

contact

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PONDOLAND—

Special Dispatch

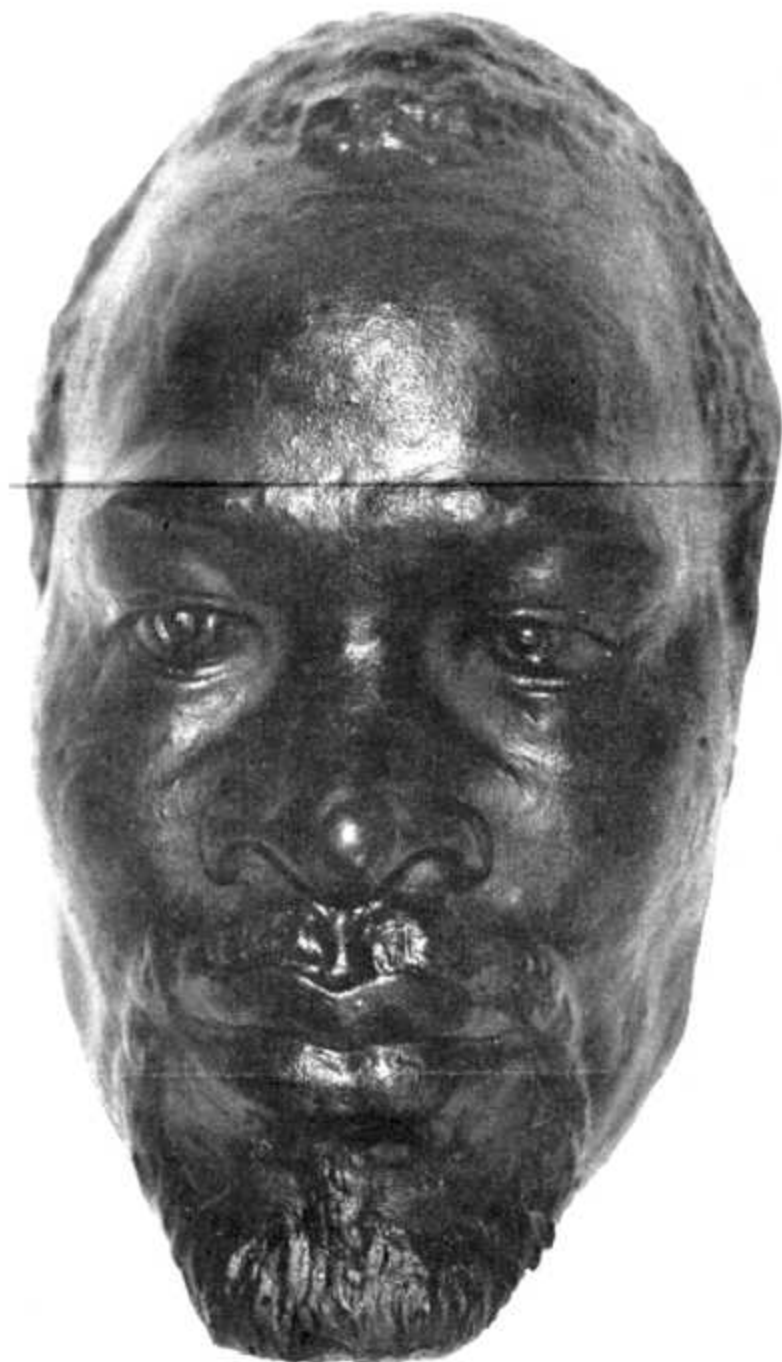


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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

**KENYATTA
OF
KENYA**

— See page 6



Dr. JOMO KENYATTA

*A mask done in 1938 by
Fainia Pocock*

Basutoland politics:

CONFUSION AND DANGER OF VIOLENCE

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU, 9th January: The 1961 session of the Basutoland Legislative Council opens today amid signs from many parts of the 11,000 square-mile colony that the 750,000 Basuto are deeply disturbed politically. Both the main political parties, the Basutoland Congress Party and the Marema Tlou Party have recently suffered serious splits. And the Paramount Chief, Moshoeshoe II, and Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle, president-general of the Congress Party, have been given bodyguards after a murderous assault on Mr. Mokhehle and a clash between his supporters and the villagers of the Paramount Chief's village when the Congressmen were driven away with sticks and clubs.

MORE REFUGEES

At the same time there is a renewed inflow of refugees from the Union. This time most of the refugees are men who



MOSHOESHOE II

managed to escape arrest when the police detained over three hundred leaders in the Transkei. These are some of the headaches which are worrying the Resident Commissioner, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, and the other authorities ruling this island of freedom lying right in the centre of Verwoerd's apartheid empire.

The split in the Congress Party is the most important of all these hap-

penings. Mr. O. P. Phoololo, the Party's chairman and fourteen Reef members including veteran freedom fighter Mrs. Ellen Molapo, came down to the 182-delegate Annual Conference which was held here on 24th to 27th December determined to push for a change in the Party's leadership. Mr. Mokhehle had them expelled.

MR. MOKHEHLE AND MR. KHAKETLA'S RESIGNATION

Then it came to Mr. Mokhehle's notice that there had been a move to replace him with Mr. B. M. Khaketla, deputy leader of the Party, Editor of *Mohlabaani*, and Mr. Mokhehle before the elections for the new executive made a speech which contained veiled references to Mr. Khaketla. Mr. Mokhehle warned the Party to be careful to elect men who would give their whole time to the Party and not to be misled by a man's eloquence or his good clothes. Despite the warning Mr. Khaketla was re-elected as deputy leader and with the exception of Mr. Phoololo the whole executive was re-elected *en bloc*.

After these elections Mr. Mokhehle made further remarks which criticized leaders of the party who kept company with government, who have secrets with the imperialist oppressors, or who talk of going to church when they have to

do national service. "Such leaders can very well pray as they go along to serve the people," he said. Everyone took these remarks as being aimed at Mr. Khaketla. Later Mr. Khaketla resigned from the Congress Party. Heavy as will be the loss of Mr. Phoololo the resignation of Mr. Khaketla has dealt the Congress Party a heavy blow.

MEMBER FOR EDUCATION AND HEALTH

As a brilliant editor and theoretician he served the Congress Party well and in March 1960 he was elected to the new Basutoland Executive Council as



KHAKETLA

Member (Minister) for Education and Health.

I can state that Mr. Khaketla's differences with the Congress Party are purely differences over methods. He fully endorses the aims of the Party which were given clear definition at the Christmas conference. The principal resolution at this conference called on members to work for responsible govern-



MOKHEHLE

ment so that during the 1964 elections it would be possible for parties to contest a majority of seats and for the country to have an executive responsible to the Legislature.

DEEP BASUTO LOYALTY TO B.C.P.

Despite its difficulties, Mr. Mokhehle has reason to be satisfied with the progress of his movement. I have never seen a country so deeply penetrated by loyalty to a political movement. People, particularly young people, all over this country give the Congress salute of the raised thumb and call out the congress salute of "Mayibuye Afrika". I saw a small boy of about three years of age yesterday saluting in this way. In contrast the parties in opposition to Mr. Mokhehle are clearly divided, purposeless, and weak. This is not, however, to say that they will always remain so.

WIDESPREAD ANXIETY

In the meanwhile there is a widespread anxiety among the Basuto that these political disagreements should remain political and should not degenerate into gangster violence. If they should so degenerate then the new constitution which is the prize of this small people would be endangered and a light of freedom might falter for the Basuto and even more importantly for the whole of Southern Africa.

