

contact

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TRANSKEI
MURDER
TRIALS—
LATEST



—see page 5

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



**“CONTACT”
ANSWERS
“NEW AGE”**

—see pages 2, 8

**“AFRICA FOR
THE
AFRICANS”
IS THE NEW
AMERICAN
POLICY**

— See page 3

In Nairobi on 21st February U.S. Assistant Secretary Gerhard Mennen Williams in an apparently impromptu remark laid down his African policy as “Africa for the Africans”.

Defending this remark last week President Kennedy said: “I am wholly satisfied”, thus giving official approval to the new policy.

Here we picture Mr. Williams with Mr. Tom Mboya (whose Kenya election victory we rejoice in at page 2) and, on the left, former baseball star Jackie Robinson when they met at an Africa Day celebration in New York in 1959.

contact

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

The Federation

SIR ROY WELENSKY calls the army up on Monday, disbands it on Tuesday, threatens Britain on Wednesday and calls for more conferences with Britain on Thursday.

On Friday he clearly insinuates that to be Black is to be irresponsible. On Saturday he tries to placate the northern nationalist leaders.

His wildly-flailing fists show that his fight is near its end. A few months should see the end of the Federation.

Congratulations

TOM MBOYA, Kenya's dynamic young leader, has achieved a devastating personal and party success in the Kenya general election.

He won his own seat in Nairobi against the nominee of Mr. Oginga Odinga, the man who, when he went to fetch tens of thousands of pounds in Peking, the capital of communist China, said that the bestial Mau Mau rebellion was "a glorious liberation movement" (*Manchester Guardian*, 29th Oct., 1960).

Mr. Mboya won his own seat although his opponent, a Kikuyu, unscrupulously used the tribal argument: Mboya is a Luo, while most of the constituency is Kikuyu.

He won despite a slander campaign by the world's communists that he is a tool of the Americans (see the report in *New Age* of 16th February).

Mr. Mboya's party, the Kenya African National Union, won more seats than any other party, thus ensuring him a decisive role in the future democratic Kenya.

Contact rejoices with him.

"New Age"

THE pro-communist weekly *New Age* has, in its issue of 2nd March, devoted the greater part of a page to an all-out attack on Contact.

Certain questions put by *New Age* have been appropriately answered by us in a letter to that paper.

Here we wish merely to point out that for over three years Contact has put forward a simple view: that in South Africa it is necessary for all discrimination based on colour to be swept aside and that it is necessary for the people to win full political and personal freedom on a basis of one person one vote.

For this cause your paper, Contact, has been persecuted by Dr. Verwoerd. Your editor and manager have been prosecuted by Dr. Verwoerd. And many agents selling the paper have been ruthlessly bullied by Dr. Verwoerd's police.

Do you want to know why *New Age* has attacked Contact? It is because *New Age* has one basic loyalty—a loyalty to the world's communist movement which aims at establishing in every continent what communists call "the dictatorship of the proletariat"—meaning the dictatorship of the communists.

A movement with such a basic loyalty is different from a movement with a simple loyalty to Africa and to South Africa and to democracy.

Contact has no loyalty other than to South Africa—our country—and Africa—our continent.

We challenge "New Age" to reply to this question: If African nationalism should clash with world communism—and this might easily happen—which would "New Age" support?

THE LONG VIEW

NO SORT OF TREASON

A SHORT while ago Contact drew attention to a report of an attack made by Dr. Verwoerd on the Liberal Party which seems only to have appeared in some Cape newspapers and which I had not seen at the time. I have now followed up this report in Hansard and I find that during the no-confidence debate, when Dr. Verwoerd was trying to explain South Africa's poor reputation overseas, he had this to say about the Liberal Party.

"There is another reason:" (for foreign attacks being made on South Africa) "the subversive leftist element which is found in South Africa and which feels itself powerless in this country, and here I include the Liberal Party in particular. The latter are seeking foreign allies and are even telling the outside world that they should come to this country to bring about a change of government by force. This is one of the reasons for these attacks, namely these people in this country who are committing treason towards South Africa."

DANGEROUS NONSENSE

This is dangerous nonsense and a deliberate attempt to smear the Liberal Party. The Liberal Party is not "leftist" and anyone who bothers to read its programme or study its policies will soon see that for himself.

The Liberal Party has no "foreign allies" nor has it invited outsiders to come to South Africa to bring about change by force. A number of its members have certainly warned of the dangers and the possibilities of outside and United Nations intervention in South Africa if the present disastrous policies become a threat to the peace of the African continent. This is not "treason" as Dr. Verwoerd would like to imply, but a plain statement of fact. It is significant that, as I write, this very question of United Nations and

outside intervention is being held out as a real possibility for the future in the South West African elections. There, it is quite clear, the question is not regarded as fantastic speculation, but as something which could easily happen. Dr. Verwoerd and his party have done all that they could to ensure that the future of South West Africa should be so intertwined with the future of the Union that what affects the one must affect the other. If intervention is worth discussing as a serious topic in the South West African elections it becomes an issue to which responsible South Africans should also be giving their attention. We will continue to do so.

FALSE ACCUSATION

Dr. Verwoerd says that the Liberal Party is "even telling the outside world that they should come to this country to bring about a change of government by force". Will he come out from behind the safe defences of parliamentary privilege, repeat this charge publicly, state by name the members of the Liberal Party who have asked outsiders to bring about change here "by force" and will he bring a charge against these people? Or is it that he prefers to make false accusations where his parliamentary privilege immunizes him from their possible consequences?

There is no place in the Liberal Party for anyone who advocates a change of government by force. From the beginning the Party has preached and practised non-violence. It will continue to do so. In the Congo we have more than enough evidence of where violence can lead. The shocking murder of Mr. Lumumba and the wave of reprisal and counter-reprisal which it has set in train is all the warning anyone should need of what would happen in South Africa if political assassination and murder became the order of the day. Once that kind of thing starts there

Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party



is no stopping it and anyone who may feel drawn to a violent solution of our problems should face the fact now that violence is no solution—it is merely an aggravation—and it will do no more good here than it has done in the Congo.

Against the background of Sharpeville and Langa and reports of Government strong-arm methods from the Transkei some people may now think that the only effective answer to Government violence is more violence. Anyone thinking that way should look at Pondoland where he will find evidence to bring him to precisely the opposite conclusion. Violence is no effective answer to the might of the modern state, even were it a desirable one.

NO SHORT CUTS

Whatever the future of South Africa may offer, the Liberal Party stands four-square against violence. Violence in South Africa has invariably followed racial lines in the past and there is no reason to suppose that it would follow any other lines in the future. We have had enough of racialism here. Too many people are looking for short cuts in South Africa to-day. If what we are interested in establishing in our country is a soundly based non-racial community there are no short-cuts. There are certainly no violent short cuts and we in the Liberal Party will continue to follow the path of non-violence. That is the path which we have chosen and that is the path to which we will try to stick and no amount of provocative talk from the Prime Minister or anyone else will divert us from it.

