

contact

Vol. 4 No. 7

5c (6d)

6th APRIL 1961

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

TWO CONFERENCES: CAIRO AND MARITZBURG

—Full report on pages 4, 5

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



The smile of success. Mr. Iain Macleod, Secretary of State for Colonies, with Dr. Julius Nyerere, in Dar es Salaam, after they had agreed that Tanganyika be fully independent after the 28th December 1961.

—see page 8

contact

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

The Maritzburg Conference

YET another well-meant and well-planned attempt to defeat apartheid seems to be having difficulty in getting off the ground. This is the Maritzburg conference held on 25th and 26th March.

Conceived at the Orlando conference in December, and planned by a continuation committee, it has met formidable setbacks. Firstly it was hit by the government. At a critical stage of the proceedings all the members of the continuation committee who could be found were arrested, and let out on heavy bail.

But this was a comparatively small setback, for the conference was held as planned, despite the arrests. Government did not go so far as to ban the conference at Maritzburg, no doubt believing that to do so might make a success of the proceedings.

The major setback was suffered when the former members of the banned Pan Africanist Conference walked out, to be followed by two of the Liberal members of the continuation committee. The purpose of the venture had been to recreate the unity that had ceased with the setting up of the P.A.C. in 1959. Therefore, from the moment of the ex-P.A.C. walk-out, the venture could not succeed.

In the event there was held a small gathering of people from distant areas, combined with a large gathering of local people who could not possibly be described as delegates and who represented nobody but themselves. And, with the exception of some sporting and other uncommitted bodies, most of the people present represented merely one of the several major streams of political thought. The gathering, organized with such trouble and with such expenditure of money, has thus ended by being little more than an annual conference of one of the congresses.

What is the reason for this possible failure? It is surely this: that the people organizing the conference were not truly neutral. The pro-communist weekly *New Age* threw in everything it had in alliance with a section of the organizers. Messages were sent asking for greetings not only to the African powers but to China and Russia. But similar messages were not sent to Canada, Britain, or the United States. Furthermore, sides were taken in the Congo's cold war.

A telegram of condolence was sent in the name of the continuation committee to the Congo on the murder of the late Patrice Lumumba. This telegram was not sent to the president of the Congo, Mr. Kasavubu, but to Mr. Antoine Gizenga, of the Eastern Province, recognized as the leader of the Congo's legitimate government by few countries outside the communist world.

To choose nations and governments in this way is to take sides in the cold war, and the history of the past thirty years has proved that the African people here are not prepared to throw in their lot with the "East" as against the "West" in this world-struggle. Like President Nkrumah, and nearly all the leaders of the independent African states, they say: "We are Africans".

South Africa is approaching the stage when a giant movement against apartheid must be set up. When the day comes—and Maritzburg has shown that it has not yet come—it must be firmly based on Africanism and neutrality.

THE LONG VIEW

No Cause for Despair

Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party



MARCH seems to be taking on a special character in the South African calendar. Last year it brought us Sharpeville and the State of Emergency, this year it has taken us out of the Commonwealth and given us the first hints of what life during the declining days of apartheid is going to be like. Within a week of Dr. Verwoerd's Lancaster House walk-out almost the entire original committee of the African Leaders' Conference had been arrested, among them Jordan Ngubane, Bill Benghu and Julius Malie of the Liberal Party. They face charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. Two days later, Patrick Duncan was banned from attending gatherings for five years—under the same Act.

SHATTERING DEFEAT

South Africa is out of the Commonwealth because of her race policies and for no other reason. Dr. Verwoerd and apartheid, despite all protestations to the contrary, suffered a shattering defeat in London—and he knows it. After all has he not always maintained that half South Africa's troubles stem directly from misunderstanding of her policies? Well, he is apartheid's prime apostle, and three days' hard talking on his part failed to convince a single Commonwealth Prime Minister that apartheid was anything but, to use Mr. Macmillan's words, "a philosophy altogether remote from, and indeed abhorrent to, the ideals with which mankind is struggling in this century".

All the obeisances at the airports and the prostrations at the feet of the apartheid gods, which were such a sickening feature of Dr. Verwoerd's return, will not hide one harsh unpleasant fact. Dr. Verwoerd is now alone in a world in which isolation is no longer possible. If isolation were possible there might be

some faint hope for him and what he stands for. But isolation is not possible—and there is no hope for him. Already, having escaped from the Commonwealth, he finds the United Nations moving in on him, passing by 74 votes to nil a motion condemning his policies in South West Africa. Already a new hostility to apartheid in United States diplomacy is showing itself. External pressure against South Africa is growing and the cold, hard, unpalatable fact, as true for Dr. Verwoerd as for anyone else, is that in 1961 nobody and no country in the world can live alone.

SCREWS WILL BE TIGHTENED

When the dust has settled and the jubilation of his welcome home has subsided, these are the facts of real life with which the new republic will be confronted. In the meantime, what can we expect?