Liberals trap police spy

In a previous issue of "Contact" (8th October, 1960) we warned about the tactics the Security Police are now employing in order to infiltrate the freedom movement. From Pretoria comes this story of how a man who joined the Liberal Party during the Emergency turned out to be a police spy.

From ADELAINE HAIN

PRETORIA: During the Emergency a well-spoken, extremely pleasant African man applied to join the Liberal Party. After long questioning he was accepted.

During the first few months of his membership, however, it seemed that he was not altogether above suspicion, and other members began to be careful about the information he was given.

He had used the name Dube when he joined the Party, and as there is no Dube in the Security Branch in Pretoria, it was thought that he might be only an informer.

Then the Party received information that a member of the Security Branch called Velile was receiving notices of Party meetings.

There was no Velile on the Party lists, and when he had been described to leading Party members, it was clear that he was none other than Dube.

It was decided to set a trap for him. He was sent a notice to a meeting which could not fail to attract him; a meeting, said the notice, had been arranged for a few members of the Party to "discuss organization for 1961, with particular emphasis on

organization in the municipal locations".

Some time after the meeting was due to start, Dube phoned to ask whether the meeting was still taking place. When told that it was, he said he would be along a little later.

Two members then went and sat in a car outside the house where the meeting was being held, and a few minutes later a big, black Chevrolet came down the street with all its lights out and parked in the shadows.

One of the members challenged the people in the Chev. At first they denied that they were Security Branch men, but torchlight soon showed that they were. Velile had not come with them, but from the stuttering and stammering when they asked after him, there could be no doubt that he was the same person as Dube.

The members went back into the house to discuss the incident and when they saw that the Chev was still parked outside, decided to amuse themselves at the expense of the Security Branch.

They backed their Kombi (station wagon) against the hedge to be out of sight of the Chev.; then all walked up and down as if a crowd were climbing in... they jumped in and pulled off at high speed, hoping that S.B. would follow. They did, and a wonderful chase took place through the streets of Hatfield.

It ended with the Liberals chasing the S.B. When they realised they had been fooled they headed back home.

[The names have been changed—Editor.]

SOUTH WEST AFRICANS ESCAPE

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Four young South West Africans reached Dar es Salaam unofficially and without passports in December. They are on their way to other African countries and overseas for further studies.

One of them is Mr. Emil Appolus, a young journalist, who escaped in February last year and went to the Katanga province in the Congo. He was

whether he received letters from him.

At that time Mr. Shipanga took no interest in politics, but these incidents made him become active.

He was deported from the Union to South West Africa, but the authorities there refused to give him a permit to seek work and advised him to return to Hermanus or else to the reserve.

He returned to Cape Town, where he found a temporary job which earned him the money which took him to Tanganyika.



APPOLUS



SHIPANGA

returned to the Union in October and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for breaking emigration regulations.

He escaped from Mafeking jail, where he was to have served his sentence, and made his way to Tanganyika with his fellow countrymen.

Another is Mr. P. Andreas Shipanga. He worked in Hermanus, Cape holiday resort. He was twice kept in custody by the South African Police who wanted to know if he knew anything of Mr. Mburumba Kerina, South West African petitioner at the United Nations, or

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PONDOLAND TERROR AT ITS HEIGHT

By "Contact" Special Representative

PONDOLAND is a place of terror, heartbreak and disaster. *Contact's* special representative in East Pondoland reports that his first glimpse of "peace and quiet" and the situation "completely under control" came when he read those words in a Government propaganda statement.

To the grim story of Ngquza Hill are added further butchery at Bukezi and Nkozi, both described on this page. Our representative tells also for the first time the truth about the murder of Chief Vukayibambe Sigcawu, the man who courted death.

Here is our representative's picture of the human tragedies of East Pondoland.

"I travelled through four of the five emergency districts Tabankulu, Flagstaff (the worst), Lusikisiki, Bizana. Everywhere I saw devastation—endless views of the landscape dark with the shells of burnt-out homes. Even on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day the homes of collaborators were burning and the homeless fleeing into the police- and soldier-infested towns, or missions, for succour.

"In Flagstaff I saw hundreds of refugees—homeless, husbandless women and fatherless children, or chiefs and headmen in hiding. They were given some shelter from the pouring rain on the big verandahs of the stores along the main street. (Among these, no doubt, are the '50 leading Pondos' who are reported to have thanked the Government for 'restoring peace' in Pondoland). It is the same at Lusikisiki and Bizana. The Roman Catholic Mission at Flagstaff, and other missions are giving sanctuary to many of these victims, innocent and otherwise, of the 'Congo' or 'Hill's' anti-Bantu Authorities Campaign and of the Emergency.

At Flagstaff one such refugee, a once-respected chief, said to me, 'Do not call me Nkosi (Chief) my boy. That is not a name I want to have any more. My wish is to side with the people, but how can I while we have these saracens and soldiers which the people believe we chiefs asked the Government to send?'

"Many others—mixed with hore out the fact that it was too late to change sides. Those who are chiefs or who side with them are enemies of the people and must be broken. The 'Hill' continues to send out its *ishiso-ishiso* (burning) gangs, now in twos and



threes to burn these people's homes.

"Other refugees have fled to Mount Frere, to the Ciskei, or wherever they can feel safe.

"But tragedy is also among the people. In many locations all the able-bodied men have either fled into the forests or are held in gaol without charge or trial. Privation is the net result.

"The general misery is worsened by the behaviour of police and troops who, in battledress, are indistinguishable from one another when seen moving about. They are mostly stationed at the road blocks on all key roads and in the towns. They are scarcely to be seen in open country except for the large force camped outside Lusikisiki on the road to St. Andrews.

"The movement of people among the five 'emergency' districts gives the police and soldiers their best chance to do their work of repression and intimidation. For the sadists among them, the chances are many.

"There are ceaseless arrests and questionings—almost always accompanied by beatings, removal of all papers and heavy fines. Cars are stopped at road blocks, their occupants roughly handled if any excuse can be found.

If their travel permits are not in order, they may be subjected to gaol, questioning, beating (the order of the day), and, if guilty of 'illegal entry' (i.e. to a district which he has no emergency permit to enter), they are fined on the spot, never less than £5—with no charge, trial or receipt. £15 or more is not an uncommon fine, nor is the confiscation of the motor car.

"This story of 'illegal entry' arrests, questioning, beating, heavy fines and confiscation of cars I heard again and again. Even the illiterate blanketed tribesmen are saying as a fact that their perpetual heavy fines are to help pay for the troops, aeroplanes, saracens and extra police in East Pondoland.

"This wholesale extortion of money and property and the cruel beatings are part of the brutal 'pacification' of Pondoland. It is having the opposite effect, of course: as the Bantu Authorities' supporters dwindle and the ranks of the Government's opponents increase as never before.

"Apart from the hundreds of illegal entry arrests, there have been hundreds of arrests of suspected resistance organizers—the figure 300 is most often given. The biggest swoop was on 27th December, but arrests are continuing. Many teachers are in prison, such as Mr. Fitz Mbelu, principal of Buhlanganga school, Mr. Swana, principal of Luzupu. Mr. Monde Jordaan, an Anglican minister, Rev. Mr. Mulombile of St. Andrews is also in prison as are two headmen, one of whom is Mr. Tshubu of Xhura "A" location. A good number of people have managed to make their escape before being arrested.