Sam Sly

"The State of Emergency is now in its thirteenth week."

WITH the blinds down; with the articulate silenced by imprisonment, conditional release from imprisonment, and fear; the White Transkeians gagged by fear of the consequences of talking to the press, the Transkeian Territories are a far worse example of police state conditions than was most of South Africa in last year's State of Emergency.

The secrecy surrounding the detention of political prisoners makes it impossible to expose with accuracy the conditions of this imprisonment. But dozens of leading citizens of the Transkei are rotting in gaols: in conditions of shocking barbarity at Mqanduli, crawling with vermin in Ngqeleni, in rumoured solitary confinement at Umtata, and in varying conditions in other parts of the Transkei.

Transkeians are accusing the Government of using their emergency powers to influence criminal prosecutions they are bringing in connection with the resistance movement. Why else are political prisoners sent to gaols a hundred and more miles from their homes, when they might be thought to give a lead to their people when these actions are brought?

Throughout the Transkei and not only in the five "prohibited" districts of East Pondoland and Mount Ayliff, a state

of affairs that one can without exaggeration call a "reign of terror" continues.

We had a letter from Qumbu last week. It read: *We witnessed mass arrests in this district for the first time on 7th February. The people were arrested mercilessly and there is no charge laid against them. Their relatives are refused interviews with them and are not told why they have been arrested. . . . Rumour has it that they have plotted against Chief S. S. Majeke who is forcing Bantu Authorities and the Rehabilitation Scheme on us, and has caused certain residents of his location to be arrested. They have been in custody since December, 1960. They have not been charged.* This is happening in many places in the Transkei, and of some of them we hear nothing.

Mr. de Wet Nel's version, in the Senate on 27th February was:

"The Bantu people are co-operating in implementing the Bantu Authorities system. There is not one Bantu that can point his finger at me and say I am forcing Bantu Authorities on him."

The Bantustan argument in parliament drowns any reference to the state of emergency in the Transkei. Only in the Transkei is the emergency a cruel reality, and people even in the quieter areas are coming to say, as did a Pondo victim of police "questioning" (by sjambok): "Now there is no law."

TWO beautiful little Russian vessels put into Walvis Bay last month. They were the *Mukzen*, research trawler, and the *Izumrud*, factory trawler. Both

are very modern, the *Izumrud* having been built only a year ago. A visitor with a good knowledge of Russian who happened to be in the party interviewing the captain on board the *Mukzen* heard the captain's reply to the interpreter when asked, "Where are you going to?" It was, "Tell them the opposite direction." The interpreter then answered the journalists in English: "Back to Russia." Interested people are, I am told, as little aware of what the Russians are fishing for, in the way of fish.

Of deeper meaning was the behaviour of the crews on shore-leave. They went about in parties of three, one in each trio having a camera. They photographed everything imaginable. And whenever they saw a black South West African they showered him with cigarettes and sweets, and put their arms around him while the camera clicked.

One cannot imagine British or Americans being friendly and generous like this, and it is not to their credit that they are often the reverse. I recall Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's words at the Accra Conference in December, 1958:

"Do not let us forget that colonialism and imperialism may come to us yet, in a different guise, not necessarily from Europe. We must alert ourselves to be able to recognize this when it rears its head and prepare ourselves to fight it."

With which can be read Vergil's "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes" ("I fear the Greeks, even bearing gifts").

AFRICA AND THE GREAT POWERS

1. The New American Policy in G. Mennen Williams's Speeches

NAIROBI: Africa for the Africans was the declared policy of the United States, Mr. G. Mennen Williams, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said on arrival at Nairobi airport on 21st February, according to the "East African Standard".

People should have self-determination at the speed they wanted and "as far as we are concerned that is true of the Rhodesian Federation and the Union of South Africa," he added. The policy meant that Africans should have such rule as they wanted and should not be part of the cold war. What the United States sought was self-determination for those countries. "What people want for themselves is what we hope they will get," he said.

The speed of change was something

which external forces were not competent to decide. It was something which the people of Africa should work out for themselves. "They should set the pace and set their own objectives." President Kennedy has indicated his interest in the problems of Africa and this interest would be reflected in the national policy of the United States.

His visit was an indication of growing interest and was intended to show the friendship of the United States to the people in Africa.

The President also wanted to extend American friendship to the people in Kenya, said a report in the *Daily Nation*. "We feel that Africa is going to be of increasing importance in our national policy," said Mr. Williams. "We don't believe in discrimination in any way. In our Declaration of Independence it says, 'All men are created equal'."

These remarks called down a storm of criticism on Mr. Williams from White South Africans and some Conservatives in Britain and the U.S.

At a later interview Mr. Williams explained that when he said "Africa for the Africans" he meant by the word "African" all the people that have made their homes in Africa.

Further indications of the new Kennedy Administration's African policy appeared from a speech given by Mr. Williams to the delegates to the current U.N. Economic Commission for Africa on 17th February in Addis Ababa.

Points from the speech were:

Just before I left Washington, President Kennedy called me to the White House to express personally his hearty greetings to the people of Africa.

It is a privilege to be with you for a time, to enlarge my acquaintanceship with you and to learn from you what we may do together in the service of freedom and brotherhood in Africa.

President Kennedy stated in his message to your Conference: "We want the nations of Africa to be their own masters and to grow in vigour and prosperity."



G. MENNEN WILLIAMS

Africa has a great destiny. That destiny will be shaped in what you have chosen to call the African personality. It will be something uniquely of your own making. But you will, I believe, be drawing on the same great truths that fashioned our American revolution. In Philadelphia in 1776 our Declaration of Independence spoke not alone for America but the whole world when it said "We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal."

I have been asked by the President to repeat to you personally that we stand ready to give concrete support toward the advancement of economic co-operation among African states.

For me this is a prelude to a journey which I have just begun but which in the year ahead will take me to all parts of the continent.

P.A.C. Leader on Policy



Mr. Peter Raboroko, Education Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, pictured in Dar es Salaam on arrival from the Central African Federation (extreme left) with Mr. Gaur Radebe, one of the organizers of the South African United Front (centre). To Mr. Radebe's left is one of the escapees of the P.A.C., Mr. M. Ndibongo.

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Mr. Peter Raboroko, secretary of the education section of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa who left the Union in March, 1960, said on his arrival here on 17th February that he and his colleagues had been sent out by the executive committee of the P.A.C. to "tell our Africa and the four corners of the world the truth about South Africa".

Mr. Raboroko added: "We are missionaries. And our mission is that of telling the truth."

Mr. Raboroko was the first Pan Africanist Congress member to address a press conference following the arrival of four other members of the P.A.C.—Messrs. L. Mgweba, B. Siboto, A. Mampe and M. Ndibongo—earlier this month. These four refused to make any press statement or to indicate their next move.

"Have no truck with any of the so-called leaders (in South Africa) who have no simple clear and clear-cut policy and programme to offer for the solution of our national question," Mr. Raboroko said.

