denies all forms of individual freedom, politically and economically; it turns the individual into a mere object of utility. In fact if there is anything which will destroy "the African personality", as I understand it, it is communism. Basotho of Basutoland love their personal freedom, both politically and economically, and revolutionary philosophies such as communism are completely foreign to their tradition and nature.

I sincerely hope that the formation of any Party in Basutoland will be motivated by good, genuine desires from within the country; and not by some foreign body, with a selfish, malicious and covetous eye, which aims at destroying our nationality, and introducing subversive philosophies which are a danger to the fabric of our society which we hold so dear.

## Liberal Call to Johannesburg Council

# "END RENT PROSECUTIONS!"

From "Contact" Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG:** Startling details of the inability of Johannesburg's Africans to pay their house rents have been submitted to the City Council by the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party. The survey — made public after a months-long investigation of 1,000 families who had trouble with their rents — revealed that the average income of the families was R21 a month, that the largest number of arrests for rent arrears took place at 4 a.m., that payment of rent caused malnutrition and semi-starvation, and that unemployment was a crucial factor.

The party sent the City Council 50 copies of its report — one for each Councillor. It also asked the Council to receive a deputation so that the problems of rents and unemployment could be discussed.

The total of back rents owned by Africans in Johannesburg is now nearly R450,000.

The survey said: "It is clear that the basic cause of the failure to pay rents lies in low wages."

Average wage of the 1,000 families was R21 a month — against an overall average for Johannesburg stated by the Institute of Race Relations to be about R39 a month. Several surveys had shown that a family of five needed at least R50 a month for minimum subsistence.

The survey pointed out that a family with a R21 a month income could not afford to pay the township rentals of between R5.05 and R6.17 a month, or even the lower sub-economic rentals. Travelling costs to work alone were about R2 a month.

In nearly 25 per cent of the cases, the breadwinner was unemployed and the family had no income at all. In some families there was a very small income, apparently from the wife. Thus it appeared that in about one case in three "unemployment is the basic cause of the inability to pay rents".

"It is submitted that the whole procedure of prosecuting for inability to pay rent is incorrect against normal procedure throughout most parts of the world, and furthermore has the effect of aggravating the position," said the survey.

The survey said that most arrests were carried out during the night and in the early hours of the morning. Very few families were up before 5 a.m. — yet the majority of arrests were carried out between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m., with the biggest number at 4 a.m.

The arrests often involved forcible

entry with disturbance of the whole family.

To back up its arguments, the Liberal Party quoted detailed statistics from its survey.

These showed that among the 1,000 families investigated, 805 people had been arrested for failing to pay their rents, 743 were fined, 323 were jailed, 23 had their possessions sold in execution, and 82 were evicted from their homes.

Of these sent to jail, 82 had no income at all, while more than 80 per cent earned less than R30 a month.

To meet the alarming rents situation, the party put forward a series of urgent requests to the City Council. These were:

- The Council should make immediate representations to the Chamber of

Industries and the Chamber of Commerce for increased wages.

- That all relevant facts about living standards and the ability of the people in the townships to pay rents should be placed before the Wage Board.

- The Government should be asked to bring all industrial and commercial workers into unemployment insurance.

- That all arrear rentals caused by the unemployment of breadwinners should be written off.

- A re-survey should be carried out to find out what households should fall under a sub-economic basis.

- Criminal prosecutions for non-payment of rent should be terminated.

## SONG OF THE EXILE

### FAREWELL TO ZAMBIA

*Sacrificed pawn to Macmillan's dilemma; sacrifice to the pride of Lord Salisbury, sacrifice to Welensky's ambition.*

*Land that God filled with riches for many: land that men ravish for profits for few.*

*Land of the calling for "Kaffir", "Boy", "Munt"; land of "KEEP-OUT", "ADMISSION RESERVED".*

*Land of two laws: black — prison, white — fine; land of "old boy" and P.A. school tie.*

*Restrictive land of spies and informers; detentions and bannings, police permits to speak.*

*Land of "NO WORK", of hunger and sickness; tax-raids and pass-raids and insults and prisons.*

### FAREWELL TO ZAMBIA

*Land of brilliant red leaves in the springtime; land of bright flowers at the first shower of rain.*

*Land of calm rivers, of lakelands and damboes; land of the storm clouds refreshing the soil.*

*Land of red earth unskilfully tended, true farmers drawn for cash wages to towns.*

*Land of sad women awaiting the letter that tells of the sickness of men at the mines.*

*Land of five children thirsting for knowledge, turned away from the school as five brothers go in.*

### FAREWELL TO ZAMBIA

*Land of Kaunda, apostle of Gandhi, land of Kaunda, the Lion of the North. Land of U.N.I.P., true voice of the people; land of the voteless, but soon to be heard.*

*Land of great promise of fairness and freedom; land where a man will dare to be free.*

*Land I yearn deeply one day to return to, yet land whose doors now close lightly behind.*

EJECTED WHITE AFRICAN

LIBERAL PARTY GOES TO THE LAND

# All-day Meeting at Phokeng

JOHANNESBURG: On Saturday, 18th November, the Liberal Party held an all-day meeting in the Phokeng area of Rustenburg, Transvaal, where the party has hundreds of members. Main subject of discussion: the party's land-redistribution policy. From miles around came Bafokeng elders and chiefs, and from Johannesburg came some of the party's Transvaal office-bearers.

Security Branch detectives came from Johannesburg for the occasion and demanded the names of all speakers throughout the day. Addressing the meeting in the Phokeng cinema hall, Transvaal chairman, Mr. E. M. Wentzel, said a Liberal government could create a society in which these political police were not needed, "These gentlemen with us today, for example, could become usefully employed as bricklayers, lorry drivers, or perhaps even clerks in very small offices."



In centre, E. Wentzel, Rev. Ramoroesi, R. Mayekiso.



R. Mayekiso with Phokeng members.



Members of Bafokeng tribe before returning home.



Another view of members of Bafokeng tribe.

Portuguese Freedom Struggle

## GALVÃO, AFRICANS REACH AGREEMENT

IN an interview held in Tangier, Morocco, with the Scandinavian journalist Sven Loftgren, and published in *Jeune Afrique* (formerly *Afrique Action*), 29th November, Captain Henrique Galvão, Portuguese opposition leader, explains his beliefs and his task.

Captain Galvão came into prominence when he and a group of sympathizers kidnapped the Portuguese liner, *Santa Maria*, in March this year.

In the interview he states: "I am allergic to all forms of dictatorship, whether of the Right or of the Left

(i.e., Fascist or Communist). I am a Christian. I am a man who could not live in his own country, but who loves his country, and who is prepared to give his life to enable Portugal to again become the free and independent land it has been through the centuries."

Mr. Loftgren asked Captain Galvão: "Did the *Santa Maria* adventure change anything in Portugal?" Galvão replied: "It kindled great hope in Portugal. On the world scene, it fixed attention on the true face of a tyranny often exercised in the name of God."

**African National Leaders**

On several occasions, Galvão has had discussions with representatives of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.

He has met them in Rabat (Morocco) where they have an office.

It is understood that the conversations between Galvão and the African nationalists were entirely frank. Angolans and Moçambiquans reproached him with having failed to recognize the spirit of nationalism in Africa until he left in 1947, the year of his famous report to Salazar.\* The nationalists accused him of taking up the position of a colonialist.

Galvão, for his part, reproached the nationalist movement for having accepted "dirty" (i.e. communist) money in their struggle for independence—at the risk of freeing themselves from one colonizer only to fall under the yoke of another, more insidious, form of domination.

Agreement between Galvão and the nationalists was however reached. He declared that he was in favour of self-determination for the colonies as well as for Portugal itself. He made one condition, though: nothing definite could be decided before the total liberation of Portugal. Galvão explained: "I wish to speak of self-determination not only for Africans of colour, but also for White Africans (meaning Portuguese who have made their homes in Angola and Moçambique).