"There are the genuine 'detainees' as there were in the March-onwards 1960 Emergency. The 'illegal entry' prisoners

are the equivalent of the hundreds of incitement and 'Section 4 bis' arrests of April-May 1960 in Cape Town.

"Thus does Eastern Pondoland start out into 1961—police terror and extortion, a people mourning their dead, their power temporarily smashed by the jailing of the flower of their menfolk. But the flame of freedom burns fiercely. For though this is, in the phrase the *Evening Post* used of the 1960 Emergency, a 'country afraid to speak', the 'Men of the Hill' are gaining adherents as the people wait to resume their struggle."

Local Whites Help

On the whole relations between the permanent White population and the Pondos are better than they have ever been. Only the towns were boycotted; stores outside the towns were never boycotted except where storekeepers allowed police or Mobile Watch troops to camp in their grounds.

Missions were treated the same. As reported in the daily press, a Catholic hospital was boycotted because police had camped in its grounds. There have been whispered threats of burning down a famous Anglican mission because police parties are seen to visit it.

This reflects the people's hatred of the brutal, rapacious police terror, not of the White Transkeians. It is an open secret that members of the White community have contributed to 'Hill' funds.

BLOODSHED . . .

How Government "Restores Peace"

- at Bukazi
- at Nkozi
- at Mdikizweni

The exclusion of newspapermen from East Pondoland, plus the reluctance of people to talk and the difficulties of moving about, make the facts about these police attacks hard to establish.

Botha, Poto lie low

Contrary to previous reports, Chief Botha Sigcawu is living, under perpetual guard, at Qawukeni. He is accompanied everywhere by armed White police. When on a Christmas shopping visit to Kokstad, he was guarded every moment. His relative in Western Pondoland, Chief Victor Poto Ndamase, who received the same sort of threatening letters as "receded attacks on East Pondo chiefs, is staying with Chief Archie Velile Sandile, in the Alice district, Ciskei. His brother, Chief Douglas Dwabasini Ndamase, is reported to be considering taking refuge far away from the Nyandeni Pondos.

An anti-Government outbreak is predicted in Western Pondoland.

In time they will be investigated and the true position shown.

What is known is that in early December—

● at Bukazi, Flagstaff district, a party of police found an *ilima* (voluntary working party) of about 100 men helping a fellow farmer hoe his lands. The men began to scatter when they saw the police climb out of their "nylons" (vans). The police presumably thought this a meeting and fired into the crowd, killing at least one, possibly two, and wounding others.

By Christmas time thirty of the men had not been seen again. Some may have fled into the forests, but it is believed locally that a number were shot by the police and secretly buried.

● at Nkozi, Lusikisiki district, an illegal meeting of "the Hill", held in the open ground, was also fired on by police and at least one killed.

● at Mdikizweni, on the border of Flagstaff and Bizana districts, on 19th November, Chief Vukayibambe Sigcawu, brother of the Paramount Chief Botha Sigcawu, arrived with a strong police contingent on the scene of a gathering of "the Hill". He ordered the crowd to disperse and when they did not do so the police baton-charged, let off the gas used at Ngquza (which temporarily blinds and paralyzes at the knees) and

fired shots into the crowd killing several. THUS DID VUKAYIBAMBE SIGCAWU COURT DEATH.

His brother, Chief Botha, had refused on Vukayibambe's strong plea to leave his hiding place and come back to exert his authority in Qawukeni. Vukayibambe is said to have told him: "Then I will have to show these Pondos that they must obey me." Shortly after came Mdikizweni, the final crime against his people, which was shockingly avenged the following night when Vukayibambe's family and the indunas with him were assassinated. Vukayibambe's body was mutilated and is reported to have been in pieces when buried.

Only five people attended his funeral. They included his brother Chief Botha, who drove from his Great Place, Qawukeni, in convoy with an extra-strong armed police guard.

A crowd of 1,000 gathered on a hill-top near the burial place and taunted Botha and the police, challenging them to attack as Vukayibambe had done. Vukayibambe's action at Mdikizweni will not be forgotten. His murder and mutilation are directly against the spirit of "the Hill" and were the work of men who had reached the limit of forbearance.

S.A.S.A. MEETING

The first biennial meeting of the South African Sports Association will be held in Johannesburg, in the Patidar Hall, Terrace Road, Fordsburg, on Saturday and Sunday, 14th-15th January. The meeting will start at 2.30 p.m. on Saturday.

A guest speaker has been invited to address the meeting. He is Mr. Reg. Honey, Q.C., South African Representative of the International Olympic Committee. He will speak on "The Colour Bar in South African Sport".

A few replicas of the mask on the front cover can be obtained at £10 10s. 0d.

Applications should be addressed to the Editor, P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

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Congratulations to Mokhehle

CONTACT wishes to congratulate Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, President-General of the Basutoland Congress Party, on his escape from the recent murderous attack on his life.

We furthermore wish to implore all Basuto, whether they belong to parties or not, whether chiefs or commoners, to behave to their opponents with moderation. Brother must not begin to fight brother in Basutoland. To do so would be to throw away the precious inheritance of Moshoeshoe the great, and to endanger the existence of the country of the Basuto.

But to do so would also endanger freedom in the whole Southern African region. It is already clear that Basutoland is a key to the future. During and since the state of emergency refugees from the cruelties of apartheid found shelter in Basutoland. And the first instalment of Basuto self-government, let it never be forgotten, lies right in the centre of the castle of apartheid. From Basutoland goes out the sweet smell of freedom.

No one wishes to counsel the Basuto against the fullest freedom of political expression. But let their politics always remain the politics of peace, and not of war. For if political war should destroy the Basuto experiment, then democracy in Africa would receive a grievous blow.

Progs. Must Learn

SINCE our four-page extra on the Progressives we have been sent numbers of long letters of protest. We have given great space to these letters, but it has simply proved impossible to include them all.

Sam Sly

THE past weeks have been all talk at one riotous assembly after another. One topic I got uncommonly tired of was the disagreement in the Dutch Reformed Churches over the religious justification (if you please) of apartheid. The disagreements are important but they have had the bad side-effect of enabling the uncommitted critics of apartheid to stall once more.

The distinguished English-speaking man of letters who used to be thought mildly "pink" but has kept his mouth shut for years said to me: "If only you chaps would keep out of it and leave the Afrikaners to work this thing out. The process has started: why drive them all back together again?"

The clever young Afrikaner writer who is thought more a South African patriot than an Afrikaner tribalist: "Our people have nowhere else to go. The language is useless outside South Africa and this is our only home. If only the English would realize that it isn't so easy for Afrikaners to take the first step towards what may mean the end of them. Give us time, and let us take this step without prompting from you and we may take it." What can you do with people who argue that because the *nasionaalgesind* Afrikaners love South Africa they must be allowed to go on oppressing the mass of its people without interference? It is the first real chance a lot of people (not all Whites) have of making their funk holes look respectable.

There is a curious common feature in all of them: smugness. It is clear that within the circles of that party there are many people who feel very brave and virtuous because they have left the United Party. And because in their own eyes they are so virtuous they are over-sensitive to criticism. We feel like encouraging them and saying: "Come on Progs. Politics has always been a rough business. You have gone into politics and put up your ideas. You must not expect everyone else to agree with them. And you must not mind if those who disagree say so. Just look around you at other papers. In *New Age* you will find that people who disagree with the editor are described as stinking 'in the nostrils of democrats', and as spitting 'with the venomous (sic) spittle of Joe McCarthy'. Look back at *Contact* and you will realize that although our handling of you was hard-hitting, it was not unfair, and it was not abusive."