Mr. Raboroko said the time had come for the Pan Africanists to unite, protect and advance the interests of Africa. "The idea of an African High Command, the most fertile idea that has come from our independent African states, must be implemented without delay," Mr. Raboroko told the press conference. "We must all remember what the Osagyefo, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has repeatedly told us: to unite and save ourselves and our interests, or to disunite and disintegrate and sell ourselves to the foreigners."

Mr. Raboroko said Pan Africanists were ready to fight their own battles and if necessary "to stew in our own juice".

Mr. Raboroko said that the Pan Africanists and other freedom fighters were badly in need of help. "What form that help must take is not for us to say. We shall for our part welcome even the widow's mite."

In answer to questions from the many newsmen representing local and world press, Mr. Raboroko said Pan Africanists were prepared to accept "military aid if need arose" from the independent African States but not foreign military aid. He did not consider accepting help or military help from independent African states as "outside interference" but an "internal matter".

Mr. Raboroko said he and his colleagues were planning "positive action". By that he did not mean violence. "We would leave this (violence) to the oppressors in South Africa, for we consider violence will not pay because we have not got any military training as our oppressors have".

For the time being, however, the Pan Africanists were prepared to take "positive action" to intensify the struggle in South Africa, Mr. Raboroko said. He believed South Africa would be free by 1963.

Mr. Raboroko would not comment on his present trip to Ghana where he is expected within the next few weeks. He would not disclose when he intended to return to South Africa. He hopes, however, to visit the All African Peoples Conference in Cairo next month.

2. Communist Policy Cape Leftist Professor gives survey

A DETAILED survey of communism in Africa was given by Professor Jack Simons, of the Department of African Studies of the University of Cape Town at a Summer School lecture on 17th February.

Over many years the South African Left has regarded Prof. Simons as one of its chief "theoreticians".

In the lecturer's view the advent of communism in Africa was inevitable. He held this view despite the following apparent weaknesses:

- It was estimated at a recent Afro-Asian conference that the number of communists in Africa totalled only 50,000 (i.e. one African in 4,400).
- In all Africa there were only three countries where the Communist Party was legal: Morocco, Tunis, and Algeria.
- And as yet not one African country practises socialism.

Communism could come to Africa, claimed Dr. Simons, along one or more of three paths: through African communist parties, through the "socialist" countries, or through the activities of non-communist Africans.

MOSCOW

"The popular concept is that communist parties take their order from Moscow. It is reasonable to accept that the U.S.S.R. is playing a part in Africa, as it is in its interests to do so. The Soviet Union wishes to untie Africa from Western colonialism because it hopes in this way to share in the raw materials available, and to obtain markets for her trade. The Soviet Union hopes also to reduce the value of Western bases in Africa.

"At the same time it will take the U.S.S.R. decades to make up the leeway, as the West has exercised an unimpeded influence over Africa for the past 500 years," said Dr. Simons.

In view of the West's flying start, why was the Soviet Union seen as such a

formidable competitor, asked the lecturer.

The reasons he gave were: the Soviet Union

- has maintained a constant stand against colonialism,
- preaches revolt, like the African nationalists,
- provides the techniques for quick change,
- gives Africans the opportunity of remaining neutral.

Dr. Simons gave the following illustrations of the above:

AID

"When the West withdrew aid from Egypt for the Aswan Dam, Russia stepped in with financial and technical aid. There are no more strings attached to Russia's 14-million pound loan to Ghana than to the World Bank's 30-million pound loan. Russia is also offering loans at rates of interest as low as 2 to 2½% whereas the West offers loans at 3 to 4% interest. Africa chooses to go to the East for aid because it is readily available.

"Radio programmes are beamed to Africa from Moscow and Peking in English, French and Arabic, and there are cultural exchanges between Africa and the Eastern bloc. These influences are combatting centuries of Western influence—there may be hundreds of Africans studying behind the iron curtain but there are thousands studying in England, France and America.

"Communism is often compared to religion—both claim to bring about a change through a pre-determined vision. The main difference is that in communism the vision is to be realized here on earth," said Professor Simons in conclusion.

Kenya moves towards Democracy

This on-the-spot report discusses the results of the recent Kenya elections. The way is now clear for a Kenya-for-Kenyans government.

From "Contact" Special Representative

NAIROBI: The recent Kenya elections have given Africans their first majority in Legislative Council. The Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.) has emerged with a larger majority than expected over its nearest rival the Kenya African Democratic Union (K.A.D.U.). K.A.N.U. has the support of most of the handful of African independent members. It will also be backed by White members from the New Kenya Party whose members and sympathisers won at least five of the 10 White seats. K.A.N.U. will also have the backing of a number of Asians.

K.A.N.U. will further strengthen its position when it comes to voting for the National seat members. These seats are elected by Legislative Council sitting as an electoral college on a 4 White, 4 Asian, and 4 African basis. As K.A.N.U. and its supporters have a majority in the Legislative Council their votes will carry the most weight in the election of the National seats. Thus they will further strengthen their position in Legco, as will the New Kenya Party—the Blundellites.

COMMON ROLL BASIS

All voting in the elections was on a common roll basis. This meant that voters often found themselves voting for candidates of other races. African voters were in a vast majority and they promptly reversed the position in the primary elections when voters voted for candidates of their own race. For example, the New Kenya Party leader Michael Blundell, had African backing, and he defeated the settlers' Coalition Party leader Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck by a majority of nearly 18,000. In the primary elections Blundell had been heavily defeated, but he scraped through into the next round—the

common roll elections—and won convincingly.

Almost all the main African leaders won convincingly in their own districts including A. O. Oginga-Odinga, Tom Mboya, Ronald Ngala (K.A.D.U.), Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, while James Gichuru, the K.A.N.U. president, and Masinde Muliro (K.A.D.U.) were returned unopposed.

INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

Kenyans of all races are congratulating themselves on the way the elections were conducted. Some Whites expected violence and sent their wives out of the country and there was widespread expectation of trouble.

About a million African voters registered—almost everyone who was entitled to do so—and when election time arrived polls were almost universally high, some up to 94 per cent. No bad feeling was aroused between the races. On the contrary, inter-racial co-operation improved as African election teams organized their people's support for White candidates and as African leaders spoke on Indian and White platforms.

The police did an admirable job and Kenya went to the polls excited, enthusiastic, but without bitterness or violence. Some Whites passed through the crowd that was celebrating Tom Mboya's gigantic electoral victory. At first the Africans were puzzled to see Whites in their midst, but then one of



Tom Mboya, under electoral symbol "Ndege" (bird, i.e. aeroplane), speaks to a crowd. He is dressed in traditional clothes and has just asked the crowd to

them shouted, "Go in peace, go in peace, we will now have our UHURU", and with that the car was escorted through the cheering black crowd.

From every part of Kenya stories like this are coming in showing the success of this common roll experiment. The result is an African majority in the Legislative Council and now the stage has been set for a popular African government supported by Ministers from other races and officials.