\*Galvão was until 1947 a colonial servant in Portuguese Africa. Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, commissioned from him a report on conditions in Angola and Moçambique especially as they affected the African people. Galvão, who was presumably expected to produce a "whitewash" report, told the truth about the appalling exploitation to which the people were subjected.

Salazar then recalled Galvão from Africa and put him in prison.

## Big Bechuanaland Conference not yet Arranged

On 2nd and 3rd December the South African press carried reports that a top-level conference was to be held in Bechuanaland this month. "Contact" has looked into this story, and finds that the conference is not yet arranged: it is still merely a hope in the organizers' minds.

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The Bechuanaland People's Party is pushing for their territory to be the venue of a top-level African leaders' conference some time next year.

The party has already made a formal approach to the Bechuanaland government for permission to hold the conference, and has been told: "No official difficulties will be placed in your way."

A letter to this effect has been received by the party from Mr. Seretse Khama, an executive council member.

The party has also distributed pamphlets announcing that a conference is to be held in Southern Africa, and expressing the hope that the venue will be Bechuanaland. More details are expected to be announced at the party's conference, to be held later this month.

The proposal for the conference originated at a meeting in Ghana in July this year, where it was agreed that African leaders from throughout the southern, central and eastern parts of the continent should be invited to attend. It was felt that their presence would spotlight the largely unpublicized struggle for freedom in southern Africa.

Those to be invited were to include: Mr. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya African National Union; Dr. Hastings Banda of Nyasaland; Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the Southern Rhodesia National Democratic Party; Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the Northern Rhodesia United National Independence Party; Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika; Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party; and Mr. J. J. Nquku, leader of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

Representatives of South Africa's banned African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress were also expected to attend.

But the man who was first reported to be intimately connected with the planning of the conference—Basutoland's powerful leader, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle—has since issued conflicting statements to the Press on the matter.

He confirmed the planning of the conference to one newspaper—and denied it to another.

Mr. Mokhehle added that reports about a regional conference might have arisen as a result of the intention of the leaders of the three Protectorates—Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland—to meet shortly for discussion of mutual problems.

Their meeting should have taken place in October, but had to be postponed because Mr. J. J. Nquku, the Swazi leader, was overseas.

**JEUNE AFRIQUE**

(formerly *Afrique Action*)

A weekly French-language news review published in Tunis giving wide coverage to events affecting Africa and non-aligned countries.

**Subscriptions**

Airmail: R14.50 (£7. 5. 0.) per year  
R 7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per 6 months  
Surface mail: R7.25 (£3.12. 6.) per year  
R3.63 (£1.16. 3) per 6 months

20% reduction to students and teachers

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
P.O. Box 1979,  
Cape Town.

**AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.**

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance

P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruiis / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829

## SECRET PRESS CODE

## S.A. Press Prepares to Muzzle Itself

THE press of South Africa is preparing to censor itself, rather than leave the government to do its own censoring of news. And negotiations have been proceeding in an attempt to reach agreement between government circles and the proprietors of the press (the Newspaper Press Union).

Contact is able to publish, for the information of its readers, the text of a "Code" which has been drawn up as a result of their discussions and which has been sent to certain editors for their information. Here is the text:

## CODE

1. It is accepted that the Freedom of the Press is indivisible from that of the individual, that it is subject to the same legal and moral restraints as the individual and that to preserve individual freedom intact it behoves all concerned with the press to observe the very highest standards in the performance of the duty of newspapers to inform the public truthfully and to comment fairly.

2. Specifically it is accepted that:

- (a) In the presentation of news there should be no deliberate departure from facts either through distortion or in the process of summarising and that newspapers should publish as fact only what is reasonably believed to be true, having regard to the source, and that such facts should be published fairly and completely having regard to content and importance. Where there is any reason to doubt the accuracy of a news item and where it can be checked within the limits of

journalism, this should be done before publication.

- (b) News reports should be free from opinion or bias.  
 (c) Headlines should not distort the context of news.  
 (d) Journalists should protect the secrecy of their sources and respect confidences.  
 (e) Release dates and embargo should be strictly observed.  
 (f) Excess in the reporting and presentation of sexual matter should be avoided whether in reporting court cases or otherwise.  
 (g) The use of obscene, unduly salacious and generally undesirable material should be avoided.  
 (h) The invasion, in the reporting of facts, of the private life or interests of the individual is unethical unless such facts are disclosed in the public interest.

3. In so far as comment is concerned it is accepted that:

- (a) Comment should be made on facts truly stated as indicated in (2) above.  
 (b) Comment should be the honest expression of such opinion, free from malice and not actuated by dishonest motive.  
 (c) Comment should be clearly indicated as such.

(d) Comment should take due cognisance of the complex racial problems of South Africa.

(e) Comment and news should take into account the general good of South Africa and while not departing from the principle of the right to free comment should so employ emphasis as to do the least possible harm to the country where potential harm cannot be avoided.

**COMMENT:** It seems to us that the first two heads are universally agreed. They are, indeed, so obvious as hardly to be worth stating. The bite lies in head No. 3.

These provisions could cover any assault on the press.

How are these provisions to be enforced? Here the notorious Dr. Carel de Wet, M.P., assists us. Reported in the *Cape Times*, 19th October, 1960, he said: "The appointment of a press commission to investigate the publication of untrue, distorted or inciting reports and punish the offenders was envisaged. . . . He suggested that the commission could be aided by two assessors, possibly members of the press."

Dr. De Wet proposed that the commission could be empowered to punish a newspaper by compelling it to publish a "correct" report next to a re-print of the "lie or distortion" in print twice as large, with an apology in print thrice as large. He further proposed the registration of overseas journalists and of South African journalists writing for overseas newspapers, with penalties for the unregistered.

## THE LITTLE ZULU WAR

SINCE March there has been fighting on the Hlajakazi range in the Nqutu district of Zululand. Thirty-nine men have died. Looting and cattle-theft, threats and hooliganism have reduced hundreds to poverty and scattered families to other districts, refugees from the pain of these bitter months. For long, women and children have slept out on the hills, fearing night attacks; the fields lie barren and untilled, the oxen missing from the plough.

Perhaps this country tragedy has escaped notice because of the isolation of the district; perhaps because it has concerned no one save two warring groups of tribal folk. There have been no political overtones to send newspapermen post-haste to Nqutu and no farmer's property has been threatened to make of the affair a nine-days' wonder. Men have died unnoticed, and grief has come unheralded.

## Vendetta

At heart, this has been a vendetta between two groups, the Mbathas and the Ngobeses; an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But the original cause, a man slain in the city, has been

## DR. ANTHONY BARKER

Dr. Anthony Barker, doctor-author who lives at the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital, Nqutu, Zululand, and whose book "Giving and Receiving" is one of the finest things to have come out of our age in South Africa, writes about a "sad and sordid" little war that is being fought in his area.

## Plays "for the Sake of Freedom"

IN 1957 a young Belgian actor who had been on a tour of the Congo with the Royal Flemish Theatre of Brussels, came on to South Africa with the help of the Belgian-South African Cultural Exchange Programme. People in the National Theatre Organization asked him to stay in South Africa as a producer for them and after returning to Belgium to fulfil an engagement, he came back to do so. While he was with the N.T.O. he helped produce plays by leading Afrikaans playwrights, and helped establish an Intimate Theatre in Pretoria.

## Devoted His Life

In 1959 the actor, Tone Brulin, returned to Europe, where he has devoted his life to the theatre and to writing and presenting plays for the sake of freedom for the oppressed people of South Africa.

