

contact

Vol. 4

No. 3

6d (5c)

Registered at the G.P.O.

11th FEBRUARY 1961

as a Newspaper

Africa Leaders

Meet in

Dar es Salaam

— Pictures

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



**GROWING
FREEDOM
CENTRE**

— See page 7

Mr. Joshua Nkomo of Southern Rhodesia, Miss Frene Ginwalla, late of Durban, Mr. Tennyson Makiwane, United Front leader, and Mr. Arnold Abraham, South African newsman discuss the first session of the steering committee of the All-African Peoples Conference in Dar es Salaam, 26th January 1961.

P.E. Bus Boycott

The People Still Refuse to Ride

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: On 13th February soft-spoken Mr. Stanley Marwangqa, busmen's leader in Port Elizabeth, and 193 of his fellow workers will appear in court charged under the Natives Settlement of Disputes Act. Seldom can an act have been found so supine in achieving its purpose. But important as the court case may be for the men concerned and for those who care about civil liberties, it has little bearing on the struggle now taking place about Port Elizabeth's buses. It has now become a battle of endurance between Manager C. P. Attridge of the Bay Passenger Transport Company and the public (about 100,000) of New Brighton and Kwazakele.

Eight buses with scab crews took the road on 23rd January and for a fortnight they have been running empty. The people are determined not to ride until the one-man buses, main source of the dispute, have been withdrawn. Even the offer of free rides was unsuccessful. Attridge put all his cards on training new crews and getting the buses back on to the roads, but he reckoned without the people of New Brighton who are solidly behind the busmen and dislike the one-man buses even more than the bus crews do. Now he has reduced his service to about five buses

(in place of the 70 which usually operate) and even those are still empty. As predicted in *Contact* (28th January) it is now almost certain that he will be forced to negotiate, whatever the outcome of the impending court action.

CONSULTATION REFUSED BY LABOUR DEPT.

The remarkable thing is that despite the repeated efforts of the Advisory Board members, Messrs. Z. A. Lamani and B. J. Mnyanda, no one in Port Elizabeth either from the Department of Labour or the Town Council has tried

to get the parties to the dispute round a conference table. The efforts of S.A.C.T.U. and one or two voluntary organizations to do this have been turned down. The only time the Inspector of that he was going to hit them hard. Labour met the busmen he told them. When the skeleton service was started the police intensified their check-up on all private vehicles (tyres, brakes, licences) and got as many as possible off the road; at the same time many workers who were footing it to their jobs were asked to show their reference books.

DETERMINED STAND

In spite of all this, and in spite of the great hardships and inconveniences they are being put to, the people still refuse to ride. Meanwhile the S.A.R. has rejoiced in its extra passengers and never before have railwaymen been so polite to their African patrons. There has been little or no violence and under the leadership of Mrs. Florence Matomela of the Federation of African Women and Messrs. Vuyisile Mini and Francis Baard this is becoming one of the most peaceful yet most determined stands in the history of South African industrial disputes.

LAW ON TRIAL

Not only will the 194 busmen be on trial on 13th February; the country's laws for dealing with African industrial disputes will also be tested. Outside the court the lesson is being learned that no one who runs a public service can afford to ignore the wishes of its patrons even though their faces are not white.

DEPENDANTS SHELVE CLAIMS

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The dependants of the 69 people killed and 180 people injured at Sharpeville last March, who are suing the Government for £398,000 damages, have shelved the matter. They are waiting to see the exact terms of the legislation the Government is expected to introduce this session to indemnify itself and its officials against these claims.

About 220 summonses were served on Mr. Erasmus, Minister of Justice, in September last year. Individual claims range from £350 to £8,000. The claimants are also demanding legal costs.

INDEMNITY

In October Mr. Erasmus announced that legislation would be introduced to indemnify the State and its officials against claims resulting from their action during the State of Emergency and at Sharpeville and Langa.

One of the Johannesburg lawyers who is acting for the dependants told me: "Having served the summonses, the next step would have been for us to draw up the declarations and complete the pleadings. The matter would then have been placed on the roll and gone before a Supreme Court judge."

"It has now been decided not to proceed with the matter until full details of the Bill promised by the Government are known."

MATTER SHELVED TEMPORARILY

The lawyer emphasized that the matter had been temporarily shelved. The dependants are making three types of claims:

- Most of the widows and families of the 69 killed are suing for loss of support;
- More than 150 of the 180 injured claim damages for "wrongful and unlawful wounding by gunfire" by the police acting in the course of their employment.
- About 50 of the injured are each claiming £750 for "wrongful and

unlawful arrest and/or imprisonment".

In his announcement last October Mr. Erasmus said that the Indemnity Bill would be introduced because "the Government is convinced that the action taken against the persons concerned was imperative for the prevention and suppression of disorder". He maintained that the action was taken "in good faith".

Several Johannesburg lawyers believe that the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Sharpeville disturbances—published last month—contains no findings which justify the Government's Indemnity Bill.

BECHUANALAND

New Party Formed

From "Contact" Correspondent

MAHALAPYE: A new political party has been formed in Bechuanaland Protectorate, and is gaining substantial support, especially from younger people.

Founded a few months ago, the Bechuanaland People's Party, with Mr. K. T. Motsete as President, and Mr. Motsamai Mpho, former member of the African National Congress as Secretary-General, it is multi-racial and plans to achieve its objects by non-violent means.

The Party aims to lead the territory to self-rule and eventual independence.

In a statement to *Contact*, Mr. Motsete said: "Our attitude in connection with the proposed law for the Legislative Council for Bechuanaland is critical, and our criticism is being formulated for presentation to the Resident Commissioner." (The new law would give Whites and Africans equal numbers of seats in the Legislative Council.)

"We are multi-racial, and all races are welcome as members of our Party on the same footing.

"We hope to achieve our objects by constitutional means: by outspoken criticism, by resolutions, by protests and public demonstrations."

SWAZI VIEWS

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: Writing in *Inkanyezi Yenkululeko Kangwane* (Swaziland Freedom Star), the Youth Newsletter of the Swaziland Progressive Party, Mr. Dumisani Dlamini, student leader, makes the following points:

- *Pan-Africanism and Communism do not meet and never will meet. Instead, the two ideologies clash without compromise.*
- *A Pan-Africanist is not a Communist. He is not Red for he is not ready to take orders from Moscow because he*



DLAMINI

strongly believes that Africa and Russia will never amalgamate.

- *By nature an African is a socialist—he is born and lives in a communal way of life. The capitalists should not therefore gasp for breath to learn that Communism is less foreign to the African way of life than capitalism.*
- *We call for unity and co-operation among all the African peoples.*
- *We sincerely ask the people of Swaziland to hear this noble call and respond without hesitation.*

MASS ARRESTS IN TEMBULAND

By a Reporter

SINCE the alleged murder of Messrs. Spalding Matyile and William Mtambeka, two leading supporters of Bantu Authorities in the Engcobo district, hundreds of men in the surrounding locations have been arrested. The two men were killed on the night of 30th January.

People arrested have asked to see Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindybo of the Tembus, but this has been refused.

ASSAULTED BY POLICE

The men arrested have been assaulted by the police in attempts to obtain information about the deaths. Police have also questioned arrested men about "White agitators" whom they claim are active in the district.

All able-bodied men in the Ntibani, Lower Bashee, Mnyolo, Upper Gqobonco, Nkondlo and Didi locations have been arrested.

The arrested men have not been charged; they are being detained under the Emergency Regulations.