What has really happened to the Progressives is that their honeymoon period is over. For a year, before the Molteno Report came out, and before they decided on their vote qualifications, they were able to speak in vague generalities. They put over, with some success, the idea that they stood firmly for democracy, but that unlike the Liberals, they were practical people. By "practical" they meant politically effective in terms of winning White votes.

To the voteless people during their honeymoon the Progressives claimed to stand for democracy. And to the White voters they claimed that they were potential vote-getters. So long as they had not published their suggested qualifications it was possible for these vague generalities to be accepted.

But after a year they were compelled to come out with a clear statement of the voting qualifications. As will be seen in a letter from "Richard Radex" on page 8 it seems probable that, if a magic wand could bring in a Progressive government to-day (and there seems no other instrument which will ever bring such a government to power here), some 130,000 non-White people would be enfranchised.

TO the "Socialist" lady whose 45-minute anti-Liberal tirade is still ringing in my ears, I now offer the little gag I couldn't get in edgeways at the time: "The difference between you and me is the same as between *Contact* and *New Age*. I openly support 'one man one vote'—you secretly support 'one man one vote one candidate'."

ONE of the odder parties was one to launch a non-racial artists' association. There were so many politicians and so many shouting matches, not all non-violent, that it looked more of a racial non-artists' association we were forming. The artists were hosts, and with unexpected efficiency got many people to sign a memorandum asking a theatrical association in Europe not to let its members play to compulsorily uni-racial audiences. It was an impressive memorandum but somewhere about 2 a.m. it fell on the floor and got danced on. So we all had to sign the carbon copy. I hope the 2 a.m. signatures do not weaken its case. My list of favourite actors and actresses gets shorter with every one that comes here, plays in apartheid theatres, with a couple of well-publicized performances to non-Whites and goes home with a pile of dirty money.

WITH a pin-striped Transvaal Prog. friend passing through on a ship I had an evening of good talk which ended at the gangway when we said good-night. He used to be anti-Black, anti-Boer and anti-Jew, socially speaking. He seemed to me to have got over the first of these prejudices. He amazed me by his acceptance of coming change

There are some 8 million adult non-Whites, so on these figures, which have never been contradicted, the Progressives are committed to withholding the vote from 98% of all adult non-Whites, thus shocking the non-Whites.

On the other hand there would be 130,000 non-White voters. The referendum was won by a smaller margin, and Dr. Smit from the United Party lines is already prophesying that a Progressive franchise would lead rapidly to a non-White majority. This shocks the White voters.

But the essence of the Molteno Report is an attempt to find a formula which will satisfy both the Whites and the non-Whites.

It is our belief that there is no such formula, and that until the Whites abandon their claim to dominate there can be no agreement or peace. It is our belief further that the Whites will not abandon this claim to dominate until massive power has been deployed against their hegemony.

One would search the pages of Progressive literature in vain for any indication that they have understood the factor of power. And so, coupled with our appeal to the Progressives to learn to give and take criticism, goes an appeal to them to understand that South Africa is entering a revolutionary situation, and that no programmes that fail to take this fact into account are of slightest use.

Colour in "Contact"

THIS fortnight, for the first time, colour appears in your paper. The use of red as well as black on white paper is growing in newspapers all over the world, and can add much to the interest and attractiveness of a page.

We are trying all the time to improve your paper, to make it more informative, to present what it says more effectively.

We hope you will like this new change.

in South Africa and of fully equal citizenship for Africans, and by his condemnation of colour bars of all sorts.

Our talk was summed up by a very drunk sailor on the quay, who called himself a "Johnny English". He said: "I asked that Springbok over there, 'What's wrong with our Queen, anyway? She's a nice young girl.' He can't tell me—so I said, 'Well, the blacks are taking over here anyway.' He couldn't answer that either." I never thought to find myself nodding good-night to Pin-stripes, on that note, and getting a knowing smile back.

I hear sad news that *Imvo Zabantsundu*, now in its 77th year, may have a change in policy. Some sort of interest has been acquired in this historic old newspaper by Afrikaanse-Pers Bpk., of which company Dr. Albert Hertzog is, I regret to say, a director. Perhaps it is only on the printing or distributing side but A.P.B.'s finger is about the last I should like to see in this particular pie.

A.P.B. also have a new bookstore in Zwelitsha. Its first name "Afrikaanse-Pers Bpk." did not attract custom and it is now called "Tanda Books".

"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.

FREEDOM LEADERS

We were not able to put as many leaders as we wanted on the Freedom Calendar (which was part of our last issue). Here are more pictures for you to cut out and paste on the Calendar if you wish.



LUTULI



BANDA



MBOYA



NKOMO

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW

NEARER THE END



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party

At the beginning of 1960 we knew we were about to enter a great year in the history of Africa. We knew that it would bring independence to the Congo and Nigeria and other African states and great constitutional changes in the old French and British colonies. What we did not know was that for half the year the Congo would be in a state of virtual chaos, that the United Nations would be committed in Africa as never before, its whole future balanced on its success or failure there. We did not know that there would be an abortive revolt in Ethiopia. Least of all did we in South Africa suspect that the 1960 winds of change would bring with them the most significant opposition the Nationalists have yet faced and plunge us into our first State of Emergency.

What does 1961 hold for Africa?

We know that the future of the Congo will be decided within the year, but we do not know how. We hope that the United Nations can survive its crucial test there, but we are not certain that

it will. We know that in East and Central Africa there will be constitutional advances. We hope that President de Gaulle's efforts to end the Algerian war will be successful. We know that South Africa will never again be the same as it was before Sharpeville, that "the old book" is indeed "closed", even though Dr. Verwoerd and his most intimate colleagues blindly act as if it were not.

OLD BOOK CLOSED

The old book is closed because 1960 has shown that the old policies written in it are unworkable. It will never be opened at the same page again, if only because of the determination of the Government's most vigorous opponents that it shall not be and their growing realization that, whatever the Nationalists' present strength may seem to be, they are essentially a weak and lonely outpost of reaction in a changing world. Each new constitutional advance in Africa strengthens this realization among the African people of the Union and brings with it a new confidence that Dr. Verwoerd cannot last. It is this new confidence which assures us that, whatever else 1961 may bring, it will certainly bring nearer the end of the Nationalist Government.

The two most spectacular acts of Dr. Verwoerd's Government in 1960 were its declaration of the State of Emergency and its holding of the referendum. The first was designed to crush opposi-

tion to apartheid, the second, we were told, to bring unity between Afrikaans- and English-speaking White South Africans. Both have had precisely the opposite effect. Sharpeville, the police beatings in Cape Town and the detentions themselves have only made most of those involved in them more determined than ever to get rid of apartheid. Resentment among non-White people against White authority is greater than it has ever been. The dangers are obvious. If non-violence provokes violence from the Government, what is the point in being non-violent? This is the question which many a South African of colour must be asking himself. There is violence in Pondoland. Where will it appear next? What is the effective alternative to it? This is the question to which the Liberal Party and all who hate violence must find some answer in 1961.