Brulin came to South Africa and worked in a government-sponsored apartheid theatre group, but he did not allow this to confine him to a group area of the mind. He made friends with Athol Fugard and his wife, both Liberals, Fugard being the author of *Blood Knot*, which is enjoying a successful tour of the country (see *Contact* 30th November). Brulin made friends with Bloke Modisane, now a successful actor in London, friends with many inhabitants of the "no-man's-land" which is peopled by those who have rejected all racialism from their lives.

## Loneliness

But in 1959, Brulin left South Africa, because, he says, "of a loneliness . . . I'd had never in Europe". Also because of a Belgian government grant to visit Ghana or Israel.

"I decided to go to Ghana," he says. "At Leopoldville (Congo) however I stayed a little longer while working for the Belgian radio." At the house of a friend he finished writing a play called *The Dogs*.

It is about South Africa, and "in one flow, without any preparation at all and somewhat unexpectedly, it came as the result of reading and documentation".

From Leopoldville, Brulin went on to Ghana, where he married a chief's daughter who followed him to Belgium after he returned home and where they now live in Brussels.

*The Dogs* is the story of events on a farm in the northern Transvaal and gives a blunt account of race hatred and race oppression at its worst. The Brussels newspaper *Le Soir* (22nd July, 1960) describes it as "an intensely dramatic work which concedes nothing . . . the young Belgian writer, who lived in the Transvaal, shows the inhuman cruelty of some Afrikaners towards Blacks condemned to forced labour on a farm".

The play was produced by the National Theatre of Belgium during the Congo crisis and was very favourably received.

Brulin has written a second South African play, "for the sake of freedom", called *Ouboetie van Kaapstad*



[Photo: Siegfried Huth]

Tone Brulin (right) discusses the State Theatre of Dresden production of "The Dogs" for Berlin television with Ali Molvy El Div, who takes the part of the journalist in the play.

or *Bulldozers voor Ma Kruk's Tempel*.

He sees his task in Europe as one of keeping the people aware of the situation in South Africa, not to allow them to forget that Europe is deeply involved in Africa, and he is having some success, for he writes, "I . . . have proved that public opinion here (in Belgium) is not on the side of any colonialism or neo-colonialism".

forgotten in revenge and lost in the lust of killing. Bored young men, out of work, without hope or stimulus have found a new barbaric manhood in warfare; some purpose has come into dull, uneventful lives. Briefly they have lived the life their forefathers knew.

For seven months the fight has gone on in spite of all attempts by police and private individuals of goodwill to bring it to an end. Only now, as the result of extensive police activity, is a *pax romana* established which sits uneasily upon the rocky hills, so that a man may still look over his shoulder from time to time as he talks to you, and little ploughing is being done despite the coming of the rains.

## Mediators

One figure only stands out in all this turmoil, Foko Mbatha, the leader of the defending faction. His control over his followers is impressive, and he has not failed to bring his men together when asked to do so, either for formal charge, for rebuke or explanation. He received the Anglican Bishop of Zululand with grace, and heard him with respect and attention when the Bishop and three of his priests went walking to his stronghold as a witness to their concern and as an offering of their services as mediators. Had there been on the side of the Ngobese clan a man of Mbatha's stature, the fighting would have been over long ago.

Remember the men and women and children of the Hlajakazi mountain, their suffering and their sorrow. They transgressed no political boundaries and threatened no dainty racial theories, so they never became "news". But they have shed their blood without meaning and suffered without hope. May they have peace again, and prosperity.



# Tanganyika Expels Leader of Racialist Group

From "Contact" Correspondent

**DAR ES SALAAM:** The Tanganyika Government has expelled Mr. Frederick Esau Omido, the Kenya-born Publicity Secretary of the racialist organization, the African National Congress, from Tanganyika to his place of birth.

In serving an order of expulsion as an "undesirable" in Tanganyika, the Government has maintained that Mr. Omido's activities were "likely to inflame racial animosities and have already shown themselves liable to lead to a breach of the peace".

At the same time, the Government has made it clear that a young and growing country like Tanganyika cannot afford to be exposed to purely destructive attacks aimed at the country's sense of nationhood. "The Government welcomes constructive criticisms of the particular policies it is pursuing", is the attitude, "but will not tolerate the malicious exploitation for political purposes of racial, tribal or religious divisions".

"Omido, as Publicity Secretary of the African National Congress, has been particularly prominent in the exploitation of racial difference for his own purposes and for the benefit of his own Party", the Government declared in a statement here.

For years now, while the Tanganyika African National Union led by Dr. Nyerere has been demanding equal opportunities for all Tanganyikans, the African National Congress has been exploiting alleged failures of the Nyerere Government in an attempt to win over the masses to its folds. A pet complaint, and one in keeping with its slogan of "Africa for the Africans", has been that the Nyerere Government is out to please Europeans and Asians in Tanganyika at the expense of the African masses.

## No Alarm

Clearly there should be no alarm abroad that the Nyerere Government is out to crush all "opposition" in the country. Far from it. Hardly a day passes in Dar es Salaam without this or that trade union or that "opposition" party coming out with press criticisms of the Nyerere Government on some issue.

The attitude of Tanganyika towards opposition parties was summed up in a recent article by the Prime Minister in the new monthly, *Spearhead*. This should serve to set at rest any notions abroad that Dr. Nyerere is out to silence critics and to establish himself as a dictator in Tanganyika.

"In the early days of nation-building—as in time of war—the Opposition, if any, must act even more responsibly than an opposition in a more developed

and more stable, a more unified and a better-equipped country in times of peace," he writes. "Given such a responsible opposition I would be the first person to defend its rights. But where is it? Too often the only voices to be heard in 'opposition' are those of a few irresponsible individuals who exploit the very privileges of democracy—freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom to criticise—in order to deflect the government from its responsibilities to the people by creating problems of law and order.

## To Persuade

"The admitted function of any political opposition is to try and persuade the electorate to reject the existing government at the next election. This is reasonable in the case of a responsible opposition with a definite alternative policy in which its members sincerely believe; but that sort of mature opposition is rare indeed in a newly independent state. Usually the irresponsible individuals I have mentioned have neither sincerity, conviction nor any policy at all save that of self-aggrandisement. They merely employ the catch phrases copied from the political language of older, stabler countries in order to engage the sympathy of the unthinking for their destructive tactics. Nor are the tactics they use those of a responsible democratic opposition. In such circumstances the Government must deal firmly and promptly with the trouble-makers. The country cannot afford, during these vital early years of its life, to treat such people with the same degree of tolerance which may be safely allowed in a long established democracy.

"This does not mean, however, that a genuine and responsible opposition cannot arise in time, nor that an opposition of that kind would be less welcome in Africa than it is in Europe or America. For myself, as I have said, I would be the first to defend its rights. But whether it does or does not arise depends entirely on the will of the people themselves, and makes no difference at all to the freedom of discussion and the equality in freedom which together make democracy."

There can, therefore, be no thought at all that the Government is out to silence its critics. It seems determined, however, to ensure that the opposition does not go out to stir up racial feelings; and this is what Mr. Omido has been doing.



OMIDO

## D. & A. in Cape

**DURING** the past year, the Cape Town Branch of the Defence and Aid Fund has helped 186 people in 48 cases, of which 165 in 36 cases were brought before the courts. In the cases so far concluded 71 people have been found not guilty and only 14 people have been convicted of the charges brought against them. These facts were given by the Cape Town Chairman of the Defence and Aid Fund, Mr. Peter Hjul, at its first public meeting, held in Claremont on 6th December.

## TANGANYIKA CITIZEN BILL

From "Contact" Correspondent

**DAR ES SALAAM:** Any person who is a citizen of a "prescribed independent African state" would be eligible to register as a citizen of Tanganyika provided such State is prepared to grant reciprocal citizenship rights to any Tanganyikan citizen.