TEACHERS

Teachers in the district have been threatened with dismissal if they co-operate with those working against Bantu Authorities, and at least one.

All political comment in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by R. Vigne and T. Holmes, 4th Floor, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Documents Wanted

WANTED: Will buy all documents dealing with South African non-White political movements. Please send lists to: B. Pogrand, Box 1979, Cape Town.

Subscribe to

"THE RATIONALIST"

Bilingual S. African free thought monthly

Edited by EDWARD ROUX
5s. (50c) per year, post free.

P.O. Box 11221, Johannesburg.

WANTED

Agents to sell

contact

Good commission offered

Write 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, Kruis / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829

AFRICAN LEADERS CONFERENCE

Some May Not Be There

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: In an exclusive interview with *Contact*, Mr. Z. B. Molete, former leading member of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, said that he, and those who thought like him, would not attend the second African Leaders' Conference, due to be held in March this year in Pietermaritzburg.

The first Conference, held in December last year (see *Contact* 31st December, 1960), was attended by Mr. Molete and two colleagues, Mr. Francis Mbelu from Cape Town, and Mr. Joe Molefe, treason trialist.

Speaking of the forthcoming Conference Mr. Molete said that "As a result of the statements and pronouncements of certain political figures regarding the coming Conference, I am a little doubtful that the African Nationalists in South Africa will support the conference."

Mr. Molete said that he had met a number of political figures who are very much concerned with the turn the proposed conference is taking.

Asked for reasons for this concern, Mr. Molete said: "African nationalists have always indicated that they would not be a party to a multi-racial convention, such as forms the basis of discussion at the coming conference."

He added: "The Government's stand

is very clear to us, and no purpose will be served by any multi-racial conference."

Expressing a personal view he said that the conference would not receive the support of the African Nationalists in the country.

Mr. Molete said that the conference should not aim at the calling of a multi-racial convention.

If its purpose were the co-operation of all African political movements, it should plan on the basis of the slogan "Unity in Positive Action".

Mr. Molete said: "I feel that some people have not come to the conference with clean hands—they are using the conference to build their own political movements".

New Journalists' Society Launched

By "Contact" Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN: As a counter to the racially exclusive South African Society of Journalists, the National Union of South African Journalists was provisionally launched in Cape Town on 2nd February, 1961.

It is intended to call a national meeting at which the Cape, Transvaal and Natal will be represented.

The main objective of N.U.S.A.J.



DANIELS



FISHER

is to put an end to racialism in journalism.



MORRISON

are completely excluded from membership.

An interim committee was elected. Acting Chairman is Lionel Morrison of *Post*, Acting Secretary is Ronald Fisher of *Post*, plus executive members Maurice Hommel of the *Cape Argus*, and J. C. A. Daniels of *Contact*.

Telling Dag the Truth

When the fugitive Paramount Chief of the Eastern Pondos, Botha Sigcawu was speaking in the Bunga, people outside banged on the windows, and their shouts, "Botha Sigcawu is telling lies!", "These are all lies!", "Don't believe him, Dag!", were clearly heard inside the chamber.

When the official party were leaving for Lusikisiki, after Mr. Hammarskjöld's insistence on visiting East Pondoland, a group of Umtata residents, Whites, standing nearby, called out for Mr. Hammarskjöld to hear as the Government's "blue-eyed boy", Kaiser Matanzima, chief of the Emigrant Tembu, got into Mr. Dag's car:

"There's that stooge, Kaiser Matanzima, getting in with Hammarskjöld!"

HOT RECEPTION AWAITS VERWOERD IN LONDON

From "Contact" Correspondent

LONDON: On Saturday, 28th January, the National Union of Railway Workers' Hall in Euston Square was host to a gathering of about 400 people representing different organizations that are working against the Nationalist Government of South Africa.

Most important of the organizations represented at this meeting were the South African United Front and the Anti-Apartheid Committee.

Should all the plans proposed at this meeting succeed, Dr. Verwoerd is assured of a hot reception on his arrival in London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference from 8th to 10th March.

Two resolutions were carried almost unanimously. The first deals with action that will have to be taken during the Premiers' Conference and the second with positive long-term action against the South African Government.

Some of the decisions arrived at were:

- A 67-hour vigil outside Lancaster House for the duration of the talks by batches of six people at a time. As the British Parliament is sitting and Lancaster House is within the one-mile limit of Whitehall it will not be possible to hold full-scale demonstrations.
- Placarding of Dr. Verwoerd at different airports. (Mr. Ennals, the chairman of the meeting, remarked that when people know

that a welcome is awaiting them they sometimes do not arrive at the airports at which they are expected.)

- Groups of people to follow Dr. Verwoerd around London. Some of the people present at the meeting thought that it might be a unique experience for Dr. Verwoerd to know how it feels to be "tailed".
- Delegations to meet the Prime Ministers of the non-White countries (some of whom seem to be changing their minds about kicking South Africa out of the Commonwealth) and impress on them that for the good of the Commonwealth South Africa should be excluded.
- A complete one-day or perhaps even four-hour strike by all British workers on the day of Dr. Verwoerd's arrival in London.
- The Transport Workers' Union to declare all cargo coming from or going to South Africa "black". This industrial boycott, it was felt, would hit South Africa where it hurts.

It was also decided that there would be a mass memorial meeting and march to commemorate the first anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings of last March. Possibly the deported bishop of Johannesburg the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves would read the sermon.

Dag met Real Leader in Umtata

By a Reporter

THERE was disappointment in South Africa that Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld seemed to have eyes and ears only for the Government and its collaborators, and ignored the pleas that came from the democratic movements. Last issue *Contact* reported the remarks of Mr. Wieschhoff, Mr. Hammarskjöld's adviser on Africa, to a local Liberal Party delegation in Pretoria.

We can now also report an incident in Umtata that will also doubtless increase the strength of Mr. Hammarskjöld's evidence of the hatred felt for this Government and the grave danger it is to peace and happiness in South Africa.

When Mr. Hammarskjöld landed at Umtata airport a certain politically-active resident of the district slipped up to Mr. Wieschhoff, Mr. Hammarskjöld being surrounded by officials, and urgently whispered to him that he must see Mr. Hammarskjöld to put the case of the oppressed people. Mr. Wieschhoff told him that Mr. Hammarskjöld would be staying at the Savoy Hotel, and that he would give him the message there. At that moment police came between Mr. Wieschhoff and the petitioner, and the latter was hustled away.

SMUGGLED LETTER

He next quickly wrote a letter to Mr. Hammarskjöld, stating that he had spoken to Mr. Wieschhoff and asking for an interview. He smuggled this to Mr. Hammarskjöld through a bedroom attendant at the hotel, and soon got his reply that Mr. Hammarskjöld would see him at the hotel at 1.20 p.m. that day.

The petitioner and some associates then quickly drafted a memorandum, setting out the grievances of the oppressed people, the crimes of the Government and the case for United Nations intervention. He took it to the hotel where an official luncheon was taking place. A hotel servant, a fellow African, asked him what he wanted, and directed him to a nearby lobby when the petitioner said he had an appointment with Mr. Hammarskjöld.

At 1.20 on the dot, Mr. Hammarskjöld emerged alone from the dining-room, sought out the petitioner and asked him to state his business.

The petitioner quickly told Mr. Hammarskjöld that, but for the collaborators to whom the Government was introducing him, the oppressed people were united in their detestation of the Government. He said that since the Government had been in power their conditions of life had become worse and worse, and they were now completely determined to bring to an end the hopeless oppression under which they suffered. He told Mr. Hammarskjöld finally that unless the U.N. intervened soon there was no chance of avoiding terrible bloodshed in South Africa, as the patience of the oppressed people had reached its limit.