DISPUTES

Most election fervour was aroused by disputes among the African candidates themselves. This was natural as a result of the division between K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. and the bad feeling which existed between K.A.N.U. leaders. Personal rivalry was particularly strong between Tom Mboya, K.A.N.U. Secretary General, and A. Oginga-Odinga, K.A.N.U. Vice-president. Oginga-Odinga was largely responsible for putting up a K.A.N.U. rival candidate in Mboya's Nairobi seat. Dr. Waiyaki was chosen on the assumption that he would win the Kikuyu voters, who were in a majority, away from Mboya. But the electorate nailed tribalism on the head by returning Mboya with a 28,739 majority. Mr. Arthur Ochwada, another rival of Mboya and friend of Odinga, came bottom of the poll in Nakuru and

lost his deposit. Ronald Ngala, however, leader of the K.A.D.U. party won a sweeping victory in his coastal constituency of Kilifi.

AFRICAN-LED GOVERNMENT

It is almost impossible to make a clear forecast of what will happen next in Kenya politics. It was obviously the intention of Colonial Secretary, Iain



OGINGA-ODINGA

Macleod, and the Kenya Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, to make this election result in an African-led government supported by most members in the Kenya legislature. The government wants to get the African leaders to accept at least four elected Ministries.

KENYATTA

But the main stumbling block is that K.A.N.U.'s governing council has already declared that its party will not take part in government until Jomo Kenyatta is released. Similar declarations have repeatedly been made by Mboya, Gichuru, Odinga and all the main K.A.N.U. leaders.

The Governor will want to form an effective government and the African members will want to take advantage of their electoral victory.

It was widely expected that the Governor would agree to move Kenyatta from his present prison in the scorching desert of Lodwar, to some more congenial surroundings, providing K.A.N.U. is prepared to form a government with its leaders taking elected Ministries.

In this way Kenyatta might be allowed to see his people and to consult African elected members, though he would not be allowed to stand for Legislative Council or become Chief Minister.

In return the K.A.N.U. leaders would be prepared to accept Ministries and to form a government by getting as much



Peter Marrian, New Kenya Party candidate, is supported by Dr. Mungai Njeroge of the Kenya African National Union (both on platform). A Kikuyu crowd in a country district question the candidate. He was later returned with a majority of 10,073 votes over Coalition Party's Sir Charles Markham's 1,592 votes.

MEMORANDUM TO WILLIAMS

United Front Seeks U.S. Support

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Leaders of the South African United Front here have appealed to the United States of America through its visiting Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. G. Mennen Williams who visited Dar es Salaam from 24th February to 26th February on a fact-finding tour of African territories, for American support "for the struggle of the oppressed people of South and South West Africa against the policy of apartheid and White domination" in the Union.

The Front leaders jointly signed a three-page memorandum outlining the aims and objects of the Front which, they said, represented five organizations in South and South West Africa and "united in their desire to free South Africa and South West Africa of the all-White Government's rule and to bring about a free, independent South

Africa and South West Africa in which there shall be no race superiority".

The memorandum emphasized that in South Africa non-White political organizations were being faced with increasing Government restrictions.

It claimed that the Verwoerd Government has taken no notice of the strong worldwide condemnations which fol-

lowed Sharpeville, including statements by the British Government, the U.S. Government and the U.N. Security Council as well as the clear views expressed by many Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their Conference in May, 1960.

It added: "It was with full awareness of this world-wide hostility towards apartheid and White domination that the South African Government proceeded to enforce its Bantu Authorities and Bantustan policies in Pondoland, which is now the scene of ugly military operations."

ARROGANT DEFIANCE

"South Africa's arrogant defiance of the world community which handed South West Africa to the Union Government for administration as a sacred trust is typical," the memorandum said.

"In its belief that world intervention in the South African situation can compel drastic changes of policy in full keeping with the trend of developments on the African Continent, the South African United Front is using all available international channels in pressing its appeals for world support and action. It is for that reason that we table these matters to you.

OUT OF THE COMMONWEALTH

"The 12 million people of South Africa who were forbidden by the Verwoerd Government from participating in the referendum which was to decide whether South Africa shall be a republic or not, now demand that South Africa should be kept out of the Commonwealth," the memorandum emphasized. "In seeking support for this action, the South African United Front has sent delegations to other countries of the Commonwealth. Governments, organizations and peoples of all Commonwealth countries are being approached to intensify pressure for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth and from the United Nations Organization."

"The South African situation has now ceased to be one that can be settled by gentle persuasion, a change of heart or by mere condemnation, however strongly expressed," the memorandum declared. "It should be seen for what it is—a serious threat to peace and security, calling for forceful and resolute measures as a matter of urgency.

PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN POLICY

"Finally, we should like to take this opportunity to appeal for immediate material support in regard to our office and the South African refugees. We are appealing directly to your Government or ruling party because we believe we are correct in assuming that the policy of your country in so far as African affairs are concerned means to drive for progress."

Mr. Williams would not commit himself either to any fixed policy towards South Africa but maintained that the United States policy towards that country had been abundantly made clear by President Kennedy in his inauguration address.

Nevertheless, the Front has achieved one objective in presenting the memorandum from this distance on South Africa. It has brought into focus the gravity of the situation in South Africa and it was equally gratifying to be assured by Mr. Williams himself that he would "carefully study" the Front's memorandum while he continued his tour of Africa.



0,000 crowd on the eve of the elections. raise hands if they support him.

support as they can from the Asians and Whites that have already been returned to the Legco.

NO COMPROMISE

But it has now become clear that K.A.N.U. is not prepared to accept compromise. Mr. Mboya said on 5th March that his party would not co-operate in Kenya's government unless Kenyatta



NGALA

were released. K.A.N.U. has decided to ask the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, to visit Kenya as soon as possible. They want him to review the situation. Mr. Mboya said K.A.N.U.'s stand on this question was irrevocable.

CHIEF MINISTER

But when the Kenyatta issue has been resolved, one of the first moves in the new Legco will be to get a Chief Minister. There is no provision for this post in the constitution, nor is there anything specifically against it. The present Chief Secretary is the nominated Minister, Mr. W. F. Coutts, but he is soon expected to become Governor of Uganda. This will leave the way clear for a Chief Minister in Kenya. The Kenya Governor could also use the appointment of an African elected Chief Minister as part of the attempt to secure concessions on the Kenyatta issue.

MBOYA DISLIKED

It is still too early to tell who will become Kenya's first Chief Minister, or even to guess who the Ministers will be. Though Tom Mboya electorally massacred his opponents, he will now find himself in the midst of a much sterner struggle in the corridors of Legislative Council. Some leaders in K.A.N.U. dislike him so much that they might prefer a coalition with K.A.D.U. rather than work with him in a new Kenya government.