This is among a number of proposals contained in the Tanganyika Citizenship Bill of 1961 which will be submitted to National Assembly following Tanganyika's independence.

The Bill, if approved, will enable a large number of non-Africans in Tanganyika to become citizens of Tanganyika either in the case of persons from Commonwealth countries by registration or in the case of persons from non-commonwealth countries by naturalization.

The Bill provides that persons who register as citizens of Tanganyika will be required to take an Oath of Allegiance and to provide evidence within 28 days of registration that they

## S.R. Government Bans the N.D.P.

**THE** Southern Rhodesia Government last week demonstrated how it will deal with its opposition once the country gets its new Constitution when it declared the National Democratic Party an unlawful organization.

This suppression of the N.D.P. followed large-scale demonstrations by the organizations' women members against the new Constitution. On Wednesday, 6th December, more than 600 women in Salisbury demonstrated, first outside the U.K. High Commissioner's offices and later moved on to the offices of the Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead. When many of the women were arrested, disturbances broke out in the city, and on the following day further demonstrations were staged.

These activities drew a response from the Government reminiscent of its panic moves in 1959 when, after riots in Nyasaland, it arrested dozens of African leaders, declared an emergency and banned the African National Congress.

According to Mr. Robert Mugabe, publicity secretary of the N.D.P., the banning, the prohibition of all meetings until 10th January, and such other measures as placing Territorial troops on standby, are "desperate moves by the Government to force the new Constitution on the people".

have renounced the nationality or citizenship of any country other than Tanganyika of which they were citizens or nationals. Failure to do so will result in cancellation of their registration.

The Bill also provides for the naturalization of aliens, and for the renunciation of Tanganyika citizenship by citizens making a declaration to that effect.

Citizens by naturalization may also lose their citizenship if they show themselves by act or speech to be disloyal or disaffected towards Her Majesty or the Government of Tanganyika.

The Minister will not, however, deprive a person of citizenship unless he is satisfied that it would not be conducive to the public good for such a person to remain a citizen of Tanganyika.

Applicants for registration or naturalization under the terms of the Bill will be required to have an adequate knowledge of Swahili or English.

## Joint Tributes to Lutuli

**CAPE TOWN:** A crowd of more than 3,000 cheered again and again as speakers from 15 organizations paid tribute to ex-Chief Albert J. Lutuli at a special meeting called in his honour on the Grand Parade, Cape Town.

This meeting was one of several held throughout South Africa on the afternoon of Sunday, 10th December, and was timed to take place when "Chief" was handed the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize in the Great Hall of Oslo University.

A highlight of the meeting was at 4 p.m. when the chairman, Mr. B. Huna, announced: "Chief is now being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize." Then, standing on a platform backed with a large banner reading "Cape Town Salutes Lutuli" and a large and very accurate portrait of "Chief", he led the meeting in singing, "We will follow you Lutuli".

The meeting was organized by a special Tribute to Lutuli Committee composed of the participating organizations—the Black Sash, Liberal Party,

the Congress Movement, the Progressive Party, African General Workers' Union, the S.A. National Convention Movement, the Civil Rights League, the Langa Vigilance Association, N.U.S.A.S. and others. Among the speakers at the meeting were Mr. Donald Molteno, for the Progressive Party; Mr. Peter Hjul, Liberal Party; Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, African General Workers' Union; Mr. A. Gierdien, S.A. National Convention Movement; Mr. Albie Sachs, Congress of Democrats; Miss L. Jacobs, Coloured People's Congress; Mrs. Eulalie Stott, Black Sash; Miss U. Mabece, Federation of South African Women; and Mr. Adrian Leftwich, N.U.S.A.S.

## No Short Cut for U.N.I.P.

By TITUS MUKUPO

**FOUR** officials of Northern Rhodesia's United National Independence Party have been refused permission at a Mokambo border post to pass through the Congo pedicle road which joins the heavily-populated fishing area of the Luapula province with the Copperbelt.

The officials, who included Mr. Mainza Chona, the national secretary, were travelling by road to Fort Rosebery in Northern Rhodesia territory on the far side of the Katanga pedicle. A Katangese immigration official, after seeing Mr. Chona's passport, refused the four men permission to pass "because of the political situation in the Katanga".

The U.N.I.P. men had to make the circular trip through Ndola and along the Great North Road through Kasama and to Fort Rosebery—a distance of about 800 miles in place of about 100 miles.

Relations between Moise Tshombe and Kenneth Kaunda's U.N.I.P. have been strained ever since U.N.I.P. identified itself with the late Patrice Lumumba and the Central Government shortly after independence last year.

Northern Rhodesia has used the road under a special arrangement which Britain and Belgium entered into when the Northern Rhodesia Boundary Commission at the turn of the century failed to exchange the copper-rich pedicle for another part of British territory.



Published by the Proprietor, Selame Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

# contact

Vol. 4 No. 26

5c (6d)

28th DECEMBER 1961

Registered at the G.P.O.

as a Newspaper

**PRESS PREPARES**

**TO MUZZLE**

**ITSELF**

— see page 4

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**



The Duke of Edinburgh dances with Mrs. Maria Nyerere, wife of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, at the Independence celebrations on 9th December

# contact

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.

## STOP THE BOMBS!

ORGANISED sabotage, long-awaited, long-predicted, came to South Africa on 16th December when explosives did some damage to Fordsburg post office and to a few installations of the B.A.D. department.

Let us say at once that we hold the government largely responsible: its apartheid policy and its policy of suppressing almost all expressions of African opinion are so inhuman that one is only amazed that the oppressed people were not, long ago, driven to far worse excesses of violence.

Having said this we wish to condemn the bombings with all the strength at our command, and to ask the unknown saboteurs to give up any plans that they may have for future violence.

We say so because violence will probably *delay*, not *hasten*, the day of liberation.

It is often complained that "non-violence has been proved to be useless in South Africa". This is quite untrue: except for the half-hearted gandhiism of the Defiance Campaign, and the more genuine Indian Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946, true satyagraha has not been tried. And, in the case of the many flopped stay-at-homes, no one can say that the people ever really gave the leadership proper backing. In the one

break-through, the Cape Town stay-at-home during the P.A.C. 1960 campaign, when port and industry were virtually paralysed, it was obvious that, if other areas had done what Cape Town's Africans did, and if in Cape Town the whole working-class had acted in solidarity, the foundations of apartheid would have been shaken and the nation as a whole beyond repair. No, so far from non-violent non-co-operation having been proved a failure in South Africa, it has never been given a proper trial. It is, on the contrary, highly probable that if it were given a proper trial it would prove to be a sure-fire winner. For if we, inside South Africa, can act together, it is obvious that not only are we in a position to paralyze the country, but also that we are in a position to unleash an unstoppable avalanche of outside help, including effective oil sanctions.

Our future lies within our own hands, and victory against White supremacy is almost assured within a few years, providing that the struggle remains non-violent. The greatest reason assuring victory is White apathy. White apathy to the government's crazy Bantustan plans, and White apathy to the government's schemes for a semi-Nazi dictatorship. In continental African terms White South Africa is a military giant. This giant is asleep and will remain asleep (if the struggle remains non-violent) until after the whole country is closed-down by a total political strike, until the oil has ceased to flow, until South West Africa has been detached, and until the world takes us over as its responsibility.

But, with the self-styled "Umkonto we Sizwe" ("Spear of the Nation") throwing its bombs, will the struggle remain non-violent? That will be for the oppressed people to decide by giving or withholding their support from the new organization. If they give support, then the apathetic Whites will begin to awake. In the minds of the Whites for the first time President Swart's poisoned wells will begin to become real: "the chaos of Africa" will have entered the South African area. The conse-

quence will be that they will agree to a dictatorship, will agree to conscription, and will agree to massive expulsions of Africans from areas such as the Western Cape. And, as the terrorism gets worse (and it is in its nature to go from bad to worse), so the aroused Whites will agree to ever harsher moves against the African people, to their removal from vast areas of our country, even at the cost of economic disruption.