MEMO TO COUNCIL

Mr. Hammarskjöld replied that he was no fool, that he had eyes and ears that told him more things than his hosts, the Government, put before him. He said that, as their guest, he was compelled to attend the functions and go to the places they arranged for him. But he was pleased with a chance like this to collect other evidence, and would definitely use the memorandum as part of his report to the Security Council.

The petitioner begged him not to tell the Press about the memorandum or their conversation for fear of the consequences, and on Mr. Hammarskjöld agreed to this, the 5- or 6-minute interview ended, with a warm handshake.

FOOTNOTE: For the same reasons as expressed to Mr. Hammarskjöld, *Contact* is not able to reveal the name of the petitioner.

Lawyers Sue Government

From OBED 'MUSI

DURBAN: Two well-known Durban attorneys are suing two Cabinet Ministers, one for alleged defamation and the other for the alleged actions of a policeman. In all a total of £27,000 is claimed in the actions.

The men are Mr. Joseph Hyacinth "Bill" Benghu, B.A., LL.B., of the Liberal Party and the continuation committee African Leaders' Conference; the other is Mr. Rowley I. Arenstein, formerly a staunch member of the Congress of Democrats.

Mr. Benghu is suing the Minister of Justice, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, and a White policeman, Martinus Wessel van Wyk, for £2,052; and Mr. Arenstein is suing B.A.D. Minister Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel for £25,000.

Following incidents which took place outside Smith Street Police Station on 25th June last, Mr. Benghu was assaulted by Van Wyk. Mr. Alan Dick, Durban Secretary of the Liberal Party, was sitting in a car together with Mr. Benghu and a party of five. A White sergeant came up and asked Mr. Dick: "Why are you sitting next to a kaffir girl?" He was referring to a University graduate friend of Mr. Dick.

A brief altercation followed and when Benghu tried to go to Dick's assistance, Van Wyk assaulted him.

At a subsequent court case the Regional Magistrate, Mr. G. J. Grubb, said: "I may be wrong in this, but if Mr. Benghu had been White he would have been better treated."

Mr. Arenstein has already sent a letter of demand to Mr. De Wet Nel stating that if the sum of £25,000 is not in his hands by a certain time legal action would then follow. Mr. Arenstein's objections are to Mr. De Wet Nel's remarks inside and outside Parliament concerning the unrest in Pondoland.

Mr. De Wet Nel was explaining that there really was no opposition to the Bantu Authorities Act in Pondoland. Instead White communists from Durban and Cape Town had been responsible for the unrest there. This was after the Minister of Justice had served a banning order on Mr. Arenstein.

contact

New "Element"

IN his speeches over the past ten or so years Dr. Verwoerd has shown an interesting consistency of attitude towards his opponents. For most of this period the United Party, the Liberal Party, and, later, the Progressive Party, have been lumped in one compartment of his mind as the "opposition". Those opposing him on the basis of rights for all South Africans were Liberal, anything beyond has been placed in another compartment reserved apparently for "elements", a wild conglomerate, "trying with all its power to break the Government". Now he has transferred the Liberal Party to this compartment. Discussing factors contributing to South Africa's bad press abroad, the Prime Minister referred in Parliament to the local "leftist element" in which he specifically included the Liberal Party "which even went as far as to invite foreign allies to use force to break the Government". (We quote from a report in the *Cape Argus*.)

Although *Contact* does not claim to speak for the Liberal Party, we hope that it is doing "all in its power" to break the national disgrace that is Dr. Verwoerd's government. That, after all, is the duty of every patriotic South African desiring democracy in his country. But to suggest that the Party, an organization dedicated to non-violent methods of resistance, has invited "foreign allies" to use force to achieve its objects is an untrue and completely unjustified accusation of treason.

If this was the intention, then Dr. Verwoerd must be asked to substantiate his accusation. Nationalist Cabinet Ministers have on too many occasions thrown out ridiculous allegations against their more radical opponents. Particular victims have been the banned African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress, whose former members, largely deprived of the right of reply, have had

to endure this nonsense in silence. Despite its elevation to the status of an "element" the Liberal Party has not been banned into silence; it can state categorically that it has never advocated the use of force against South Africa; and it can demand from the Prime Minister whether he has any real evidence to support this new attack on the Party.

Non-racial Revolt?

SUCCESSFUL or not, Captain Henrique Galvao's revolt by passenger liner promises some hope of change for Portugal and her unfortunate colonies. For years the Portuguese people have endured the ruthless efficiency of the Salazar regime; and this has extended, with ever greater disregard for human liberty, to the two large African territories of Angola and Moçambique.

Here, as in Portugal, opposition to the Government has been suppressed by the P.I.D.E. or secret police. This organization has few of the refinements of its counterparts in communist countries; those guilty of the "error" of opposing "kindly" Dr. Salazar are simply shot, tortured or imprisoned for long periods.

Politics in Dr. Salazar's views, "are not for the people": when he consented to an election his minions assured a successful result by stopping opponents' meetings, locking up their supporters and finally by holding up the delivery of ballot boxes from such opposition strongholds as Luanda in Angola. When Africans in Northern Moçambique rose against the administration in that area they were shot down on Sharpeville scale.

Under such rule real opposition seemed unlikely until Galvao, acting for exiled General Delgado in Brazil, seized the luxury passenger liner *Santa Maria*. It is a long way from taking over a ship to removing a regime entrenched since the early 1930s. But the Galvao coup should inspire others in Portugal and in her African territories where a non-racial rising of White and non-White citizens may prepare the way for two new non-racial democratic states in the new Africa.

Legal Crime

MOST South Africans suffer every day of their lives as a result of laws; laws which prevent them from living with their families, from conducting a strike for higher pay; laws which force them to sell their cattle or leave their land.

From the day of birth until the day of death, most South Africans live in an entanglement designed to keep them in oppression.

The Nationalist Government very rarely acts beyond the law; but the law which confines it is law of its own making.

It uses the machinery of Parliament, and the terms of the Constitution, to create a South Africa in which nothing the government does is illegal.

It steals millions of pounds worth of property, and calls theft "Group Areas".

It breaks family life and calls it "Influx Control".

It kills people, and calls it "maintaining law and order".

And it soothes its conscience with soporific promises of "separate development".

In South Africa we have a situation in which it is impossible for any man to strive for human rights without breaking the law.

Strikers are imprisoned, the leaders of peaceful demonstrations are arraigned before the courts, or deported, or banned, or banished.

Lawyers who through their legal work become too closely associated with the struggling victims of oppression have been threatened and banned.

Newspapers which speak the truth do so knowing that a time will come when the government will act against them if it has not done so yet.

The government has made legal work against it impossible! It has perverted the meaning of the word "law". It has turned South Africa into a land without justice.

And it has done it all "legally and constitutionally".

Another political party in Germany twenty-five years ago, under the direction of Hitler's evil genius, did exactly the same thing.

But we are confident that the people of South Africa will not allow the madness of Verwoerd, and his sinister schemes, to inflict the agony on their country which Hitler brought on Germany.

SAVE ON CENTS!

DECIMAL coinage becomes official in South Africa on 14th February this year.

During the first few months of the change, prices in most shops will be marked in both Rand/cents and £ s. d.

There will be a slight difference in the prices so marked: differences which exist because the cent is not the exact equivalent of the penny.

This table shows which is the cheaper. Cheaper prices are marked with an asterisk.