Tembuland Murder Trial

'The Whole Thing Stinks'

From "Contact" Correspondent

ENGCOBO: On 3rd March six were committed for trial on a charge of murdering Headman Spalding Matyile and Acting Headman Willie Mtambeka, of the original 24 men who appeared in the Engcobo Magistrate's Court in the preparatory examination.

The men were defended by Messrs. R. S. Canca of Idutywa and L. F. Gibson of Engcobo.

At the resumption of the preparatory examination yet another witness, Mr. Ntebelele Nduna, denied that he had signed the statement attributed to him, since he had never been to school and could not sign his name.

The witness then revealed that he had been hit between the eyes by the police and had been taken to the stables and given electric shocks. After questioning though he was never charged as an accomplice, he was "hidden away" at Nqamakwe gaol many miles away, until the day of the trial.

Mr. Gibson: Here we have a case where four Crown witnesses are kept in a far away gaol after making a statement. Of the eight accused who made

confessions, two, those of Messrs. Dingani Majija and Gcaleka Mduna, were found by the magistrate to be exculpatory.

Of the six finally charged, Mr. Gibson stated: "At a later stage, these confessions will be strenuously attacked, but their validity is not for this court to decide. What with alleged beating, electric shocks, locking witnesses in gaol—to use a common phrase 'the whole thing stinks'."

The six are to appear before the Circuit Court at Umtata in April. They are: Sikulu Madika, Kehle Mazantsana, Nkosayiko Mabona, Pupu Majija, Makambi Matwele, and Kauleza Majija.

All pleaded not guilty and reserved their defence.

FOOTNOTE: On 28th February all but seven of the 42 accused were charged with murdering Headman Sitolotolo Nogilana of Rwantana location, Lady Frere district, on 4th January.

Three witnesses denied in court that they had made statements incriminating some of the accused. Five of the accused also made confessions according to the *Daily Dispatch*. The thirty-five all pleaded not guilty and reserved their defence.



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More Transkei Arrests

From "Contact" Correspondent

ENGCOBO: While special courts are to be set up for the hundreds awaiting trial in East Pondoland, an unknown number of leading citizens from other areas of the Transkei are still being held as political prisoners, with no idea of their ultimate fate.

The latest three known to have been arrested are:

- Ex-Headman Zwelidumile Dalasile, of Eluhewini location, Engcobo district, detained about 22nd February.
- Mr. Lolwana Nkohl, also of Engcobo district, believed to have been detained at the same time as Mr. Dalasile.
- Rev. Mr. Ntinkina of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Qokolweni, near Umtata, detained 1st March.

No reasons are known for these latest detentions, even by the families of the men concerned. [See *Sam Sly*, p. 2.]

Rhodesians Mourn Lumumba

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: Southern Rhodesia's non-racial National Democratic Party decided in Highfield, a local township, at one of the many meetings held in many parts of Southern Rhodesia to observe 19th January as "Lumumba Day", in remembrance of his tragic death. The suggestion came from one of the audience and was widely supported. Another decision was that a fund-raising campaign be organized by all N.D.P. branches and that the money be sent to the family of the late Congo premier.

Earlier speakers condemned "Western imperialism" in the strongest terms as the main villains in the Lumumba tragedy. One speaker, Mr. Enos Nkala, deputy Secretary-General of the N.D.P., who addressed three meetings, two in Harare in the morning and one in Highfield in the afternoon, said: "I firmly put the blame for Lumumba's death on the shoulders of the United States

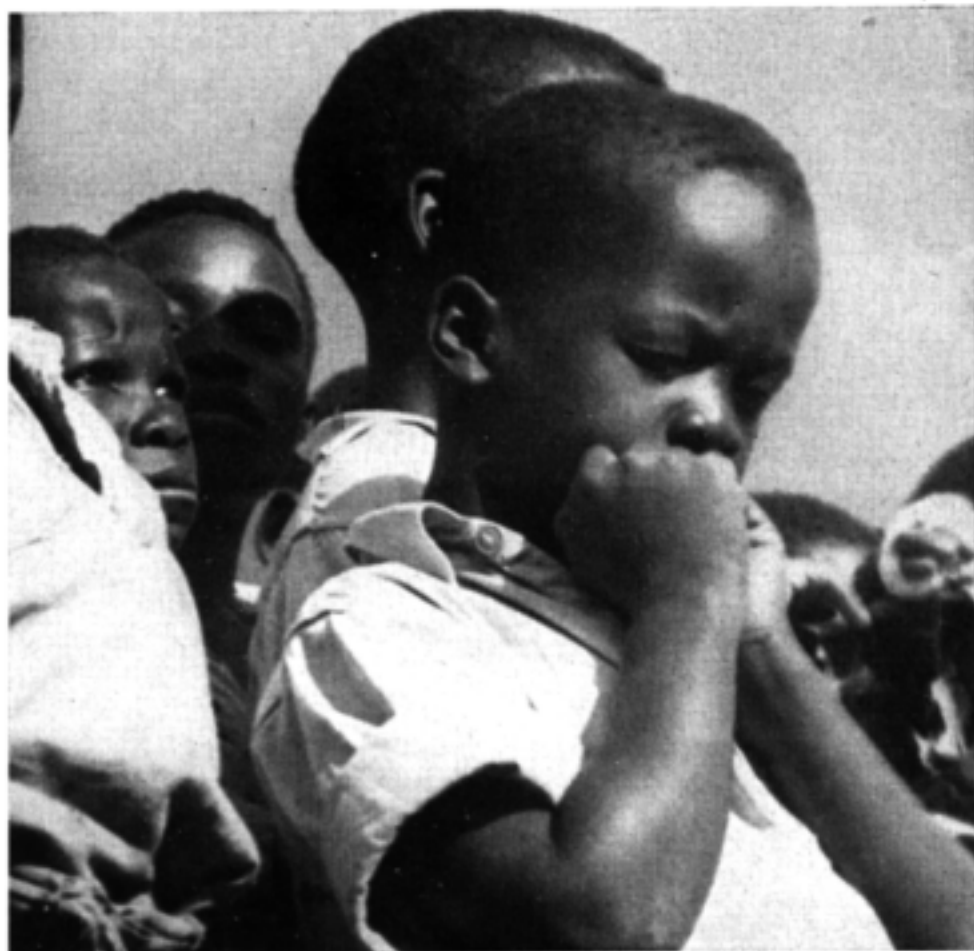
of America. Tshombe and the Belgians were merely catspaws."

Commenting on S. Rhodesia's recent constitutional talks, Mr. Nkala told his audience in Harare that they might be called very soon to back the party in non-violent positive action. He went on: "We were refused one man one vote. The N.D.P. will take action as had never been taken before in the history of the world, but it will not be violent action. This action will foil the efforts of the imperialists to perpetuate their brutal rule."

Members of the Women's League turned up in black dresses and wore black ribbons around their heads. Members of the Youth Council, on their part, wore black armbands and held placards condemning "Western Imperialism", whilst some members of the public wore black suits, dresses or armbands.