When that day comes, who will move to protect the thousands and millions that will be moved out into the undeveloped Bantustans? "Umkonto we Sizwe" will scarcely be able to protect anyone. And so Dr. Verwoerd will be able to achieve his dream: the partition of South Africa on the White man's terms, with the gold, uranium, industries, good farms, most of the water, railways, and ports in the hands of the Whites and cleared of Africans,

and with *all* the Africans concentrated in the poor Bantustans.

World opposition? Who knows? The world might well heave a sigh of relief to be told that at last the Africans here had got "their own independent country", and that the South African problem had been finally solved.

These are the prospects that lie ahead of our country if the *Umkonto* gets a following. It is understandable for the government's opponents to rejoice when they see the authorities assailed by bombs. It is understandable, but it is suicidally short-sighted.

Contact's call, therefore, to the people of South Africa is this: before going down the path of violence with *Umkonto*, reckon well your own strength and that of your opponents. And do not do something that not only will surely slow the arrival of freedom, but that will may give the Verwoerds and Vorsters a permanent victory.

## WHY NEHRU WAS RIGHT

NEHRU hesitated for years before marching into Goa and taking it over. For Gandhi's disciple the decision to use aggressive force was an agonizing one. We are convinced that his decision was right, and that the critics, chiefly Western, who have mocked and jeered at him have missed the point of the whole problem.

The point of the problem is this: that when the realities of life become too much out of harmony with laws and constitutions, then laws and constitutions have sometimes to be swept away to make place for life. This has happened in India. The real-life relationship between India and Europe has, within the last twenty years, been revolutionized. Where there had been colonialism, there is now freedom; where there had been inferiority, there is now equality. Britain had the wisdom to understand this, and in 1946 gave India independence. Even France had the wisdom to understand, and transferred Pondicherry to the Indian Union.

Only Portugal refused to accept this reality, and, as in Africa, refused to adapt its laws to life. The result in Goa has been that Portugal has had taken from it what, if it had been wise, it would have cheerfully yielded. Thus the law and the constitution of Goa have been bent by Indian wills to harmonize with Indian reality.

Portugal and its friends in Southern Africa will learn, perhaps the hard way, that mere laws, mere constitutions, are worthless if they conflict with the reality of life. In Southern Africa, too, Portugal's out-of-date grip will be broken, as freedom and equality replace colonialism and inferiority. And in Southern Africa, too, when the time comes there will be found liberators who will act to restore the harmony between life and the law, just as Nehru has done in Goa.

We, who are about to be liberated from the dead shell of the past, salute Nehru, and honour him in his agonizing, correct, decision.



Mr. Eric Louw is calling for the speeding up of apartheid.

# contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly  
47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN  
P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524  
Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

**CORRESPONDENTS**  
Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Cairo, Lagos.

London.

**SUBSCRIPTIONS**  
African Postal Union:  
R1.40 (14/-) per year  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year  
Airmail:  
R2.70 (£1.7.0.) per year  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year  
Elsewhere:  
R1.70 (17/-) per year  
R0.85 (8/6) per half year  
Airmail:  
On application



## SOUTH WEST AFRICA

# U.N. Votes to Help Territory Gain Independence

BY a vote of 90 to 1 (Portugal), the General Assembly of the United Nations has accepted a resolution which, if implemented, will release the people of South West Africa from the apartheid policies of the South African Government and will set the territory well on its road to independence.

Charged with this momentous task will be a United Nations Special Committee, consisting of representatives of seven member states, which will be instructed ("in consultation with the Mandatory Power") to achieve the following objectives:

1. Visit South West Africa before May 1st, 1962.
2. Evacuation of all military forces of South Africa from the territory.
3. Release of all political prisoners without distinction of party or race.
4. Repeal all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants in reserves and denying them all freedom of movement, expression and association, and all other laws and regulations which establish and maintain the intolerable system of apartheid.
5. Preparations for general elections to the Legislative Assembly based on universal adult suffrage to be held as soon as possible under the supervision and control of the United Nations.
6. Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the general elections, with a view to preparing the territory for full independence.
7. Co-ordination of the economic and social assistance with which the specialised agencies of the United Nations will provide the people in order to promote their moral and material welfare.
8. The return to the territory of indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment, detention, or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside the territory.

## Struggle

It would take a very naive politician to believe that South Africa will be induced to release its hold on South West Africa without a struggle. But the United Nations resolution is the brightest sign yet that the people of this territory will be freed from the bondage of enforced segregation, of rule without chance of change by a minority group, and of the offensive migrant labour system which has kept thousands of Ovambo workers from any hope of progress beyond the status of miserably-paid menials.

This migrant labour system is the strongest of all indictments against the way South Africa has carried out its mandate. For the payment of a fee of R25 to a semi-official recruiting organisation, an employer can hire an Ovambo worker at wages which will bring him about R50 for 18 months of work. It has been said in defence of the system that these wages include free food, housing, a blanket a shirt and a pair of shorts, and that they are an essential source of income to impoverished Ovamboland. But no Ovambo, no matter how anxious he is to become part of the industrial or farming life of the territory in the only areas where money is to be made, is allowed to advance, to hold and propagate views of his own, or to enjoy a settled life outside the reserves with his wife and family. And as the Ovambo workers have come to resent and to plan and act against this economic insult to them, so they have been harried by police action and by the even less tender reprisals of some of the government-paid chiefs.

"The Security Police are intensifying their actions against African political leaders," says a recent report to *Contact* from a leading member of the South West Africa People's Organization.

On the 2nd November they arrested Mr. Zachariah Shikombo who served on the Swapo Executive Committee in Windhoek. The following day he was brought before the court.

## Deported

He was sentenced to forty days' imprisonment and after serving his sentence he would be deported to Ovamboland; this was done. On his arrival in Ovamboland he was fined R5.97.

Mr. Thomas Kanandjembo is a member of Swapo who lived in Walvis Bay for the past nineteen years.

He was on his way early in April from his holiday in Windhoek. When the train in which he was travelling stopped at Usakos, he stood at the door of his compartment holding the Afrikaans magazine *Huisgenoot* which he was reading.

One of the train conductors came and looked at the magazine Mr. Kanandjembo was reading. Without saying anything, he left and went to tell the police. The Usakos police phoned Swakopmund police who waited at the station. Mr. Kanandjembo was arrested at the same time and was detained till late in July.

He was brought before the court in July and was accused that he was on an organizing tour. He was told that he would be kept under detention until such time as he would be deported to Ovamboland.

## WHITE HOOLIGANS ATTACK LIBERAL SPEAKERS

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A few days after Johannesburg's White hooligans nearly broke up a meeting called on the steps of the City Hall by the Congress of Democrats, they succeeded in smashing a Liberal Party Human Rights Day meeting on 11th December at the same place.

Speakers were Mr. Ernest Wentzel (Transvaal chairman), Mr. Jack Unterhalter and Mr. Reg. Mayekiso.

"We want Ernie, we've come to get him," shouted the thugs as they arrived. They cut the loudspeaker cables and, in the delay while these were being repaired, surrounded the platform in organized groups from all sides chanting, "We want Ernie, we want Ernie."

Messages from Eleanor Roosevelt and Jo Grimond, leader of the British Liberal Party, read by Jack Unterhalter, were drowned by the whistles and jeers of a gang who stormed the platform and tried to seize the microphone.