Pence	Cents
*1	1
*2	2
3	2½
4	*3
5	*4
6	5
*7	6
*8	7
9	7½
10	*8
11	*9

SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

AFRICAN POSTAL UNION

RI.40 (14s.) a year

ELSEWHERE

RI.70 (17s.) a year

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

Sam Sly

"THE Afrikaner Nationalist Youth are now faced with the evil of liberalism and the Liberal Party. The reactionary forces of Liberalism, with the Afrikaner lackeys and flunkies and their running dogs, are at work to destroy and distort the progressive forces of Afrikaner Nationalism." Though lacking the customary use of "Jewish-British-Jingo", "political prelates" and "unnational elements", this reads like a fairly typical statement by, say, the Albert Hertzog Branch, in a remote Nat. area, where the earth is, on good authority, held to be flat.

Now for some Non-European Unity Movement prose. "We are at a stage where these Liberals must play their historic role . . . to destroy the hydra-headed monster of their own creation which they call our African Nationalism, to use the African masses as pawns in their liberal struggle against the Nationalists and the Communist bogey in the so-called 'Congress Alliance'; to use the defenceless African masses as cannon-fodder for the trigger-happy White South African Police boys by creating phoney demonstrations and protests and diverting the attention of the African nationalists from their purposive and programmatic positive struggle against White domination; to crush the liberatory movement and to pave the way for the retention, sustenance, and maintenance of the White South African Capitalist-Imperialist-Liberalism". A fair, if faulty, paragraph from *Torch* or the

T.L.S.A. journal, though it lacks the wall-paper effect of the word *Herrenvolk* jumping out at you in black type, making ingenious patterns.

The two passages I have quoted are not intentional parodies of their models, but are, with the change of the word "African" into "Afrikaner" in the first passage, direct quotations from a roneoed sheet headed, "A Warning Call to African Nationalists", which claims to be "Issued by the National Bureau of Information".

This was handed to me in Johannesburg last week and I have read it several times since, to try and penetrate the dense mental fog that such (to take a leaf out of its book) "pseudo-Marxist-Africanist-Trotskyite" writing induces in me. An immediate deduction is that it comes from one of the banned organizations, but an ex-member of the ex-National Executive of the obvious ex-organization to have issued it tells me that he has never seen it.

A second deduction, which the Transvaal division of the Liberal Party happily confirms, is that it is an answer to the growing membership of the Party in the Rand. It is, of course, the weakness of slinging punches as wildly as this does, that it often exposes the attacker fatally. The Transvaal division of the Liberal Party may expect an increase in membership and of interest in Liberalism by people who are repelled by the racism of a phrase like "White foreign minority liberals" or the implied vengefulness with which the paper ends: "Badimo ba Afrika batla le bona—lerona retla le bona!" ("The gods of Africa will deal with you—we

shall also deal with you!"). This imprecation, with which many are already familiar, featured in the evidence on the Langa enquiry (and was, I believe, one of the reasons for the commissioners' personal criticism of Mr. Philip Kgosana). It is a threat made to "the flickering and unprincipled African Youth who flirt with the Liberals for money and used clothes". For Liberalism as a whole the demand is more vague, "a call for positive action to extirpate and eradicate this social evil, root and branch".

The "Warning Call" does not, admittedly, attack the "African Youth" or "Black Liberals" for joining the Liberal Party. Here again it has overtones of the bitter inferiority feeling of some Afrikaner Nationalists, who at one time considered all who worked with the English as "tools of British-Jewish-jingo-imperialism". It has always been taken for granted that the evils of Afrikaner Nationalism would find a response in its victims, and one that might be imitative. But that it should echo this acceptance of inferiority, or inadequacy, will surprise people who cherish black African pride and self-confidence. The implication is that Africans cannot associate with Whites except as inferiors, even in a non-racial political movement like the Liberal Party. It is embarrassing to read "to the Liberals—Black—we shall be ruthless with you if you come to spy on us on behalf of your White-master-friends". Because I have reason to believe that the pamphleteer himself accepts that these "black liberals" are as strong in influence and power in the Liberal Party as pink, pale brown, or Liberals of any other skin-colour, I am as much

distressed by his intentional creation of such inferiority feelings in the readers, where they may not have existed before.

I must plead guilty to disseminating the nastiness in this leaflet by quoting from it here. My only plea in mitigation is that *Contact* is accused of concealing this state of mind, found among some ex-members of an ex-organization for which, for other reasons, it has admiration and respect. I have been asked to write about this leaflet by these accusers, and I cannot escape. But I can bring it to an end with two last comments.

One is to note another echo of Afrikaner Nationalism, a type of double-think common to the totalitarian-oriented. Just as Afrikaner Nationalism contradictorily calls itself democratic, our pamphleteer, in the midst of his obsession with race, awaits "the advent of non-racial Afrikanist democracy". Don't mistake me: Pan-Africanism is compatible with non-racialism it is our pamphleteer's state of mind which isn't.

A final comment is that the difference between this and a Stalinist or Trotskyite tract is that the "Warning Call" stops short of the totalitarians' full denial of truth. It salutes its enemy in a way the others cannot do: "To the White liberals we say—we are grateful for your humanitarian help, but no strings must be attached to it", and "While we appreciate and accept this assistance, we cling tenaciously to our principles and programme of African nationalism". It is a very slender difference—but it is there.

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party

TODAY I would like to tell three tales of apartheid. All three have come to my notice within the last week. They show much more clearly than any theoretical argument could do, just what apartheid means. They may remind those of us who need reminding, and many of us do, that the policy of our present Government brings heartbreak and ruin, or the threat of it, to countless South Africans every day of the year, and that it will continue to do so in 1961.

A recent apologist for apartheid agrees that it "will unavoidably cause a certain amount of hardship for some people, but this is a passing phase and not an integral part of the policy", . . . in other words, however terrible the means, the beautiful end will justify them. I take a simpler view and one which enjoys more widespread support than apartheid does—that good ends have never been justified by bad means and that, even if the impossible were to happen, and the apartheid dream were to come to life at some remote moment in the future, nothing could justify its grim meddling now in the lives of countless individuals.

MY first tale concerns a man and his wife from a town in Northern Natal. They have been happily married for many years. They own a house in the "White" part of their town. They have lived in it for years. Their associates are largely White people and always have been. Now they have received their identity cards. Hers says

NOT WORTH ATTAINING

she is "Coloured" his says he is "White". The Group Areas inspectors are busy, snooping. They say that because the wife is "Coloured" the family must get out of its home and move to the "Coloured" part of town. But what about her husband, who is "White"? The inspectors have a simple answer to that question. He must get himself reclassified "Coloured"!

The solution is "simple" in the inspectors' and in apartheid's eyes only because both are quite indifferent to the person to whom they recommend it. To the victim it is not so simple. Not only is his social status threatened but his whole life's labour can be lost in a day. The man who came to see me is a highly-skilled craftsman in a category of employment to which no Coloured person has ever been admitted. He has held this job, at a high rate of pay, for 30 years. Reclassification will put him on the street. The Group Areas inspectors and the population registrars shrug their shoulders. That is not their concern. Their concern is to make apartheid work, to see that every person lives in a racial compartment, that every card goes into its right racial pigeon-hole . . . and be damned to the consequences for you or I or anyone else who doesn't fit this unfeeling scheme of things.