MUST ABANDON APARTHEID

The Emergency, and then the referendum, have done the Nationalists more harm than good in another direction. They have awoken many White South Africans to the fact that they have very little time in which to come to terms with their racial problems, that they cannot possibly beat Dr. Verwoerd as long as they oppose him only on the Parliamentary front, and that they have no moral case for opposing him at all unless they are prepared to abandon

apartheid and race domination completely. 1960 has made many White South Africans think. In 1961 the Liberal Party must do all it can to keep White thought moving towards an acceptance of the fact that the best insurance for a secure future for White South Africans is their acceptance now of the fact that their days of privilege are ending and their acceptance now that Dr. Verwoerd must be removed, not by one group acting on its own, but by all groups acting together. This is one of our great tasks for the year—to give White people the opportunity to change their views and to give them the confidence in people of other races which will enable them to do so.

WILL BRING CHANGE

Whatever else it may do, 1961 will bring change to South Africa. That we know. The Liberal Party must be a part of that change, producing ideas and plans which will make it possible, ensuring, as far as it can, that violence and race hatred play a minimum part in it. In 1961 we must produce the means and the organization and the inspiration which will carry the ideas of liberal non-racialism forward into the new society we are determined to create out of the race-ridden one we have known these last fifty years. If our plans lack any one of these three essential ingredients they will fail and what we believe in and try to stand for will disappear.

Dear Mr. Hammarskjöld

DEAR MR. HAMMARSKJÖLD.

Welcome to sunny South Africa! I understand that you are here for discussions with our government. I suppose on the race problem. You are in for a tough job. Our government has the solution—they have had it for many years. You should know by now—apartheid—that's the solution.

The Africans are to develop in separate tribal groups. Now this is a democratic country, according to Western civilization. The Africans, they claim, are not civilized, and that three hundred years after they, as they say, came to the country to civilize them.

Heart of Apartheid

Now they've got apartheid. If you go to the heart of apartheid, you will see the exact opposite of civilization. Everybody of colour is separated not only from the Whites but also from his fellow Blacks. They'll tell you that the Africans want it that way. But they do not. Africans of to-day don't want tribalism. Tribalism is barbarism. Apartheid is driving the Africans back to where they found them three hundred years ago.

That is their solution! And the solution has turned us into a nation of criminals. We live in a prison created by this apartheid. A Black man cannot even attend the funeral of his uncle in another part of town without permission from the authorities.

But let me warn you, Mr. Hammarskjöld! Don't ever mention Human Rights, equality or franchise for the Black man. You'll leave the country labelled "agitator-communist".

Both inside and outside South Africa our government has been told to change its policy, but it is convinced that there is no alternative to apartheid.

But the majority of the people of South Africa do not want apartheid; and this applies not only to the Black people. Many White men with vision, many industrialists, condemn it. It is crippling the country's economy. But because these people are in the minority of the voters, they are ignored.

I am going to tell you a short story about myself.

I was born, brought up and schooled in Pretoria. I didn't get the amount of education I should have, yet I was among the brilliant scholars in my day. I turned delinquent after losing my father.

He had worked for one employer for over forty years, yet when he died he had not managed to save anything to provide for the future. All that he earned had gone to keep his family alive.

To-day I am a father. I'm trying hard to see that my children should not suffer the same fate. But all opportunities are barred.

Not a Politician

I am not a politician. I have never belonged to any political movement. I am now dragged into politics. The irony of it is that it was our government which dragged me into politics.

When I first learned to read a newspaper, I read sport and crime reports. I began reading newspapers during the war. War reports didn't interest me. Politics didn't interest me. I must have thought war is politics and politics is war. I think I began to read politics ten years after the war. I think I would still be less interested in politics, if they did not interfere with my life. In my whole life I haven't attended more than three political meetings.

So you can see I am politically immature, but like a child given candy and liking it, I have been shown civilization, and liking it, want it and nothing else.

What is Civilization?

But what is civilization? It is said that a man who is not civilized is a barbarian. I know a barbarian who kept a White man's business going for forty years. That was my father, and when he retired the business didn't live long.

I know of barbarians with university education. I know of barbarians who lecture in universities to civilized (White) students.

But what is a barbarian? When in South Africa you don't have to look for its meaning in the Oxford dictionary. It means a Black man—irrespective of his education or his economic status.

You ask the government, since they want to divide the country, why not into two—one Black, one White? They'll tell you that if they did so the Zulus would eliminate the Fingos.

That could happen if we were still living in the nineteenth century, but today we are against tribalism the bulk of us. We know there is no room for tribalism in civilization. We want to replace tribalism with Western civilization. Apartheid wants to keep tribalism alive. The government is digging in old graves to try and convince us that tribalism is good for us.

Barren "Homelands"

We have helped to build South Africa to what it is. Why then should we have to go to the "homelands" the government talks about—barren "homelands".

Just as White people do not want to leave South Africa, so do we not want to go back to tribalism in the "homelands".

The voice of the grown-up world shouts—from the east and from the west—"Apartheid is no good". Perhaps, as the saying goes, the South African government "has no ears".

You, Mr. Hammarskjöld, have come to talk to this government with no ears. It is a pity you cannot stay long enough, see enough and know enough of this country because I am sure, if you are a democrat, you would not like the set-up. You would tell them so and they would tell you to mind your own business. Well, if I'm not mistaken, your business is to see that peace is maintained. In this apartheid country how can there be peace? There is no peace, hence your visit.

One often hears Whites asking, "When will this country come right?" Do they not realize that it will never come right until they learn that the Black people are human, have feelings.

It is a pity that you are busy, and

will probably just have your discussion with the government and fly back. Perhaps they will show you around a bit (only they show pieces of course).

Good luck to you, I hope you take apartheid away with you.

Yours faithfully,

J. C. M., Nyanga, Cape.

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KENYA'S JOMO KENYATTA: POWER IN EXILE

Prime Minister or
Governor-General?

By ALAN RAKE

JOMO KENYATTA has not been active in Kenya politics since the fateful day of 8th April, 1953, when he was sentenced to seven years hard labour to be followed by indefinite detention, for organizing Mau Mau. Yet it is fair to say that Kenya politics still revolve around him. He is the centre of all political intrigue.

No political decisions that are made by Africans, and few that are made by Whites, are made without taking Kenyatta into consideration. Every African leader who acts asks himself this question: "What will Kenyatta think about it?"

Today Kenyatta is still under restriction in Lodwar, which is little more than a name on a map. It is a tiny place in the hot, dry, Northern frontier province of Kenya.

ALL PARTIES UNITED

All African political parties are united in campaigning for Kenyatta's release. Tom Mboya, who is visiting India at this time, is making public speeches saying that his party will exert as much pressure as possible for the release of Jomo Kenyatta before the Kenya elections in February. He has also announced that his party, the Kenya African National Union, is considering a civil disobedience campaign if Kenyatta is not released soon.

NO STABILITY WITHOUT KENYATTA

Most moderate and realistic Whites in Kenya see that Kenyatta exerts such terrific power from his desert prison, that he could be little more dangerous if he was let free. The Whites claim that other African leaders are moving to more extreme policies, and as they do so they are justifying themselves by claiming that they are doing Kenyatta's will. They also see that there is no chance of political stability in Kenya until Kenyatta is on the scene to explain exactly where he stands and to steady his people before independence.

Mr. Michael Blundell, the most realistic White leader, is of the opinion that Kenyatta in restriction is doing more to upset confidence in Kenya than he would if he was released.