Ernie Wentzel, Transvaal chairman of the Liberal Party, shouted the mob down while the riot squad cleared the platform. He said to the hooligans, "You people are behaving like this because you are terrified. You know that there is a tide coming down Africa that will sweep you away." The crowd listened in comparative silence while Mr. Wentzel attacked the governments



This picture, taken during the United Nations debate on South West Africa, shows some of the 13 petitioners (exiles from the territory) who gave evidence before the Trusteeship Committee. This Committee had a mandate to investigate the situation in South West Africa.

In November he was escorted to Ovamboland. He arrived at the Native Commissioner's office and was also fined R5.97.

## To Portuguese

The South African authorities are also reported to be handing some South West African political prisoners over to the Portuguese in Angola.

On 9th November an Angolan member of the South West African People's Organization saw in Ondjiva (Vila Pereira da Eça), Angola, a South West African who had been handed to the Portuguese by the authorities. He saw him again on 13th November in a "bad state". The South West African was Mr. Mathews Hikupulua—a Swapo member—who appeared to have been beaten badly and who was chained up day and night.

The whereabouts of another Swapo man who has been handed to the Por-

tuguese is unknown. He is Mr. Godfrey Nangonya.

It is now believed by Swapo that these two men and another member of the organization have been executed by the Portuguese.

## Shorts . . .

- Due to the clamp-down by the Tanganyika government on recruiting for the mines, the W.N.L.A. (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) has stopped flying recruits out of Tanganyika. Its planes now visit Mbeya, Tanganyika, merely to repatriate miners. Over the border, in Nyasaland, they face the prospect of having to close down the huge airfield specially built for the Association's Skymasters at Fort Hill, when Dr. Banda follows Dr. Nyerere's example and stops recruiting in Nyasaland.
- About 1,300 athletes, representing 13 African countries, have so far said that they will take part in the Abidjan Games, to be held in that city, capital of the Ivory Coast, starting on 24th December. (*Jeune Afrique.*)

## THE NEW AFRICAN

A Monthly Review for Radicals

The first 16 page issue (January, 1962), will carry articles by Dennis Brutus, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Anthony Delius, Fr. Trevor Bush and others.

Subscriptions: R2.00 (£1) per year  
R1.20 (12/-) per ½ year

Write to:

Subscription Manager,  
P.O. Box 4232,  
Cape Town, South Africa.

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance  
P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruijs / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829



## Oldest African Kingdoms

# RACE AGAINST TIME TO EXPLORE NUBIAN RUINS

WHEN Egypt's huge Aswan High Dam is finished, a whole country—the ancient land of Nubia—will be flooded. This country is full of historical monuments, some of the greatest importance. In this

excavated in this area, and probably three times that number of secondary sites. Of the important sites, only ten have been explored so far, and these only partially.

Assuming that the construction of the dam will be carried out on schedule,

was not possible to complete work on any of the four sites at Buhen, Argin, Aksha and Faras, and only 70 square miles were explored, hastily at that.

It is clear that if the number of missions is not multiplied by at least five in the near future, Sudanese Nubia will disappear for ever beneath the waters of the Nile without having been explored satisfactorily.

This part of Nubia straddles one of

the north coast and the centre of the continent, as it does today.

But it became a desert again—probably in the Mesolithic Age (8000-7000 B.C.)—and thereafter the Nile became the only safe route—where one was sure of not dying of thirst—between the Mediterranean and the great steppes of tropical Africa. The expert who studied the engravings at Abka considers that the rock drawing they resemble most closely in style are those in Spain. It is possible, therefore, that the Nile Valley served to connect Europe and Africa as early as the Eighth Millennium B.C.

At any rate, there is plenty of evidence in support of this from the Fourth Millennium onwards, and the civilization known as Group A Culture, about which still very little is known, appears to have extended at least from the junction of the Blue and White Niles, that is, from present-day Khartoum-Omdurman as far as Aswan.

### Africa-Mediterranean Link

From that time on, communications between Sudanese Africa and the Mediterranean were never interrupted. Each period of strong government in Egypt coincided with deeper and deeper penetration from the north into the south. The Old Kingdom (2800-2400 B.C.) reached southwards as far as the Second Cataract; the Middle Kingdom (2000-1780 B.C.), to the Third Cataract; and the New Kingdom (1580-1090 B.C.), to the Fourth Cataract, and probably farther.

Prof. Jean Vercoutter's article stresses the importance of Sudanese Nubia. Located south of the barrier formed by the Second Cataract, the area has always been more African than Egyptian. It was on its territory that the first African kingdoms, governed by Africans, were established: first the kingdom of Kerma, and later those of Napata and Meroe. The history of these ancient African empires is still practically unknown. Yet it could furnish the key to the ancient history of the whole continent. It is unthinkable, therefore, that archaeological sites so rich in possibilities should be allowed to sink beneath the waters without having been investigated thoroughly. — (Unesco).



Buhen, looking north across the ruins of the fortress to the 18th Dynasty temple.

country are many sites of old cities, graves, etc., which have never been properly explored. These sites are believed to carry records of many civilizations which would enable archaeologists to piece together the broad outline of part of Africa's history.

Professor Jean Vercoutter, former Director of Antiquities in the Sudan, has written concerning the feverish haste with which the expeditions of many nations have been working against time to discover what they can before the waves of the world's greatest dam swallow up all evidence forever. Here are a few extracts from his article.

From November, 1960 to March, 1961, five archaeological missions have been carrying out excavations in the Sudan. From north to south, on the west bank, they are: a Polish mission at Faras, where important frescoes of the Byzantine period were discovered; a Franco-Argentinian mission at Aksha, where the Ramessid temple provided inscriptions and fine bas-relief; a Spanish party at Argin; a British mission at Buhen, where a remarkable fortress built in the Second Millennium B.C. is being uncovered. On the east bank, a Scandinavian party (comprising Danes, Finns, Norwegians and Swedes) has explored the area extending from Faras east to the outskirts of Wadi Halfa. Two epigraphists sent by Belgium have recorded the inscriptions of the temples at Semna.

More than 380 square miles of practically unknown and rather inaccessible terrain in the Sudan will be covered by the waters of the new Aswan High Dam. Land surveys and aerial photographs have established that there are at least 100 important sites to be

only three years remain to finish exploration work and digging. In that short period, 90 sites should be excavated—30 sites a year—and 380 square miles of territory must be explored—about 125 square miles a year. Compare these figures with work carried out during the 1960-61 season when it

the main passages of the great north-south route which, throughout history, seems to have connected the Mediterranean coast of Africa with tropical and equatorial Africa. It is true that in remote prehistoric times the Sahara had a more humid climate, and did not form an obstacle to direct contacts between



Meroe pyramid field, in Northern Sudan.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## Long live Malawi!

SIR.—Please may I have place in your famous paper known as *Contact* to view my words to all readers.

I am here in the Transvaal of South Africa in which I simply understand people writing in different papers that we must thank Dr. Hastings Banda who brought the new government in Nyasaland. Of course we must praise him for doing such. But we forget to praise Our Lord Jesus Christ who also brought him from overseas to Nyasaland in order to fight for the new government.

What surprises me is that I still find some controversies in the news of different kinds. This controversy is against his party which is known as the

Malawi Congress Party. Does it mean that they still do not comprehend who won the vote?

As from today onwards, Malawi Congress Party is the mother and father of all people staying in Nyasaland. And we must pay most attention to the leaders of the party.

Even when you sleep remember Dr. Hastings and trust in him.

**JOHN HASTINGS BANDA.**  
Mbabane.

## No Tshombes for S.W.A.

SIR.—We do not want stooges here in South West Africa like Tshombe. Mr. Lucas Nepela\* has been deposed from Swapo because he worked for imperialists and colonialists. The dirty work he did can never be allowed in Africa.