I HAD a visit from an old African man, brought to see me by a friend of his. He had been employed, on and off, in this town for 16 years. Two and a half years ago he took a job just outside the municipal area. He lost it and for two years he had been out of work but hunting for it. A short while ago he found a job at last, as a labourer in the garden of a local school. He rushed to the registration office, clutching a note from the school principal who said he wanted to employ this man. For the first time in two years life seemed to have some purpose, to be worth living. But at the registration office he soon found out that it was not. He might have a job, he might be itching to start it, but the iron hand of the influx control regulations would not let him. He no longer qualified to enter the town where he had spent most of his working life.

ACROSS the street from my office, is the Pietermaritzburg Municipal Market. Apart from facilities for the sale of produce sent in from the countryside it provides retail stalls for the sale

of fruit and vegetables. Forty-five years ago, when the White incumbent found he could not pay the monthly rental of £5, the original stall was let to an Indian. The stall was subsequently sub-divided and there are now five small stalls, all run by Indians. Their business is almost entirely with White people and Africans who come to the centre of town to shop. Now the Group Areas Board says they must go. Where to? Nobody seems to know. How will they live? Nobody who has anything to do with the Government seems to care. All the stallholders know is that the shadow of impending ejection hangs over them, that sooner or later they will have to go and that, when they do, there will not be the slightest prospect of their re-establishing themselves on anything

like the same favourable conditions that some of them have spent a lifetime building up.

These are the people Mr. Hammar-skjoeld should have seen. They could have told him about South Africa.

Apartheid is not a good policy going through a bad patch. It is no more so than was Hitler's Nazism and, like it, it is distinguished by its indifference to those who fall beyond its selected pale. It does not bring greater happiness, greater contentment, and greater security each year, but less of each. Its ideal is unattainable and, if it were attainable, it remains an ideal not worth attaining. It will not last but, while it does, no protestations of its virtues will deceive anyone who troubles to find out what it really is.

THE STORY OF ALI BLA BLA

"The Indian ratepayers' representatives have pointed out that removals under the Group Areas Act will cost them £30,000,000"
"The City Council have decided to alter the plans for the new West Street access road so as to avoid having to move certain graves from the West Street cemetery. The new plans will cost £150,000 more"—(Durban newspaper items.)

THIS is the story of Ali Bla Bla and the Forty Jube-Jubes, great and wealthy Caliphs who ruled long, long ago in the quaint old harbour town of Durban-in-the-mangrove-swamp.

Many roads led into their town—some wide, some narrow, some crooked.

Many people lived in their town—some wide, some narrow, some crooked.

Now Ali Bla Bla and the Forty Jube-Jubes, great and wealthy Caliphs, had themselves a problem.

First, there was this question of dividing up Durban-in-the-mangrove-swamp into separate but unequal areas—a project of great and urgent policy, dear to the heart of Ali Bla Bla, who had promised to create for his people separate but unequal facilities.

This promise was made because of a vision Ali Bla Bla had one night as he lay dreaming splendid multi-coloured dreams after a vast Civic Feast.

In the vision he saw all the people of Durban-in-the-mangrove-swamp divided into separate but unequal areas, according to whether they

supported Ali Bla Bla and the Forty Jube-Jubes or not.

"Some we can put into the mangrove swamps and some on the tops of hills, and the ones who move into the swamps can sell their property to the ones who don't. This will be very unequal, and make some of the people much happier than others, and since the happy ones are my supporters, I will be the happiest of all!" And he chuckled and rolled about happily in his sleep, shouting, "Group Areas, Group Areas", from time to time.

THE other big problem they had was that of the many crooked roads leading into their town. To straighten them all out into one big road they found that they would have to dig up an ancient graveyard which was in the way, and that would mean moving the coffins too. "The problem," said Ali Bla Bla to the Forty Jube-Jubes, "is that you can't serve an ejection order on a dead person—it doesn't seem nice."

"Yes, yes," shouted the Forty Jube-Jubes, clapping their hands and bouncing in their little chairs, "yes, yes, yes." And Ali Bla Bla smiled.

SO Ali Bla Bla and the Forty Jube-Jubes, great and wealthy Caliphs, divided up the people into groups of supporters and non-supporters—"We will call them 'blacks' and 'whites'," said Ali Bla Bla: "it will be more convenient."

And they sent the "blacks" off to live in the mangrove swamps and sold their lands cheaply to the "whites".

But as for the dead people in the graveyard, Ali Bla Bla and the Forty Jube-Jubes could not decide which of them were supporters and which were not, nor could they eject them. So they built their road somewhere else, at bloodcurdling expense, and left the dead to enjoy their rest in peace.

"And the moral of the story," said Ali Bla Bla as he rolled in fitful sleep, "is that you have to be dead to live in Durban."

DENNIS KILEY

Decimal Coinage in a Nut-shell

G. D. BISHOP

EVERYTHING YOU NEED TO KNOW

How to convert £, s, d. into Rand and cents easily. Tricks to save time. Exercises to help you learn.

How to calculate accurately and easily in the Decimal System. With money you cannot afford to make mistakes.

Pocket size for convenient use round D-day.

From all booksellers

Price in Southern Africa 25c 2/6

OXFORD
University
Press CAPE TOWN

The Government has its way

AT last the Government has had its way with the fate of the stubborn 250 families that comprise the Dinkwanyana Tribe of Boomplaats, Lydenburg. A Court decree has ordered that in terms of the Group Areas Act and the Native Land Act, the tribe should be moved out of their lush ancestral valley of Boomplaats. Bosman tantalisingly had put it.

An elderly tribesman stood up at this point and asked: "If the other place is so good why then don't you go to it and move in the Whites you say are the rightful settlers?"

Typical of her counterparts in other Bantustans, the widow of the late Chief Dinkwanyana, Victoria Thorometjane Dinkwanyana had complied with the order to move. Her nine Indunas and their families had also moved out with her at that time.

OBED 'MUSI

"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.

Will Africans Get Majority?

N.R. Talks in London May Decide Future of Federation

From TITUS MUKUPO

LUSAKA: Whites and Africans alike here are waiting eagerly for the result of the talks now going on in London on the Northern Rhodesia constitution.

Of the three sets of constitutional talks in Central Africa, the Northern Rhodesia talks are the most controversial, not merely because they may result in Africans gaining control of the Legislative Council and probably the Executive, but because if that happened it could change the political future of Central Africa.

It is generally believed here that if Northern Rhodesia "went black" it would mean the end of Federation because Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would take the two countries out of it. Many people believe

whatever was done, political power would still remain in "civilized hands"—meaning White hands.

To what extent Sir Roy will succeed in this is not yet known. It may be useful to note, however, that since the talks resumed, Sir Roy has been having a bad press in the United Kingdom.

It is significant too that here at home there has been a distinct move—though slight—among Whites toward accepting the ultimate triumph of African nationalism as inevitable.

Until he left for the talks last month, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party, addressed a series of meetings and held discussions with such influential White societies and groups as Rotary Clubs, Chambers of Commerce and Industry, town councillors and White civil servants. He will address more on his return.



KAUNDA

WHITES JOIN U.N.I.P.

that Sir Edgar Whitehead might even take Southern Rhodesia out of the Federation first.

WELENSKY'S FEARS

That is what made Sir Roy Welensky instruct his Northern Rhodesia division of his United Federal Party team not to take part in the talks unless Britain gave them assurances to the effect that

Never before here have Whites bothered to study, let alone get interested in, African nationalism. Another pointer also is that during the three weeks Mr. Kaunda was here between the conference sessions, some 70 more Whites enrolled as U.N.I.P. members. Many are reported to be leaving the U.F.P. and joining the "half-way house" party, Sir John Moffat's Liberal Party.