CONSERVATIVE BUT CLEVER

The Kenya government has been thinking about releasing Kenyatta for well over a year now. It realizes that the other African political leaders have staked their reputations on releasing Kenyatta the moment they come to power. Thus it is all a question of timing.

The Kenya government is conservative, but clever. It is choosing the right moment to set Kenyatta free. My personal opinion is that the government is waiting until after the "almost democratic" elections that will be held in Kenya in February. These are the elections that will let the Africans hold the balance of power in Kenya, even if they do not result in outright responsible government.

There are various reasons that the

government has for keeping Kenyatta restricted:

- The government fears he might cause disturbances.
- It feels he would stand in the elections and sweep to power with a tremendous victory. He would also sweep the Kenya African National Union to power, for that party has already reserved him the post of President. This would mean that the many talented Africans, even African nationalists like Dr. G. Kioko, would be eclipsed.
- Though they would never admit it the government would prefer Tom Mboya to Jomo Kenyatta as Kenya's first Prime Minister.
- If Kenyatta was released after the elections he would not be able to sit in the Legislative Council. He could be offered some non-political post such as a governor-generalship in an independent Kenya.

There are other reasons that make the government prefer to risk Tom Mboya's threatened civil disobedience campaign to risking Kenyatta's release.

INSTRUCTIONS TO K.A.N.U. LEADERS

In the meantime Kenyatta himself can influence the whole trend of Kenya politics by passing instructions to K.A.N.U. leaders. It is significant that all the things Kenyatta fought for before the Mau Mau episode have now been granted or promised. Kenyatta never wanted to kick the Whites out of Kenya. He wanted respect and justice for the Africans and progress towards independence based on democracy. This is exactly what is happening in Kenya today.

FIGUREHEAD?

It is still not clear what part Kenyatta would play, if he was released, on the Kenya political scene. He is now well over sixty years of age and illness and strain must have sapped him of much of his old vitality. He could surprise everyone by accepting a post as a figurehead, leaving young men like Tom Mboya (age 30) to get on with the job of running the country.

I don't know how much weight can be given to a recent poll taken by a White Market Research Company. When Africans were asked who the most outstanding African leader was 52.3% said Mboya and 42.2% Kenyatta. When the same question was asked last June 41% said Mboya and 24% Kenyatta. Nevertheless it is the question of Kenyatta's release that preoccupies everybody in Kenya today.



Jomo Kenyatta before his imprisonment and exile seven years ago.

U.N.I.P. Prepares for N.R. Election Campaign

From TITUS MUKUPO

LUSAKA: The United National Independence Party is preparing for a general election. After the first session of the talks in London on the future constitution of Northern Rhodesia, the Party is convinced that it stands a good chance of being the next government of the territory.

On New Year's Eve the party entered a new era of organization. U.N.I.P. leaders throughout the country are to hold committee meetings and public meetings at which the main objective will be to instruct their followers on how a general election is conducted.

COURTESY CALLS

In addition to this, three top leaders are spending the first week of the New Year paying "courtesy calls" on Chiefs in various parts of the country, as a sign of appreciation for the stand the Chiefs took during both the Federal and territorial talks in London recently.

The two representatives of Chiefs in the territory—Chiefs Chikwanda of Northern Province and Mpanza of Southern Province—walked out of the Federal Review talks at the same time as Kenneth Kaunda, Dr. Banda, Joshua Nkomo and other nationalists.

CHIEFS BACK KAUNDA

During the Northern Rhodesia talks, the Chiefs took a very similar line to that of the United National Independence Party. The Party is more than ever before confident that the Chiefs are on its side in its attempt to break Federation and to get a democratic constitution for the territory.

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of U.N.I.P., is touring the North-Western Province of Northern Rhodesia, which borders on the Portuguese territory of Angola and the tumultuous Congo Republic.

Among the Chiefs he intends to call on are chieftains Chavuma, Chief Kelenge, who took part in the territorial talks in London, and Chiefs Ndungu and Ishinde of Balovale and Sikufele of Kabompo.

Mr. Munkayumbwa Sipalo, the secretary, is to call on Chiefs in the Kariba area and the rest of Southern Province. The Party's publicity chief, Mr. Sikota Wina, is visiting Paramount Chiefs Mpezeni of the Angoni and Urdi of the Achewa in the Eastern Province. Mr. Sipalo and Mr. Wina both took part in the territorial talks in London.

It is significant that the United National Independence Party is the only Party that returned optimistic from the territorial talks.

DOMINION PARTY "SOUR"

The extreme right-wing White Dominion Party leaders returned sour. They claimed that they were convinced by what has taken place so far that the British Government means to hand over power to Africans.

If anything, the United Federal Party—the present governing party—returned from the talks confused.

The party has threatened the British Government that if they have a self-out plan to hand over "civilized" government to Africans then they can as well expect a showdown. Mr. John Roberts, the young farmer-leader of the party in Northern Rhodesia, has accused Mr. Kaunda of talking through his hat when he has expressed his optimism. The U.F.P. rank and file is accusing the leaders of lacking a definite plan to present to the British Government to counteract the U.N.I.P. plan.

It is expected that before the talks resume, in two weeks' time, the British Government will issue a white paper containing its proposals for a new Northern Rhodesia constitution. This will form the basis for the next session of the talks.

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PORTUGUESE AFRICA:

WHITE FEARS AS CRISIS GROWS

ANGOLA LABOURERS

Portugal's policy of "assimilation" in its African colonies is failing at a time when increased immigration from Portugal is giving rise to racialism.

In spite of considerable economic development the time is approaching when the African people of Angola and Moçambique will assert their right to freedom . . . By JAMES DUFFY

THE lands of Portuguese Africa are among the last shrinking pockets of White resistance in Africa. Each month the pressures on the Portuguese government increase; each month the attention of the world is directed more closely to the critical territories of Angola, Moçambique, and Portuguese Guinea.

These three colonies, or, as the Portuguese insist, "overseas provinces", make up the bulk of Portuguese Africa; of the three, Angola and Moçambique, because of their relatively advanced state of White colonization and economic development, are the most important. The three lands are also the only Portuguese colonies where a *regime do indigenato*, that is, a separate administration for the African population, exists, and they are the main targets for mounting anti-colonial attacks from African, Asian, and Communist nations.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For thirty years the New State of Prime Minister Oliveira Salazar has laboured intermittently in developing the African inheritance and in strengthening the colonial administration. In the past ten years the régime's efforts have begun to bring in relatively handsome dividends. The White immigration into Angola and Moçambique has increased substantially; the administration by which some eleven million Africans in the three colonies are supervised has been made into a fairly efficient system; Angola and Moçambique have become, by previous standards, economically prosperous.

The decade 1950-1960 has been the most successful period of economic development in the history of Portuguese Africa. This occurred during a period when the development projects for Angola and Moçambique brought an annual increase of from 7 to 9 per cent in manufactured imports, most of them from outside Portugal. At the same time expanding markets in Africa have provided a controlled market for Portuguese goods, notably wine, processed cotton, and foodstuffs.

Portuguese African products have become more diversified: coffee, tea, fish products, sisal, sugar, copra, rice, and raw cotton now form a fairly firm base for the colonies' economy. Although, save for Angolan diamonds and petroleum, the mineral yield in Portuguese Africa has remained disappointing, the growth in such local industries

as cement, soap, tobacco and beer has begun to make a marked contribution to the financial life of Angola and Moçambique.