To honour his death, there was a one-minute silence. Some people could be seen weeping, deeply touched by the death of the "Greatest Son of Africa" as one of the speakers put it.

CHILDREN MOURN



Children as well as grown-ups observe the one-minute silence at an N.D.P. meeting called to mourn Mr. Lumumba.



Mr. Enos Nkala, deputy Secretary-General of the N.D.P., addressing the "Mourn Lumumba" meeting at Highfields, Salisbury.

Mr. Honey Concedes

WHITE South African sportsmen, when defending their sports policies to the outside world often take the line that there is no discrimination in South African sport. They explain the absence of non-White South Africans from Springbok teams by saying that non-White sportsmen are so backward and of such low standard that they could not be considered for any national team.

At the biennial general meeting of the non-racial South African Sports Association held in January, Mr. Reg. Honey, South African representative of the International Olympic Committee, was forced to admit that discrimination does in fact exist.

Dennis Brutus, Honorary Secretary of S.A.S.A., discusses the implication of this admission.

WHEN the South African Sports Association began its fight against racialism in sport two years ago in Durban, two major targets selected were the International Olympic Committee and Mr. Reg. Honey, Q.C.

The I.O.C. is the most powerful sporting body in the world, with most of the world's sports federations affiliated to it. Its charter outlaws racial discrimination and the I.O.C. has the power—which it has not hesitated to use—to enforce sanctions against countries which violates the charter.

IMPOSING APARTHEID

Mr. Honey is a life member of the I.O.C., its representative in South Africa, and, until recently, Chairman of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association—the body principally responsible for imposing a colour bar on South African sport.

In the two years of its existence, S.A.S.A. has, in carrying on its fight, made repeated assaults on the I.O.C. citadel, including the massive memorandum to the Munich Congress in 1959, the lobbying for which was done by the Rev. Michael Scott, challenges at the executive meetings in Rome during 1959, and a charge of racial discrimination laid on behalf of S.A.S.A. by Mr. Scott and Mr. Nana Mahomo in Rome in May, 1960 (see *Contact*, 17th December, 1960). In addition, there have been frequent approaches to Avery Brundage and Otto Meyer, president and chancellor respectively of the I.O.C. There will be many more until the fight is won.

And Mr. Honey? There have been interviews and letters: but the major break-through came when he agreed to speak at the S.A.S.A. biennial general meeting held in January this year. The problem was how to use this occasion

MR. HONEY'S ADMISSION

In reply to a question "Do you deny that there is discrimination in sport?" Mr. Honey said, "I have no doubt that there is discrimination in sport, just as there is in other fields—social, political and economic. When non-Whites are represented by Whites in parliament, that is discrimination. I do not doubt that there is discrimination."

to the best advantage, for Mr. Honey, while he has been very courteous, has also been very unhelpful.

DEFENDS SOUTH AFRICA

From reports we know that his role at I.O.C. meetings has been to defend the South African situation and deny that there is discrimination in South African sport.

What was needed from Mr. Honey was a clear admission that there was racial discrimination in the internationally-recognized sports bodies which administer sport on a national basis in South Africa.

We got this and much more.

Not only did Mr. Honey admit that discrimination existed, but he urged that



BRUTUS

those who were discriminated against should accept this discrimination—they should compromise, even if only for a time, by agreeing to representation by Whites on sports governing bodies, and having separate trials for Olympic events.

Now that Mr. Honey has conceded two important points, we can expect the I.O.C. to be much more active.

Because Mr. Honey began with admissions which we had been trying to wring from him, it was possible for the conference to attempt a more ambitious objective at once: to extract from Mr. Honey that it was his duty to condemn South Africa's violation of the Olympic Charter, and to align himself with the non-racial bodies under S.A.S.A. which were fighting to uphold the Olympic principles.

AGREES

Mr. Honey agreed, but gave no firm undertaking that he would act.

There is another important aspect of the meeting with Mr. Honey: the reaction of the sports administrators. They rejected unanimously his plea for compromise.

S.A.S.A.'s uncompromising attitude, its insistence on principle, was publicly demonstrated and vindicated.

Our fight for fair play is backed by sportsmen throughout South Africa. We continue strengthened in this assurance.

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

The murder of Lumumba

SIR,—I found your editorial entitled "The Murder of Lumumba" most amazing. I seem to see the situation there from a completely different angle.

Mr. Lumumba (whatever his qualities and his faults were) was the legal representative of the Congolese people. But America was not going to have a man with leftist tendencies run such a big portion of Africa. So with the co-operation of the Belgians they decided to break the Congo up in small portions, with the hope of having some of them being pro-American—and Tshombe was chosen as the Belgian stooge. So it is clear enough that America is behind all the trouble in the Congo.

You then say that the Russians used Mr. Lumumba's death to finish off Mr. Hammarskjöld's career. But what would America have done if the Secretary of the U.N.O. were a communist? The only solution should be a triumvirate representing East-West and a neutral country. But America turned this idea down.

Then you say that the Russians wish to extend their grip on the Congo.

Maybe you are right, but you forget that their grip is only to help the Congolese towards self-determination, and not to "colonize" them. Who are we to decide what type of government they should have. If they want communism, let them have communism; and if they want Western democracy, let them have Western democracy.

Communism is not a Russian theory, but Marxist one. You can be a communist without necessarily being pro-German or pro-Russian.

MRS. C. METCALFE,
Kenilworth, Cape.

Perhaps our correspondent can tell us which countries in the Russian grip have been helped towards self-determination—Hungary, perhaps? And was not Imry Nagy, murdered by the Russians, the "legal representative of the Hungarian people"?—Editor.

Invitation to students

SIR,—I am a teacher at senior high school in Osaka, Japan. I hope to learn and study the thought and conduct of young people in your country. In our country, nowadays, most pupils and students have little idea for the future but luxurious living. Wishes for peace are very great but they have little idea for duty. They are materialists, and don't like spiritual training. It is very difficult to cultivate their spirit for world-wide culture. So I hope to know how your young peoples' thought is and how to teach them on this point.

If you can, please introduce me to high school students in your country, to exchange letters with our pupils.

TOKUTARO ENAMI,
332 Iga Habikini-shi,
Osaka, Japan.

African tragedy

SIR,—To-day I think it is my responsibility to inform you, brothers and sisters of Africa, of the tragedy that befalls every African youngster.

This tragedy is the shortage of education.

When we pass our Std. VI or higher standards, we have to go to work for the money to proceed with our education, the sole reason for this being that scholarships and bursaries are very hard

for Africans to get. In all my short life I have never seen a White child having to leave school for this reason.

Surely bursaries should go to those who are poorest.

Another factor is this: even if you have the means to proceed with education, you fail to get admission to school because there is a great shortage of schools.

I am sure that many children who pass their exams every year cannot continue studying for the reasons I have given. I am one of them.

What does the government think of this? How can it claim to protect us what it acts thus. Please, dear Government, see to it that both your children are well fed.

HOWLER,
Piggs Peak, Swaziland.