Of course you do still get people

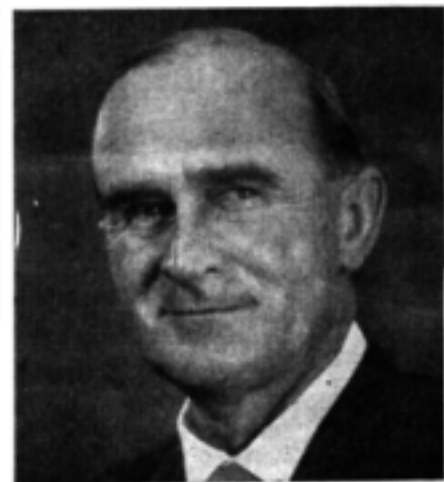
like White mineworkers on the Copperbelt who will go to the extent of threatening strike action if Africans were in majority in Legco.

It is now pertinent to ask Sir Roy just to what extent his boycott line is representative.

Indeed there has been a fear in the United Federal Party rank and file here that their Northern Rhodesia leader, Mr. John Roberts, might "do a Michael Blundell" on them. As it is now, many people both inside and outside U.F.P. believe that if it were not for Sir Roy, the Northern Rhodesia U.F.P. delegates would not have boycotted the talks.

The most important question exercising the minds of Africans, outside observers and even the British Government circles is: If Africans get a majority constitution will Sir Roy carry out his threat of declaring the Federation independent—bearing in mind what this may involve?

Liberal Leader John Moffat



A DELEGATE to the Northern Rhodesia constitutional talks now taking place in London is Sir John Moffat, President of the Liberal Party in Northern Rhodesia. A former Chairman of the Africa Affairs Board in the Federal Assembly, Sir John resigned in 1959 to form the liberal Central Africa Party. His Liberal Party is described as a "half-way house" in N.R. politics. It believes Federation must go, and supports voting qualifications designed to equalize voting strength of Africans and non-Africans in urban areas.

FEDERAL PLANS FOR EAST AFRICA

By ALAN RAKE

IN the next few months we are going to see a voluntary, majority-African-Federation taking shape in East Africa. It will be one of the most constructive things to come out of Africa for some time.

East African leaders have already chosen the time to put their plans for East African Federation into effect. Under the inspiration of Mr. Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, it has been decided to move towards Federation as soon as all the East African countries have achieved self-government.

Tanganyika is already self-governing—and making a great success of it. Kenya is holding elections at present that will bring the country to a position of virtual self-government, and Uganda is having similar elections in March.

The East African leaders have all expressed themselves in favour of a real Federation—not for them the type of loose association found in Ghana, Guinea and Mali, where each country pursues its own policies and makes its own alliances.

The Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (P.A.F.M.E.C.A.) is by far the most effective of all the regional organizations of the All African Peoples Conference and has a habit of working with close harmony between the member countries. At a recent P.A.F.M.E.C.A. meeting held in Mbale, Uganda, special sessions were held on the Federation question.

No detailed plans were worked out, but one thing emerged; there will be no attempt in East Africa for a central government to control the whole area from a place such as Nairobi, Kenya. There will probably be a Central Legislative Assembly, but very strong powers will remain in the hands of the legislative council of the different territories. It is not yet known how government will be divided between the centre and the different countries.

The idea is to unite the East African countries first, and later to invite the countries of Central Africa to Join—particularly Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

From time to time almost all the recognized leaders in East Africa and in

Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have had discussions on the Federation question. After talks with Mr. Nyerere, Dr. Hastings K. Banda the Nyasaland leader, said that Dar es Salaam would become the capital of a new Federation. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia's U.N.I.P. is another who has had discussion with the Tanganyika leader. It is a widely recognized fact that Northern Rhodesia, with its rich copper mines, would provide the economic force that would make a new Federation successful.

Not only has the Federation question been discussed by African political leaders, but the East African Governors have also aired the problem in meetings with Mr. Iain Macleod, the British Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Tom Mboya, of Kenya, recently said: "The principle of Federation is now agreed. The question that is uppermost in the minds of many people is one of timing rather than the actual idea of Federation." He has fallen in strongly behind Julius Nyerere's idea that Federation should be achieved when all the East African countries have achieved self government. Mr. Nyerere wants Federation before the countries become independent and become too preoccupied with their own internal problems. If independence was achieved first, he fears that countries would find new reasons for staying apart.

Uganda is likely to provide the biggest stumbling block. The country is already divided between the Buganda traditionalists—loyal to their King—and the democratic forces of the rest of Uganda.

There should be far less of a problem in linking Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. East Africa is fortunate in inheriting many common services. It already has a Central Legislative Assembly with limited powers, and an East African High Commission where research, technical, agricultural and statistical knowledge is pooled. There is also common transport and postal services and no customs barriers and all three territories follow similar taxation policies.

All these things give East Africa a flying start for Federation.

Opponents at S.R. Conference



While the constitutional future of Northern Rhodesia is being decided in London, Southern Rhodesia is having its own constitutional talks in Salisbury. This picture shows delegates of the two most strongly opposed forces in the country—the non-racial National Democratic Party and the White-domination Dominion Party. Seated at the table are: Mr. J. Nkomo, President of the N.D.P. (left background); the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Treasurer General of the N.D.P. (centre); and Mr. W. Harper, Leader of the Dominion Party (right).

TO ALL OVER 40 NU-CELL

ANDREAS DE PARI (SWITZERLAND)

COMPLETE REJUVENATION, PUTTING TIME BACK 25 TO 30 YEARS

YOU DON'T BELIEVE THIS—then write for proof to NU-CELL Laboratories

who will send you comments from the National Press. You can be young again—Scientific Research over the years has lengthened the span of life to 70 years—in William Shakespeare's time the average span was 35—not so very long ago. You can be young again and the time will soon come when the life span will be 150 to 200 years—you don't believe this—then read the medical journals—and the National Press, where an article was written by a famous medical man saying: "The time will soon be here when the average life span will be from 150 to 200 years." These are not our words. Today you can be young at 70 and in possession of all your faculties. Research has proved decay is caused through glands and lack of hormones. You are invited to write for latest data, Press reports and literature, which you will find of interest.

SECRETARY, NU-CELL LABORATORIES, P.O. Box 819, Dept. CON, Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia

T.A.N.U. Tackles Tanganyika's Economic Problems

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Tanganyikans regard economic development and not race relations as their major problem, Mr. Terence Beard, a former Fort Hare lecturer and now a senior lecturer at Rhodes University, said here this week following a tour of East and Central Africa.

Mr. Beard was impressed by the goodwill between the races—African, Asian and White—in Tanganyika where Mr. Julius Nyerere's non-racial party, the Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) is the only significant political force.

"Everywhere I went Africans, Asians and Whites told me: 'We have no racial problem here'. There is racialism in Tanganyika but it is confined almost entirely to clubs—and there are signs in Dar es Salaam at least that this is breaking down." Previously exclusive White clubs did not even permit non-Whites to enter as guests of members. "But while I was in Dar es Salaam (early January) a general meeting of the (White) Dar es Salaam Club voted to allow members to entertain guests of any race, colour or creed. A club member to whom I spoke said it would be only a matter of time before the club opened its ranks to all races."

TALK WITH NYERERE

Mr. Beard said that in a 20 minute interview with Mr. Nyerere, Chief Minister of the Tanganyika Legislative Council, he learned that Mr. Nyerere was conscious of two major challenges.

Now that T.A.N.U. is virtually the governing body of the country its future depends upon producing appreciable results in the economic field—particularly raising living standards and providing education.