We demand the end of South African rule in our territory and an election this year, the return of our petitioners from U.N.O. and independence in 1962. We also invite the new Secretary General of U.N.O., Mr. Thant, to come here to see for himself the way we Africans live.

We appeal to the whole world to work for peace. Freedom must be given to all the following states: Angola, Algeria, Kenya, Rhodesia, South and South West Africa and all the others under colonial domination. Our beloved brother Mr. Patrice Lumumba gave his life to Africa.

Away with imperialism and its stooges in Africa as a whole!

**E. E. MBUMBA,**  
Secretary, Swapo Branch,  
Luderitz, S.W.A.

\* Mr. Nepela was an employee of the Windhoek municipality who claimed to be President of the South West Africa People's Organization.

## Africans can stand alone

SIR.—I am a reader of *Contact*. I feel compelled to say a word concerning our Africa and its approaching freedom. I have been worried for more than a week by a question, "What on earth should be done to make our persecutors realize that Africa cannot manage to be itself without the Africans, nor can Africans lead a pure life without Africa?"

With my little mind I believe that we belong to Africa and not to ourselves, and Africa belongs to us. And whoever thinks he can change that is just playing hide and seek.

"Can Africans stand for themselves?" is a topic liked by students in their debating societies. Fortunately I once came across it in our school. There is nothing to be discussed on this topic except to give the answer "Yes", and I did so. When I was asked to expand

**PRIZE LETTER**

**THE WHITE GOD?**

SIR.—It was and is still unfortunate that Christianity in Africa was brought by a White man. The White man did not draw a clear line between European customs and Christianity. Everywhere where the Gospel is being preached it is mixed up with European practices and Africans are at sea. Whether that is the main reason why the Gospel is not prosperous among the African community, that is a question; or the European church leaders practise hypocrisy and preach the European God if there is one. I think the reason why all this confusion takes place is because the church practises the same colour discrimination as Verwoerd and the Swaziland government. Unless the churchmen change their minds and preach the Divine God and be sincere, truthful and precise the situation will deteriorate. Christianity has got nothing to do with various customs except good customs. The church is good but people abuse her.

Lord lighten our minds.

(Rev.) **PHILEMON DLAMINI,**  
Ulundi, Swaziland.



## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is your page, where you can air your views on any subject, so write in.
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- A year's free subscription to your paper, *Contact*, is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

on this answer I only told them that if Africa the continent itself manages to stand erect without being supported by any other continent, why should Africans fail to do so as well, being the inhabitants of Africa?

They only laughed to make it a joke, but it's true.

**M. M.,**  
Pondoland.

## Against the Heresy Trial

SIR.—Your condemnation of heresy trials applies to the trial of a private individual for propagating religious beliefs which were unacceptable to the monarch or party in power of his day, a proceeding which was regarded as High Treason. The present heresy trial is no such thing. It rests on whether the Professor was breaking his contract by teaching matter which was contrary to the beliefs he had professed as a condition of obtaining his post. Every religious denomination is within its rights in holding such a trial or enquiry. I, and doubtless others, take a poor view of:—

- (a) The withholding from the public the allegations against the Professor, and his defence.
- (b) The fact that pupils were allowed to be the accusers. Such accusations should be made by persons of senior status, who might call students as witnesses. We should much like to know what kind of a show the young men put up under cross-examination by a Professor.

Further, I would like to say that the iota which expresses the difference between the Nicene Faith and Arianism marks all the difference between truth and falsehood.

**A. PIERCE-JONES,**  
Cape Town.

## Not blessed by God

SIR.—My personal view of the republican government is this: I don't think that this republic is blessed by God because it is far away from law and the will of God. This government stands to rob the Africans of their lands, this government is evil.

So many small villages in Rustenburg district are being moved away without the consent of the owners of the land; they are moved whether they like it or not.

To all our readers, good wishes and prayers.

**REV. N. J. RAMOROESI,**  
Phokeng, Tvl.

## Swapo leads to life abundant

SIR.—We of Swapo are leading our people not to division and destructiveness but to life abundant, to liberty, equality and justice. We are strong, we solidly condemn the Union Government for its apartheid policy in S.W.A. and we are strongly requesting all African states to consider separate and collective action.

**SWAPO ORGANIZING**  
**SECRETARY,**  
At present in B.P.

## Defends "Contact"

SIR.—I could not suppress a smile when I read the letter from Mr. Raymond Thoms attacking your editorial on the grounds that it "teems with palpable fallacies". The irony of it was that his own letter also "teems with palpable fallacies", if I may be permitted to use his terms.

"A very cursory examination of the facts" should not convince a biased person let alone an unbiased one. Mr. Thoms's examination of the facts has not only been cursory but it reveals his bias!

I suggest that Mr. Thoms make a thorough examination of the facts, for if he does he will discover that "imperialism" has not got a "very nature". There is nothing mystical about imperialism even though some imperialists and critics like Mr. Thoms write as if there is. It is palpably false to say of imperialism that, "This kind of 'development' does not benefit the people of the countries themselves". Imperialism is an evil enough practice, and the number of people who oppose it is growing; and it is quite unnecessary for Mr. Thoms to propagate his utterly naive ideas to the point of palpable falsity. It does not always pay to overstate one's case.

One last point: I should be very interested to learn the sources of Mr. Thoms's information on Japan. Can he show quite conclusively that there has been no "alleviation of the basic problems of poverty and unemployment" in that country during the past fifteen years?

**"AFRICAN",**  
Green Point, Cape Town.

## Why do we fear?

SIR.—Young ladies and gentlemen, why do we fear? It's high time that we should be politically minded, for the good of us.

Our forefathers fought so many armies and never had fear. Africans, why do we fear, for what is now done is done in peace?

We have been born in this generation of light. Let us see the light in full. Let us get to the political field.

I know all people want equality so, ladies and gentlemen, it's your chance to take part in politics right now. This will be done for the good of us all.

I wonder what will become of Swaziland? Many students seem not to bother about politics, yet it is the key to their freedom. Africans, why do we fear and are so uncertain of our ability? Let us throw that fear in dust pans.

Youth of Swaziland, be aware that we are living in the world of crisis. Let us fight till we die as Jesus Christ died to set men free, so we should also do so to set free the oppressed Swazis.

**H. M. DLAMINI,**  
Manzini, Swaziland.

## Execution is legal murder

SIR.—Eichmann has been found guilty! Still maintains that he only did what he was told to do. One single life to revenge six million lives!

A great part of the legislation is the enforcement of obedience to the state. What will happen if the hangman refuses to do his work?

Whatever one's opinion, execution is legal murder in cold blood.

Young men refusing to be taught killing in an army through using rifle, gun, tank, or hand grenade, are put in prison.

Tails a win for the state, heads you lose.

**T. KLOPPENBURG,**  
Durban.



## Attack on Liberal Platform



A tussle for the microphone at Johannesburg Liberal meeting. — See page 3.

## PRETORIA DRAMATIC SOCIETY

From "Contact" Correspondent

A NEW show-promoting body has been established in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. It is named The Afro-Cultural and Dramatic Syndicate and was founded in July this year.

Mr. E. J. Mokone, the director, explained to me that the Syndicate is a non-profit making organization. The money collected from shows staged is used for buying stage equipment and musical instruments.

Also the aim of the Syndicate is to encourage local drama and culture, and to help develop the hidden talent among the African people. It has also done a

great service by keeping many youths off the streets and away from tsotsism.

Mr. Mokone also told me that his syndicate is independent. If they meet with success in the future, the syndicate hopes to establish a bursary fund to aid needy Africans.

So far they have staged three plays, the best of which is perhaps "Men and Women", the story of a girl who turned down a good offer of marriage to fall into the arms of a play-boy lover.

In Atteridgeville, where social events are so scarce, the welfare work of the Syndicate is a great blessing.