BENEFITS MOSTLY FOR WHITES

But the expansion of trade, agriculture, and industry do not reveal the real advances in the development of the two colonies. The story is more dramatically told in the visible growth of the cities and towns, in port facilities, in colonization projects, in the transportation complex, in irrigation, and in dams and hydro-electric projects. In comparison with what was done in the Congo and the Rhodesias during the same decade, the material advance has not been extraordinary, but by Portuguese standards, it has been miraculous and is today Portugal's greatest source of pride in her colonies. The expansion has mostly brought benefits to the White population of Portuguese Africa, who now number about 130,000 in Angola and perhaps 65,000 in Moçambique. The numbers increase each year as a result of continental Portugal's poverty and overpopulation and of the régime's decision to encourage a steady immigration into



Contract labourers handle copper from Katanga passing through Lobito, flourishing chief port of Angola.

Portuguese African society. The Portuguese peasant and worker often has little on which to justify his presence in a strange new land, and his fears and uncertainties lead him to justify it on the colour of his skin, and life in Angola and Moçambique has begun to fall into sharply segregated patterns. Discrimination against the Africans is manifest in every city and town, and while the Portuguese may speak of cultural and

be a change in African policy. The rather amorphous design of this policy is to achieve the total assimilation of the African peoples into a community dominated by Portuguese cultural values.

This psychological integration is to be carried out through an expansion of missionary activity, education of African women, and the creation of large agricultural community projects. The scheme is visionary, and it can be seriously doubted that Portugal will have either the time or the resources to carry it through. In the meantime, Portugal maintains its present policy of selective assimilation in the hopes of creating an African élite deeply dedicated to the Portuguese cause.

RESISTANCE TO SALAZAR

There are strong indications that the surface tranquility of which Portuguese spokesmen repeatedly boast is no adequate guide to the political reality of the colonies. Isolated outbreaks have increased in the past few years; a number of Africans and Portuguese have been brought to trial in Luanda, Angola, for alleged subversion. Two important African organizations have been formed outside the colonies to work for their independence; the *União das Populações de Angola* (Union of the Peoples of Angola), in Léopoldville, and the *Frente Revolucionária para a Independência Nacional das Colónias Portuguesas* (Revolutionary Front for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies), in Conakry. These opposition groups have recently grown in size and importance. They publish pamphlets and occasional newspapers. They have representatives in the United Nations and in several world capitals. They have the support of free African governments and anti-colonial interests in other parts of the world. The leaders of the two groups have begun to speak of armed struggle and subversion in their fight for the independence of the Portuguese African world.

EMERGING CRISIS

To confront the emerging crisis Portugal has constantly repeated her determination to stand firm in Africa. Additional troops have been moved to the colonies; suspected dissident Africans have been jailed and exiled; an apparatus of terror has been established; paratroop manoeuvres have taken place; and pistol-shooting clubs have sprung up among the White settlers. Portuguese spokesmen from Dr. Salazar down to the local administrators in Africa have affirmed that Portugal is in Africa to stay. Such intransigence leaves little room for compromise, and the chances are good that one of the trouble spots of the next few years will be Portuguese Africa.

"WORSE THAN SOUTH AFRICA"

President Nkrumah of Ghana said at the United Nations in October last year: "In Portuguese Africa, though it is difficult to believe, the condition of the ordinary African is worse even than in the Union of South Africa."

Africa by Portuguese peasants and labourers.

REPRESSION AND GROWING RACIALISM

A new White world has been created in Portuguese Africa. But the African world is pretty much the same as always, and the progress of the territories has brought with it no substantial improvement in African life, which is still characterized by ignorance, isolation, and Portuguese repression.

In fact, the recent heavy influx of White settlers has created disturbing changes in the reasonably tolerant atmosphere of earlier years. The economic mobility of the African, never very great, is being contained at a low level by Portuguese skilled or semi-skilled labour. Racist attitudes have begun to intrude into

economic distinctions, these are not very meaningful arguments.

3 PER CENT AFRICAN LITERACY

In education, health services, housing, and colonization projects, the African lags far behind the White settler. The literacy rate for the Portuguese in Angola and Moçambique, for example, is somewhat higher than continental Portugal's 60 per cent; for the African it is somewhat less than 3 per cent. The education the African does receive is rudimentary, and through a series of accidental or deliberate obstacles he is usually prevented from going beyond three years of schooling. Social services are everywhere inadequate and in many parts of the territories non-existent. The government talks of promoting agricultural communities for Africans, and has established several, but the preponderance of governmental support is for White colonization schemes.

CONTRACT LABOUR SYSTEM AND AFRICAN "ELITE"

And all of African life is still dominated by the spectre of an oppressive contract labour system. The development of the colonies rests on a constant supply of cheap African labour, and apparently only forced labour can meet the demand. The Portuguese defend the requirement that every male African be obliged to work productively six months out of every year by saying that Africans are led to civilization through the dignity of labour, but the disruptive effects of the system far more than counterbalance whatever theoretical benefits Africans may receive from it.

To meet the rising criticism from abroad of Portuguese practices in Africa and to convince the African population that it is better to be Portuguese than to be independent, Dr. Salazar's government has embarked upon what seems to



READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

"6 per cent of the votes"

SIR—May I explain how I estimated the number of voters under the Progressives' policy?

Voters have to qualify by schooling and/or income. Those who have passed Std. VIII or matriculated qualify regardless of income. According to figures produced by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations (all my school figures are from this source), there are 62,000 such Africans. Some of these are among the teachers, who number 24,000 and who have both the education and the income. Let us say that this higher category of voters number 82,000.

Then there are 200,000 more Africans who have passed Std. VI. Of these, I estimate that only 5 per cent have incomes of £25 or more per month, i.e. 10,000, making a total of 92,000 Africans.

Of Indians, 54,000 have passed Std. VI, and, say, 5 per cent earn enough, i.e. 3,000 (see Dr. Cooppan's figures on page 39 of the Molteno Report).

Of the Coloureds, 141,000 have passed Std. VI. Say 10 per cent earn enough to qualify, i.e. 14,000.

This gives a total of 109,000 for all three groups, including wives, who also need Std. VI.

Add, say, 21,000 who occupy houses worth £500, and who are not already included above. There is my total of 130,000 voters, or about 6 per cent of the whole electorate.

The Progressives have declined to produce figures of their own, but I invite them to correct mine.

RICHARD RADEX.

"Richard Radex" has produced an estimate. We invite the Progressives to produce a more accurate one, if they can. Until then let them accept this, for, as we said earlier, "Richard Radex" is one of South Africa's foremost political commentators.—Editor.

We respect Sobukwe

SIR—There is what we all know as apartheid in our country, South Africa. This apartheid grew so much that Whites are prepared to be away from Blacks.

Sometime back, we (Blacks) wanted freedom in a civil way, and we were treated like pests and destroyed like weeds.

We all owe Mr. Sobukwe respect, not him alone, but all who showed that they have in them bravery to fight for their rights: such men are wanted. But what can they do alone if we do not sacrifice and join them in their struggle?

Do we forget that there is no harvest if there is no ploughing? Let all join and die if we must die. Nothing will come if terror reigns over us.

Unity is strength; let's unite and depend on ourselves.



TEBALO P. MAKATE,
Vanderbijl Park, Tvl.

"Radio Bantu" menace

SIR—The tyrannical fascist-in-disguise government of Verwoerd and his king whip-pilot Minister of B.A.D., Mr. De Wet Nel, are on the point of wrecking the unity of the African people.