Secondly T.A.N.U. has to retain contact with its rank and file followers. Mr. Nyerere's fantastic popularity with the masses in Tanganyika has in large measure been due to his very real concern with the problems of individuals. He has always been available for interviews with people of all classes. Obviously a Minister of a busy Government cannot combine social welfare activities with his executive functions. The task of the T.A.N.U. leadership is to prevent the masses from feeling the leadership is no longer interested in them.

Mr. Nyerere told Mr. Beard: "We have to prevent the people from saying that now we have climbed to the top of Mount Kilimanjaro they can't see us any more." This is an acute problem of any party in power for the first time.

Mr. Beard said: "Tanganyika has very

similar problems to the Congo in that so few Africans have received higher education. In fact I think they can be counted in scores and not even in hundreds. T.A.N.U. is so aware of this that it runs schools at each of its main offices throughout Tanganyika. I was amazed to walk through the back of T.A.N.U. headquarters in Dar es Salaam and see two lean-to classrooms complete with blackboards and desks. T.A.N.U. members with education give instruction to people at all levels of education from illiterates to would-be matriculation students.

Mr. Beard was struck by Mr. Nyerere's sincerity and modesty and by the grasp he seemed to have of problems both at government and party organization level. "Aloofness is so foreign to him I think he will probably be successful in retaining his popularity with the masses. Officials I spoke to at T.A.N.U. H.Q. spoke of Nyerere as if they loved him. One and all said he had not changed at all since he had become Chief Minister."

OPPOSITION

"The only opposition movement in Tanganyika that I know of is known as the African National Congress and is led by a Mr. Mtemvu. On the night of my arrival in Tanganyika it was announced over the wireless that Mr. Mtemvu was leaving for the United Nations to plead for Tanganyika's full independence. It was revealed two or three days later that Mr. Mtemvu had in fact gone to Peking and not to New York. Africans that I spoke to all expressed the view that if Mr. Mtemvu had gone to Peking to enlist the aid of the Chinese communists then they felt he had done the wrong thing, for Tanganyika now has an African Government, full independence will arrive this year and any overseas help is obviously a matter for the Government and not for private individuals. I gathered that the A.N.C. in Tanganyika has little or no following and bears little if any resemblance to Congress movements elsewhere."

Mr. Beard was amazed to discover that there were about 30 South African African refugees in Dar es Salaam, being cared for by T.A.N.U. preparatory to their either settling in the territory or departing for other parts of the world.

EXILES OPEN NEW OFFICE IN DAR



On 29th January the new office of the South African United Front in Dar es Salaam was officially opened by Mr. Fouad Galal, United Arab Republic delegate to the Steering Committee meeting of the All African Peoples Conference. In the picture above South African exiles in Tanganyika display anti-apartheid slogans at the entrance to the office.

Former A.N.C.—P.A.C. Men Run United Front Office

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: The South African United Front has recently established an office here. It is the Front's nearest office to the Union.

The United Front is made up of representatives of the banned Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South West African People's Organization and the South West African National Union.

Two organizers have been appointed in Dar es Salaam. They are Mr. James Hadebe, former Provincial Secretary of

the banned A.N.C., and Mr. Gaur Radebe, formerly chairman of the Evaton, Transvaal, branch of the banned P.A.C.

In a statement to *Contact* they said that the aim of the South African United Front was "to free South Africa of the all-White government's rule and to bring about a free independent South Africa in which race will not be a criterion for privilege".

Dar es Salaam is the Front's fifth branch office. Other offices are situated in London, New York, Accra and Cairo.



RADEBE



HADEBE

Africa's Leaders Meet at Dar es Salaam



At the start of the meeting of the Steering Committee of the All African Peoples Conference in Dar es Salaam on 26th January, delegates stood in the hall of the Tanganyika Legislative Council while the T.A.N.U. choir sang the Tanganyika anthem. Delegates raised their right hand during the singing. Right: Delegates at the meeting. Back row (left to right): Messrs. Tennyson Makiwane (South Africa), G. Mekasha (Ethiopia), Mustafa Mawfik (Morocco), Dr. Fauzy (United Arab Republic), Mr. I. Bhoke Munanka (Tanganyika). Middle row: Messrs. Ali Abdullahi (Somalia), Abdoulaye Diallo, Fouad Galal (United Arab Republic), Ben Barka (Morocco), John Tettegah (Ghana), Oscar Kamboni (Tanganyika), Sylvain Edoth. Front row: Messrs. Z. Y. Moyo (Southern Rhodesia), Clement George Kahama, Said Sultan (United Arab Republic), Tibou Tounkara (Guinea).

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Reply to Mr. August

SIR.—Mr. Collingwood August (*Contact*, 28th January) takes me to task for daring to defend the Progressive Party's franchise policy.

The main point he makes is that ex-Chief Luthuli "demands universal franchise". Any leader of the African people—who have nothing—is bound to ask for the maximum. I am sure I would do the same if I were in his place. But ex-Chief Luthuli is sensible enough to consider other propositions. He said at a "Brains Trust" in Pietermaritzburg in April, 1959, that, "If a firm offer [of qualified franchise] was made and he felt that it was working in the right direction, he would accept it, but only as a step towards the ultimate goal."

I left the Liberal Party because I felt that it was the duty of a multi-racial (or non-racial) Party to advocate a policy which there is some hope of all races accepting. It is, in my opinion, irresponsible to insist that universal suffrage is the only policy that the non-Whites should accept when it is certain that the Whites will never make a "firm offer" of such a policy and that the end result will be bloody revolution.

It is tragic that, while ex-Chief Luthuli is saying that, "The Africans are now keenly interested in the reaction of the European voters to the attempt of the Progressives to face reality" (*Cape Times*, 27th January), *Contact* is screaming in banner headlines, "Progressives weaken struggle for democracy".

**LIBERAL PROGRESSIVE,
Kenilworth, Cape.**

Ask New Age

SIR.—*New Age* recently launched a bitter attack upon you as a reactionary "tool of colonialism" and imperialism.

No wonder *New Age* is angry. *Contact*, which stands for true liberty, has been stealing a lot of readers from *New Age* which pretends to stand for liberty but actually wants to bring about the ruthless suppression of liberty which has come about in the Iron Curtain countries which *New Age* admires.

Another reason why *New Age* is mad at you is that when Mr. Patrick Duncan exposes the evils of Communism the non-Whites people of Africa will pay attention to him. For *New Age*, that is a serious matter, so the editors have to start a smear campaign.

Except for Portugal, the old Western colonial powers have given, or are on the point of giving, their colonies freedom. The new colonialist power is the Soviet Union, which keeps its colonies in pitiless subjection.

Write to *New Age*, my non-White friends, and ask when Russia is going to give freedom to Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Eastern Germany and the Ukraine.

**ANDREW J. J. MURRAY,
Rondebosch, Cape.**

Political persecution

SIR.—A certain Mr. Phafoli was allowed to use and occupy a dilapidated government house at Mafeteng, at that time the said house was a hovel not fit for human habitation—all the windows and doors were broken, the inside of the house was as if pigs were living there.

Mr. Phafoli being stranded because of the shortage of houses in Mafeteng had no alternative but to renovate that house. After six months he approached the authorities to do the other repairs to the house because it was not his. He was again encouraged by the District Commissioner to do them at his own expense and stay there indefinitely, because the Government was not interested and not in a position to repair the house.

Now that Mr. Ntsie Phafoli has done all the repairs to the house and made it into a small haven, the Government has

seen fit to give him three weeks' notice to vacate that house, so that a Government employee may be housed there.