August 1961, is on in the overseas press now — with a new book by Peter Howard, a play running in London and full page ads in the press. One of these tells how Mr. Vundla, after joining M.R.A., "was elected spokesman for the 600,000 Africans in Johannesburg in their negotiations with the South African government". It reveals what must have been a well-kept secret, since M.R.A. is pledged to "absolute truth": "He is the only African leader who has ever been asked to address members of both parties in the Union Parliament in Cape Town".

THE South African ex-student librarian, Christopher Payi, caught by the Portuguese on his way to Ibadan University, Nigeria, and gaoled in Lisbon, arrived in Nigeria from Lisbon on 4th December. He is believed to have been released through Nigeria having taken up the question of his release at top-level with the Portuguese government.

A friend (and ex-employer) of Christopher Payi is Bryan Hood, already working at Ibadan University. Hood was Cape Town City Librarian until the march of apartheid in once-"liberal" Cape Town caught up with the top-class, non-racial library service Hood had quietly built up. His successor, Mr. Vermeulen, for long a loyal assistant of Dr. T. H. Friis, Nationalist head of the Cape Provincial Library service, takes over on 1st January 1962.

THE CAPE Chamber of Industries has told the Federated Chamber of Industries and the F.C.I. is to tell the new Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Trollip, of the "serious view" taken by C.C.I. of the fact that, in May this year, "for the first time Coloured workers had associated themselves with a stay-away for non-industrial reasons". The C.C.I.'s annual report states that there was an average 25% to 30% stay-away in 52 of 100 Cape industrial concerns which reported. The stay-away varied from 10% to 90%. The end-of-May stay-at-

# The Message of Lutuli's Prize

By "DEMOS", a non-White South African

WHITE South Africans have reacted variously to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to ex-Chief Albert Lutuli. For many, as the Rev. Arthur Blaxall pointed out in his fine article, there has been bewilderment that an unknown Native should receive world acclaim. Others have been shocked that a Black agitator should be hailed as an outstanding fighter in the cause of peace. Some have dismissed it with denigration or described it as a political trick to embarrass South Africa's government and to insult the thousands, both pro- and anti-government, who support some form of apartheid.

But there has been an encouragingly large number whose reaction has been different. Many have welcomed this recognition of the fight for a democratic South Africa, many more have approved of it as a gesture of support for the aspirations of non-White South Africans, and an even larger number have been prepared to examine, without prejudice, and in a spirit of genuine inquiry the ideas and utterances of this South African Black man who has been honoured by the world.

These latter have had a chance to discover what Chief Lutuli stands for. His acceptance speech at Oslo is a clear exposition. It reveals him as a bitter critic of the present system of government of the organization of society in South Africa. It reveals him too as an intelligent and reasonable man who has made, and will continue to make, reasonable demands for a South Africa where there will be justice for all. Above all, it has shown him as a man who is determined to work for a change

in our society — for fundamental change, but, above all, peaceful change.

This then is what Lutuli stands for. But this is not the whole truth. And unless we also understand how Lutuli expects — even demands — this change to come about, we have not got the whole truth. We have not got his message.

Chief Lutuli is determined to see South Africa changed into a democratic country. He is determined that this change should be, if possible, a peaceful change. In these demands most South Africans will be in agreement.

But we must know how he believes this change can come about. And we must ourselves be prepared to assist in working for this change.

He has clearly stated the changes that are demanded. He has also stated clearly how these changes can be brought about.

In his important message to the people of South Africa after he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, he stated it clearly: WE MUST HAVE A NEW NATIONAL CONVENTION.

We must have a national convention representative of the people of South Africa at which a new constitution will be framed for the country which will do away with the present unjust constitution. A constitution in which the laws will dispense justice for all in the framing of which the representatives of the whole population will participate.

This is the message of Lutuli. This is the objective towards which we must all, in some measure, large or small, work.

The movement for a National Convention is already a powerful factor in the political situation. The demand was made at the Convention of the African people at Maritzburg in March. The demand was repeated at the Convention of Coloured People in Malmesbury during July. The demand received support from White and non-White at the Provincial Conferences in Claremont and Port Elizabeth during October.

The movement will grow and should receive the backing of all South Africans.

There is a final consideration. When Chief Lutuli proposed a new National Convention as the peaceful solution to all the complex problems that torture our country, he added this sombre note "This may well be the last hope for South Africa." If it is not possible to satisfy the demands of the overwhelming majority of our population by peaceful means, these demands will still have to be satisfied. And those who are frustrated may well turn to other means to achieve their goals. The fight for the freedom by indigenous peoples in other parts of Africa has been a bloody one. That it has not been so in South Africa is largely due to the influence of Chief Lutuli. But if we do not accept the peaceful solution he has offered, then the future is grim indeed.

home failed in its stated objective, but its side-effects, such as on the Coloured people, have yet to be fully felt.

DR. VERWOERD'S letter on the Jews recalled instances of anti-semitism by many Afrikaner nationalists, such as Dr. J. D. Vorster, brother of the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster. Amidst praise of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and condemnation of liberal democracy, he told a student audience of the republic to come: "I seek a new trek — the trek of Jews, Jingoists and of all who will not accept our terms." This was in 1940.

But anti-semitism is not confined to Afrikaners. Anglican private schools, the expensive city and country clubs of the English section manage to exclude all but the few, most "accepted" Jews. Not long ago the anglicized head of an "old Cape family" was persuaded with some difficulty to stop restricting Jews from buying bits of his estate which he was selling off. From early childhood, most English-speaking children absorb a hostile attitude to Jews, which goes largely unchecked.

IN CONTRAST to the mean and stunted South African press coverage of Defence and Aid Fund work (*The Cape Times* gave three paltry inches to the local Cape Town branch's first public meeting early in December), the new British *Timelike* weekly, *Topic*, wrote up D. & A. and its Cape Town secretary, Mrs. Sally Shapiro, over three columns in its eighth issue. With her assistant, Mrs. Linda Ntloko, and a multi-racial committee, "smart brunette" Sally Shapiro is doing a unique job to lighten the heavy burden of hundreds of political victims, with legal aid and family maintenance. It is too much to expect recognition of D. & A. in the South African English press, but like the Black Sash's court and location work, its reward comes from those for whom the White press (always excluding the Port Elizabeth *Evening Post*) does not cater.

## Personal Files

DR. E. G. MALHERBE is the principal of Natal University who staged the showy National Conference on Education in Durban in June 1960. (He is said to have excitedly told a hoaxer who called to ask if it were true that Tommy Steele had been invited: "Ask our public relations man, he's handling that.") Dr. Malherbe has recently spoken out against South Africans who "run away" to self-imposed exile. He has reason to, with 30 vacant posts at Natal University in 1962. And that is not all. Although he is mounting a million-rand building fund campaign, he is going to have to face a heavy overall deficit — with under two million rand to cover 3,800 students. First, because university apartheid lost Natal University 700 students in 1960, 500 in 1961 and will lose it 300 a year — meaning R210,000 in fees and subsidies — from now on. Secondly because Natal has to duplicate facilities for the remaining non-Whites, at huge costs. Thirdly because the government has broken its promise to compensate Natal for loss of revenue over university apartheid. Revealing these figures, a special correspondent to the *London Times*, comments that the non-Whites, for whom the losses are incurred, are themselves being given inferior facilities in the new tribal institutions.

ONE OF THE SHOWPIECES of M.R.A. is Mr. P. Q. Vundla, now lost to the cause of African freedom as he parades his "changed" views to try and hook nibbling M.R.A.-ites among African nationalists. The first splurge of publicity by M.R.A. since the death of its founder, Dr. Frank Buchman, in



Published by the Proprietor Selamele Publications (Pty.) Ltd. 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road Woodstock, Cape Town.

**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

©2017

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

This collection forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.