Introducing...

SIR,—I wish to introduce myself to all readers of *Contact* who feel likewise to fight for democratic government that is blowing all over Africa—washing away all those decayed seeds wishing to infect the continent.

At first I wish to let you know that I am an agent of *Contact*, and above that one of the strongest members of of the United National Independence Party, Chingola youth brigade, which is playing an important part in telling people how to unite and do the job together that is to lead them to Black government.

I hope every one of your readers shall respond a great deal to my politics in letters that shall be published in *Contact*—Kwacha!

LUDWIG S. SONDASHI,
Chingola, N.R.

Keep on fighting!

SIR,—Friends of us slaves of Africa! In this place there are no freedom fighters. It seems to me they are still puzzled about their leaders.

But I was very glad to see that there is a new office in Dar es Salaam of the South African United Front. I just hope those leaders will not forget us, that they will keep on fighting the Nationalist government until we are free in South Africa.

Long live the freedom people—long live the African people!

IZWE LETHU,
Johannesburg.

Flower garden apartheid

SIR,—The filthy injustices of apartheid have entered into the field of horticulture. The Bellville Horticultural Society which recently held a flower show advertised that this was for "Europeans only". This is not the first time that they have done this. Last year they also enforced the colour bar.

This ridiculous nonsense means, simply, that if a man's skin is too dark he cannot exhibit his prize dahlia or gladioli or whatever his plant may be. Some of Bellville's most attractive gardens are owned by Coloured people who live in the "Coloured area" (so decreed by the Group Areas) of Bellville South.

I always understood that apartheid was ridiculous but I never thought it would descend upon the plant world from its clouds of fantasy.

A YOUNG NON-RACIALIST,
Cape Town.

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

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READERS OF "CONTACT"

let us have your views

- on "Helrith's" letter on this page.
- on the Freedom struggle.
- always send your name and address and a photo if you like.

Afrikaner to African

SIR,—I am an Afrikaans Afrikaner of South Africa. I am one of the "oppressors".

Because I believe in being objective, I am a reader of *Contact*. I do not agree with its ideas.

Answer me one question: Do you really want to desert a culture, a background of thousands of years' standing, to become artificial Europeans? What is wrong with your own race that you wish to desert your heritage?

Your skin is black, mine is white. What has that got to do with the whole question. As far as I am concerned (remember, I am an Afrikaner) that is of no importance.

For every ten educated men among you, there are thousands who prefer the old autocratic tribal government, because it is their heritage—and a great one.

For every thousand educated men, one of you may be a potential ruler. But you wish to vote, you wish a democratic government of millions of completely uneducated people. How on earth will you subject nine million people to democracy when their natural heritage

is to obey one ruler and not the voice of the people. How on earth will you guard against the anarchy of the Congo. How will you guard against the chaos of the Congo?

Do you wish South Africa to be another Congo?—where you will die from starvation—your wife and children subjected to slavery by your ambitious rulers from rival tribes?

Or, do you wish your nation to grow to greatness with a bloodless passage of time, till at last you are able enough to fill your right and rightful place in the White society (which by that time will be completely unprejudiced against you).

Can you not see that we are keeping your places open for you? Or are you too blinded by propaganda to realize that! Believe me, we are waiting for you.

Give my government time and we will give you all you deserve—hospitals, churches, homes—yes, my friend, even complete equality. But first you must give us TIME.

Owing to the shortage of space, I have made many statements, unexplained, unproven. Attack them! Now is the time to be open. That is the only way to understand one another.

HELRITH,
Stellenbosch.

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THE "BLACK JACKS" STRIKE

SIR,—The elegant model township of Kwa Thema, in Springs, with its country-wide fame, has still to contend with the degrading methods adopted and carried out by its local Municipal Police, when they are on the rampage of raiding and arresting "illegal lodgers". Their special day is a Sunday morning.

I don't own any property but what I have seen and experienced in the hands of these diligent "executors of the law" has left an indelible mark on my mind. I am also certain that I am not speaking for myself only against these "men of order" but for the other teeming thousands who perhaps lack tongue and guts to protest against this humiliation.

When the "Black Jacks" are on their arresting expedition, they leave awe, embarrassment, chagrin and humiliation in their track. Some of the victims are hustled and packed away, half naked and wearing half-asleep, sullen faces. Women are allowed just time enough to throw a blanket over themselves.

The victims of these raids are sons and daughters, whose age has malignantly deprived them of the pleasures of being included in the family's Permit Book and, of course, friends and weekend visitors.

The ordeal of being arrested en masse and the process of being hustled from a minor local charge office to a more august and senior charge office in Springs takes a course of six hours. Experience has also taught me that the "unrecognized group" comes back, after paying their fines, to wash, breakfast and go off to church or to the sports field, while the visitors come back to their friends, collect their things and scamper away to their "home locations" where perhaps their homes are more respected. On their way homeward they leave a mug of scorn and contempt. The residents of Kwa Thema township just shrug their shoulders and wait for another Sunday morning when at the first sign of the dawning sun of the most holy day, the "Black Jacks" will strike again—but the *where* and *when* remain a painful question to ponder.

WORSE-SUFFERER,
Springs, Transvaal.

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Government Creates Transkei Home Guards

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Mobile watch troops are said to have been withdrawn from the Transkei but tough police action by Major du Plooy's 50 to 100 men continue. Two headmen who had been driven away by their people have been recently reinstated, with police first on the scene to prepare the way.

At 4.30 a.m. on 1st March police arrived in about 15 vans at Baziya location and rounded up an audience who were bundled into vans and brought before Mr. Victor Leibbrandt, Chief Magistrate, the local magistrate, Mr. Potgieter, Colonel J. A. C. Reay, and an agricultural officer, Mr. Bosman. The Headman who had been "burnt out" and chased away last year, Mr. A. J. Yengwa, was then produced. Mr. Leibbrandt told his reluctant audience that they must bring complaints to him and must not attack Headman Yengwa.

He nevertheless called for a "home guard" of 20 to 30 men to guard the headman, offering £5 a month to each man. A small camp is being built next to Mr. Yengwa's home, which is being fenced off.

The party then moved on to neighbouring Mputi location where an audience had also been forcibly rounded up. Mr. Leibbrandt told the Mputi people that he would hold them responsible should anything happen to Headman Yengwa. He also called for recruits for Mr. Yengwa's "home guard" from Mputi location.

Shortly before this Mr. Leibbrandt reinstated Chief Makosonke Sigcawu, Bizana district, also calling for a "home guard". Mr. Leibbrandt has since told the Press that "home guards" have been appointed in four districts "after chiefs and headmen applied for them"

"BANTU MATRIC" PLANNED

From "Contact" Correspondent

EAST LONDON: At Fort Hare matriculated entries at the beginning of the 1961 academic year dropped down to a mere nineteen (compared with 117 in 1958).

The figure of the total student body dropped down to 320 from last year's 360.