Is it the policy of the Basutoland Government that when it fails to build or repair houses for her employees to call a poor man to carry all the expense and afterwards to kick him out?

To any thinking man, the action taken by the Basutoland Government against Mr. Phafoli is immoral. It is something that is contrary to the teaching of the West, in fact it is what we are told is practised in Russia not in the Western democracies.

It is also alleged and suspected that the D.C. of Mafeteng has taken this action under the influence of the Mafeteng District Council of which the majority of its members belong to a political party which does not see eye to eye with Mr. Phafoli in politics.

**GABRIEL NTELE,
Mafeteng, Basutoland.**

Union Jacks and Apartheid

SIR.—I was amazed in Durban to see what rigid apartheid is enforced by these people who fly Union Jacks and support the United Party.

Along the beach front there is not one seat not marked "Europeans Only", not one amenity is not segregated and every bus-stop bench is segregated? Is this the United Party's White Supremacy with justice?

The Indian people and African people seem to be considered the "ricksha-boys" and exist only to pull the racials' ricksha, cook his food and be "nanny" to his children. Yet these are English people; their disease cannot be Afrikaner nationalism.

The English racist is in some ways worse than the Afrikaner Nationalist as he denies his beliefs. He is ashamed of them.

An English town like Grahams-town has a 9 p.m. curfew on Africans which is functionally the same as an air-raid siren. Only the actors are different. The location is the air-raid shelter and the Luftwaffe is the S.A.P.

"Oh, the English!" Don't be stubborn and fly your Union Jacks, segregationists of Natal. If you must fight—fight apartheid!

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

Watching him closely

SIR.—I wish to congratulate Mr. J. C. M. of Nyanga, Cape, on the task he has dedicated himself to do for the South Africans. This he has done by airing his views to the big man (Mr. Hammarskjöld) in his letter in *Contact* (14th January, 1961).

I do believe that Mr. Hammarskjöld has read his letter and will, without doubt, give it his best attention. Not this letter alone but also the constructive information which Drs. Nkomo and Xuma gave him.

So far, our leaders have done their best to contact him. We are left with the following questions: (i) will he be like Montgomery, (ii) will he observe South Africa as Macmillan did?

I am sure Mr. Hammarskjöld knows very well that South Africa is watching him closely and we hope he will do his best to lay his speech before the United Nations which, of course, will conform with those of Tambo, Mbelu and the rest of our leaders over there.

**PETRUS B. V. MASEKO,
Natalpruit, Tvl.**

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

To all readers of "Contact"

- How's the Freedom Struggle going in your area?—let's hear what you have to say about it.
- Other readers are interested!
- 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!

Like Satan rebuking sin

SIR.—Dr. Verwoerd's New Year message can only be construed as a message not to the people of South Africa, but to the Nationalist Party. The fact that no reference was made to non-Whites betrays an attitude of mind inimical to the well-being and welfare of the country.

He speaks of the White man's "rightful heritage" which he fears might be taken from him by "any form of political multi-racialism". One wonders what is meant by the "White man's rightful heritage", as distinct from the recognised "mankind's rightful heritage", for what is universally known as a Western way of life is a development of a system to which all races of mankind have made valuable contribution. No one race dare claim it as its peculiar monopoly.

For that reason, and insofar as I know, not a single African organization has ever made any attack upon or threatened to rob the White people of South Africa of their heritage (if at all they have an exclusive heritage of their own), but to seek to obtain a fair and equal share of a heritage which is mankind's.

South Africa as represented by the governing Party has deliberately chosen to follow a path which has isolated her from the nations of the world, and like Satan rebuking sin she has the audacity to accuse U.N.O. of "becoming a platform where problems are created and aggravated" when she has by her anti-social, unchristian policies brought the world's condemnation upon herself.

I want to assure Dr. Verwoerd and his party that non-Whites have no intention to rob the Whites of any heritage of whatever kind, and as far as I know, the White man in this country, by the position he holds in industry and generally, he is assured of leadership for many long years to come if only he will extend the rights of full citizenship to the non-Whites of this country from a sense of goodwill and magnanimity.

**SALAYEDWA,
Pietermaritzburg.**

APPEAL TO MALAWI CABINET

SIR.—As a patriot of our land of the lake, Nyasaland, I feel very much compelled to express my heavy feelings on the attitude adopted by some Malawi branch leaders. There are many incidents of intimidation in most parts of our country and these intimidations are said to be conducted by Malawi members. In spite of all prayers for peace by the Life President, Dr. Banda, these incompetent leaders still give a deaf ear. I once and again appeal to the Malawi Cabinet and I feel it its duty to do away with such rogues who are implementing fears, misunderstandings and disunity between this strong party and the common folk.

All things our Kamuzu has fought for, six months before the episode of 3rd March, 1959, and after, are becoming realistic and yet these incompetent ignorant leaders are playing havoc with the political scene of Malawi just at the time when peace, justice and freedom should prevail in the party. Unless the Cabinet deals with these leaders soon, then another Congo will never be ruled out of Nyasaland. Matingas, Katsongas and Kumbikanos must be left alone and they will perish. I again appeal to Nyasaland Government to have a fair deal with such criminals.

Freedom must be extended so that these government stooges can have their follies milked out in time to come.

**C. J. JIMU KUNTHANI,
Allanridge, O.F.S.**

Against Bantu Education

SIR.—Readers, keep the flame of democracy alight. Education goes hand in hand with freedom of thought. Western civilization has been kept vigorous and healthy because there have always been men who have loved knowledge for its own sake. Freedom of thought also implies freedom to communicate thoughts to others verbally, or in writing, or in print. The flowering of thought in modern times owes very much to the freedom of the press, allowing the dissemination of facts and opinions.

Education is the process of handing on to future generations everything that makes up a civilization, language, manners, forms of thought, feeling and expression, attitudes both political and religious and with growing complexity of states, the understanding of administration and the mastery of skills. That is education; now is Bantu Education based on the fundamentals of education?

**EDDIE NYEMBEZI,
Vanderbijl Park.**

Differences exploited

SIR.—As a member of the Liberal Party with a number of Liberal friends I wish to say that I do not know one who has not grown disgusted at your offensive, repetitive and somewhat ridiculous attempts to discredit the Progressive Party. Why, man, you have devoted more attention to the Molteno Report than you ever did to Sharpeville and far more than you are devoting now to Pondoland!

Is it just to accuse a party of dishonesty simply because you disagree with one or two aspects of its policy? It is wise to do your level damndest to make enemies of the only large and politically effective group of Europeans who have shown a genuine change of heart? These people were members of the United Party a year and a half ago; they have come a long way since then; why abuse them because they haven't turned into Liberals overnight?

The time is perilous. What is essential is unity among those who have common ground, not a relentless exploitation of differences.

**WALTER SAUNDERS,
Nottingham Road, Natal.**

Call for help

SIR.—Please give me room in your widely read newspaper, *Contact*, so that the people who are living abroad should be able to hear us.

We, the Misuku Coffee Growers, appeal for funds to all Sukwa people working in all corners of Africa. We have recently purchased a truck which will be extracting the coffee beans from our area to Rumpi and Chisenga. We have paid some money and only a little is left unpaid. Please help us as much as possible.

Mututule twe banyinu pulisi mu butolwe ubu. All donations should be sent to the Secretary/Manager, Misuku C.C. Society Ltd., P.O. Fort Hill, Nyasaland.
**MWAYILA MWAYELA II,
Misuku, Fort Hill, Nyasaland.**