They have transformed the former "Bantu programme" of the South African Broadcasting Corporation into nothing but mere Nationalist propaganda.

One can listen to the 6 a.m. "news" bulletin of the so-called Radio Bantu; astonished, one will be ashamed to hear the announcer telling the listeners unfounded barbaric stories. You will

usually hear him saying that there are beautiful schools, developing Bantu authorities and more nonsensical nationalist slavery propaganda. We freedom fighters are called "Phiri tse ntsho"—black wolves.

What can we do about this Hitlerian propaganda? Let us say to them, "Though ye speak with many tongues of angels but have no charity, ye are nothing".

FREEDOM FIGHTER,
Pretoria.

Fend for ourselves

SIR—I would like to explain my views to the people of the Transkei, my home land.

Well, friends, what do you think about these government supporters, Chiefs, Authorities and Headmen, the destroyers of religion and faith in our country?

Everyone should realize and decide by himself that we have no chiefs, no headmen now.

We have to fend for ourselves and try to obey our leaders.

That is all, because the time has passed: as we say in Xhosa: "i xesha lolulule umqwazi".

J. M. MGOLOMBANE.

Only one race

SIR—Although I am an ardent supporter and reader of "Contact", I must however object to the incorrect use of the words "Black" and "White" by readers, whose letters have been published.

I think it should be clear by now to all readers that there is only one race—the human race.

A. K. LALKHEN,
Cape Town.

"Contact's" lapse

SIR—As a member of the Liberal Party, I was pleased to see that your lapse into yellow journalism on 17th December was "solely on behalf of your editorial board".

Such outbursts (quite apart from the merits of the subject being dealt with) can only exacerbate racial feelings, widen the gap between Black and White, and harm the cause of liberalism. (And liberalism, when it comes to the point, will be more important in South Africa than any particular concept of "democracy" or "franchise".)

M. C. KNIGHT,
Constantia, Cape.

Unite for better pay

SIR—It has been seen that many times people are not paid according to the work they do, and this is something which prompts people to ask for a better wage.

In fact, they have asked their employers about this many times, but their employers do not seem to understand.

If anyone is not successful in getting a better wage, he should join the Nyasaland National Council of Labour which will be able to help if every such person joins.

I believe in one-man-one-vote. Peace in Africa!

R. R. K. NYIRENDA,
Salima, Nyasaland.

Do not co-operate

SIR—I humbly and selflessly appeal to the African intellectuals not to assist in working the machinery of oppression against the people. Hundreds of these intellectuals have already been bribed, induced or promised good monies—monies or wages they never would dream of as long as they are still under the yoke of oppression.

To all readers of "Contact"

- 1960 was "Africa Year". 1961 is "Year of Struggle" in South and Central Africa—let's hear what you have to say about it.
- Let's have facts as well! Tell us things our readers should know—facts that other newspapers may hush up.
- Always send your correct name and address with your letter.
- Send a photograph too if you like.
- Keep your letters short—but keep on writing!

By accepting these monies they are, whether consciously or not, demoralizing the struggle of their own people. If the intellectuals reveal such tendencies of weakness, the man in the street will have to be suspicious of them.

And this would only benefit our enemies.

When we get our freedom, as is almost inevitable,

our intellectuals will work as supervisors, electricians, salesmen, inspectors or managers in a South Africa of tomorrow—not along the borders of the so-called native areas, trusts, reserves or Bantustans.



LAWRENCE MOLELEKENG,
Natalpruit, Tvl.

Against Mr. Hendrickse

SIR—I note with interest that K. J. Hendrickse singles out the Congress of Democrats in his insolent letter to *Contact*.

I have noticed this tendency amongst certain liberals, although I do not think it is the official policy of the Liberal Party.

In making the Congress of Democrats the target of his vituperation, K. J. Hendrickse and his ilk might as well attack the entire Congress Alliance, because the Congress of Democrats is part of that Alliance, and in matters of general policy, all the affiliated Congresses stand united.

At a guess, I would say that the reason for C.O.D. being singled out in cases like this, arises out of the desire of certain people to smash the Congress Alliance.

Attempts were made some time ago to wean the South African Congress of Trade Unions away from the Alliance by representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, who were aided and abetted by certain individuals whose dislike of the Nationalists is only exceeded by their dislike of the Congresses. These people are too shrewd to attack the A.N.C. or the S.A.I.C. at this stage, for fear of antagonizing the Black South Africans. But they do support splinter groups with the purpose of weakening the Congress Alliance.

South African democrats must be constantly on guard against such people and expose them at every opportunity.

DAVID ISAACS,
Durban.

SIR—Mr. Hendrickse (*Contact*, 3rd December, 1960) states:

(1) "In his letter (published in *Contact*, 27th August) he demanded that *New Age*, *Fighting Talk*, *Liberation* and the Congress of Democrats explain why they held out Russia to be a demo-

cratic and Socialist state when they knew this to be untrue".

(2) That a reply to his letter was an inescapable necessity . . . and that silence in the face of the questions is more damning than an admission of guilt.

Might I make it quite clear to Mr. Hendrickse that the papers and the organization mentioned above are under no obligation to accede to his "demands", or to reply to the issues raised in his letter.

I deny that the Congress of Democrats has ever claimed Russia to be a democratic and Socialist state, knowing this to be untrue, and I challenge Mr. Hendrickse to substantiate his argument with facts.

MELVILLE FLETCHER,
Durban.

Progressive answer

SIR—In your issue of 31st December you published part of a letter of mine commencing as follows: "Among the many misrepresentations of fact which embellish your attacks upon the Progressive Party and the Molteno Commission in your issue of 17th December, there are two that particularly necessitate exposure". You then proceed to publish that portion of my letter that exposes one of these misrepresentations and to suppress the portion exposing the other. I now again ask you to publish the latter, which reads as follows:

The other misrepresentations requiring exposure is that under Progressive Party policy only two per cent of the non-White people would get the vote. The Commission's First Interim Report stated: "The statistics simply do not exist upon which such an estimate can be founded". Your repeated assertion about two per cent is founded upon the *ipse dixit* of an anonymous "authoritative political observer", "Richard Radex", who quotes no shred of evidence for his statements. Meantime, on the other side, the United Party has produced its own authority in the person of Mr. Douglas Smit, M.P., who estimates that even on the basis of *current* educational and wage policies the non-White voters would be in a majority within ten years if the Progressive Party policy were put into effect. I don't, of course, suggest that this is necessarily correct either, because, as the Report indicated, the evidence for these calculations does not exist.

Your suppression of this exposure cannot have been due to lack of space—at all events in comparison with the space you devoted in your issue of 17th December to misrepresenting Progressive Party policy, in which this particular misrepresentation was repeated again and again and constituted the gravamen of your whole attack.

Permit me, further, to comment on your note in reply to the portion of my letter that you did publish. You say:

"Has adult suffrage 'more often provided a foundation for tyranny than for democracy of any kind'? Surely not. On this sort of unjustified generalization is built the whole Progressive bag of tricks."

What, pray, is your own phrase "surely not" but the most blatant of generalizations? And as for your reference to the "Progressive bag of tricks", regrettably, this sort of empty phrasemongering too often passes in *Contact* for serious political argument.

WALTER STANFORD,
Acting Chairman,
Cape Western Region,
Progressive Party.

[See Richard Radex's letter on this page.—Editor.]

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