At Ngoye, Zululand, the matriculated entries in 1961 were either 3 or 9. Most of the students are not matriculated and are doing one form of diploma or another.

The news has now leaked out here that a decision has recently been taken by the Examination Board of the Bantu Education Department to establish a Bantu Matriculation Certificate, with standards low enough to allow more pupils to pass.

It will be recalled that in mid-February the Bantu Education Department reported that in the seven years since the government took over the education of African children from the missions the percentage of matriculation passes has dropped from 47.3 to 17.9.

STOP PRESS

Cape ex-P.A.C. Men Arrested

CAPE TOWN, 6th March: Cape Town police acted at 9 p.m. on 4th March in a swoop to round up the following people:

Mr. Mlamli Makwetu
Mr. Hudson Gila
Messrs. Mamponye, Mhambi, Tandala and one other.

Observers believe that these people were connected with certain plans for demonstrations during the month of March in Cape Town, about which all sorts of rumours have been circulating round the whole country. It is probable that the planned demonstrations will not now occur.

Acting apparently on inside information, a large force of police in fifteen vans completely surrounded the flats in Langa on Saturday evening, and combed them. The Flats are the large bachelor quarters which dominate the township. They found the people mentioned above either just before a meeting or just after a meeting, our informant was not clear which.

The people arrested were members of the now banned Pan Africanist Congress.

At the same time a youngster named Ntantala was arrested in Nyanga Transit Camp, and it is said that a list of names was found on him.

Other leaders in Nyanga and Langa had their houses raided early on Sunday morning. One person was woken up

between 5 a.m. and 6 a.m. and his house carefully ransacked for papers.

It is expected that all the people arrested will appear in Wynberg Magistrate's court on 7th March.

STOP PRESS

Leaders' Conference

It was announced to-day (6th March, 1961) that Messrs. J. K. Ngubane, Julius Malie, H. Bhengu and two others had walked out of the Continuation Committee of the African Leaders' Conference.

In a statement to *Contact* Mr. Ngubane said, "We have walked out because I, as chairman, wanted time to heal the breach between the two sections of the freedom movement."

"The majority were not willing to give us that time."

"I shall be making a full statement to the press within a few days."

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THIS and subsequent issues will be dated Thursday instead of Saturday.

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Why

NEW AGE

Attacked

contact

By the Editor

IN an editorial we comment on an unprovoked attack on *Contact* in the latest issue of *New Age* (p. 2).

Our readers will wish to know the story behind this story. Why does one paper, supporting the democratic opposition to Dr. Verwoerd, attack another paper in the forefront of the same fight?

The reason is this: for over thirty years the South African communists have tried to capture the leadership of the African National Congress. Knowing that their doctrine was too difficult for the masses to understand, they sought to capture the leaders of the mass movements.

The plan was to ride in on the shoulders of these leaders, to share power with them at first and then to liquidate them, thus leaving the communists in power.

That was how it happened in Russia and also later in several East European countries.

At any rate, the South African communists had succeeded so well that by the early fifties it was "not done" to mention them in liberal circles. Radicals would criticize Dr. Verwoerd's crazy and cruel plans, but it was "not done" to mention the destruction of whole nations by Stalin, or the imperialism of the communist Russians and Chinese.

Curious Superstition

For three years now, *Contact* has refused to accept this curious superstition and, when the communists did something blameworthy, *Contact* blamed them. The world is one, and if it is blameworthy to endorse a man out of Cape Town because of his race, it is also blameworthy for the Kremlin to deport the entire

Chechen-Ingush nation, numbering 700,000.

Contact is against tyranny and racialism and colonialism everywhere. We have criticized for instance, and will continue to criticize, the inhuman treatment of negroes in the United States.

It is because *Contact* has not feared to speak up against all tyrannies, all imperialisms and all colonialisms, that it has earned the hatred of *New Age*, the defender of soviet colonialism, tyranny and imperialism.

In 1959, *Contact* exposed the following South African communist plan for taking over the A.N.C., thus drawing the particular anger of *New Age*.

C.P.S.A. PLAN TO TAKE OVER A.N.C.

ON 6th-8th January, 1950, just before it was dissolved, the Communist Party of South Africa received from its central committee a long report. Paragraph 121 of this report read:

"The national organizations, to be effective, must be transformed into a revolutionary party of workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, linked together in a firm organization, subject to a strict discipline, and guided by a definite programme of struggle against all forms of racial discrimination in alliance with the class-conscious European workers and intellectuals. Such a party would be distinguished from the Communist Party in that its objective is national liberation, that is, the abolition of race discrimination, but it would co-operate closely with the Communist Party. In this party the class-conscious

workers and peasants of the national group concerned would constitute the main leadership. It would be their task to develop an adequate organizational apparatus, to conduct mass struggles against race discrimination, to combat chauvinism and racialism in the national movement, to develop class consciousness in the people and to forge unity in action between the oppressed peoples and between them and the European working class."

Comments

This report is written in marxist jargon, so let us explain some of the phrases:

national organizations = organizations such as the African National Congress, Indian Congress, etc.

bourgeoisie = middle class
class-conscious = communistically-inclined

The report shows that the Communist Party, in 1950, was planning somehow to impose a communistic leadership on the A.N.C. and on the Indian Congresses to bring together the various congresses (presumably federally) in a "revolutionary party . . ." actively working on a programme devised for it by . . . the Communist Party of South Africa.

Whether the communists in South Africa have actually succeeded or not it will be for historians to decide. What is certain is that the Pan Africanist Congress left the A.N.C. in 1959 because it believed that they had succeeded.

Origin of Plan

It is of interest to look back in marxist thinking to find where this plan comes from. It probably comes

from a speech delivered by Stalin at a meeting of the students of the University of the Toilers of the East (Kutva), 18th May, 1925. After being forgotten, this speech was revived, with others, in a volume *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* in about 1935. Stalin looked at all colonial and Chinese questions from this point of view: will the matter under discussion help or hinder the U.S.S.R.? "We were right, and we were then following in the footsteps of Lenin; for the struggle of Canton and Angora was causing a dispersion of the forces of imperialism, and enfeebling and undermining imperialism and was thus facilitating the development of the hearth and home of the world revolution, the U.S.S.R. . . ." (p. 208, English edn.).

With this in mind, Stalin laid down "the immediate tasks of the revolutionary movement in capitalistically developed colonial and dependent countries as follows: 1. To win over the best elements of the working class to the side of communism and to form independent communist parties. 2. To set up a national revolutionary bloc of workers, peasants, and the revolutionary intelligentsia against the bloc of the compromising national bourgeoisie and imperialism. 3. To ensure the hegemony of the proletariat in this bloc. 4. To strive to emancipate the urban and petty bourgeoisie from the influence of the compromising national bourgeoisie. 5. To achieve a bond between the liberation movement and the proletarian movement in the advanced countries."

Thus are plans made to harness Africans, and indeed colonial people everywhere, to "facilitate the development of the . . . U.S.S.R."