We can expect the pressure to be on us too. All the signs of the week after 15th March were that screws will now be tightened. Even before the walk-out, the Budget Speech, with its increased police and defence votes, had indicated that Nationalist Afrikanerdom was preparing to retreat into the laager. Now have come the arrests and bans—significantly, all under the Suppression of Communism Act. Who could be less of a communist than the editor of this journal? The true purpose of this Act becomes more obvious than ever. In many respects it has absolutely nothing to do with the suppression of communism. It is a weapon designed to be used against any opponent of the government. By its imputations of communist sympathies it is further designed to discredit him amongst anti-communists and to persuade the non-communist world that all our govern-

ment is doing is protecting itself against communist subversion.

This recent pattern of events is an extension of the campaign of attack on the Liberal Party which Dr. Verwoerd initiated in January. I will be surprised if these arrests and this ban are the last we will experience. After the Commonwealth Conference it seems reasonable to expect those who are dedicated to a baasskap, apartheid state to become more reactionary and vicious as their isolation grows.

NO CAUSE FOR DESPAIR

But this is no cause for despair. Last year's emergency put its strain on the Party. It emerged from it with an enhanced status and liberal ideas enjoy wider support amongst all South Africans to-day than they ever did a year ago. These ideas will not be destroyed by arrests and bans. As Dr. Verwoerd himself admitted in London, the Liberal Party is the only political party in South Africa with a policy which the Commonwealth could accept. He can no more destroy what we stand for here than he can contend successfully, in the world at large, against the non-racial concept for which the Commonwealth stands. He should be assured of that now. He should also know that we look forward to being welcomed back into the Commonwealth very much sooner than he would like to think and that we are working towards that day right now.

Sam Sly

I SUPPOSE I had lived with this idea of expulsion from the Commonwealth for so long that it did not stir me nearly as much as our readmission would have done—in the opposite direction. The latter would have made our struggle—not to mention Dr. Verwoerd's "hero's welcome" speeches—far more difficult and demanding. The expulsion has made our struggle shorter if not easier. Isn't that all there is to say? But Dan Jacobson actually did give birth to an original thought on the matter, and as is his flair, put it in a lively image. He wrote in the *Manchester Guardian*:

"The Afrikaner Nationalist movement has turned its back on . . . all belief that we must take part in a common history. Isolation is just what the Nationalists have been seeking ever since they came into power . . . For 60 years the Nationalist movement has been trying hysterically to free itself from the trap in which it was caught. The trap was history: now a limb has been severed and the animal limps away, imagining itself free. It will not get very far."

I AM angry with Mr. Menzies for spoiling my pleasure at the long-hoped-for Commonwealth expulsion. I think he behaved monstrously. How do you understand his argument on apartheid (or "separate development" as he obligingly called it)?

"Nothing was more impressive . . . than the way in which Dr. Verwoerd . . . explained his policy. He believes that all this will work out very nicely. I speak with great reluct-

ance, but I don't believe it will. The more his policy succeeds, the more he raises the Bantu up, the more intolerable will they find it to be second-class citizens. . . ."

There are two conclusions: one, that Menzies is not in favour of what he calls "raising the Bantu up", and the other that he regrets that Verwoerd will not succeed in keeping four-fifths of his fellow-countrymen as second-class citizens. Not that it is in any case Verwoerd's intention to "raise up the Bantu" (or anyone except his Afrikaner followers). Bantu Education, in theory and practice, proves the opposite.

A CORRESPONDENT, in holy orders, who signs himself "Watchman on Ntaba ka Ndoda", has answered my call for information about Rev. Isaac Wauchope and his legendary speech as the *Mendi* went down. He cannot confirm the story of the speech but his words at the end of this account, which I am honoured to print, are heartening:

"I knew him very intimately. His name was Isaac Wauchope but previously he was known as Isaac Williams, and that is how he appears in the records of Lovedale, where he received his education. 'Dyobha' was his father's name, and he was popularly known as 'Isaac' the son of Dyobha. He was a Xhosa of the Amacethe clan.

"When he joined up it was as clerk-interpreter and not as a chaplain—for he was no longer recognized as a minister by his church. It is a sad and tragic story for he was a man of great gifts and a notable leader of those times—both in church and political circles—often associated with men like the late Dr. Rubusana and the late J. Tengo Jabavu (of the *Imvo*). He was convicted of forgery

in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, sentenced to three years and sent to Tokai.

"He was released around about 1910 after serving only part of the sentence as a result of a widely signed petition throughout South Africa and through the good offices of one of the Schreiners who was his co-worker in the Temperance Movement.

"When he left for France he entrusted me with some of his domestic affairs and I still have and treasure some of his scribbled notes on various aspects of native life. He was a prolific writer and was a frequent contributor to the *Imvo*. He was the author of a booklet in English, *The Natives and their Missionaries*, now out of print.

"He was one of the few students to accompany the late Dr. J. Stewart of Lovedale on his missionary expedition to Nyasaland.

"He and one William Koyi who remained behind to do evangelistic work, were the only survivors of the students in that party. At Lovedale he may be seen in a photograph of the party that accompanied Dr. Stewart to Nyasa, and also at Fort Hare in one of a group comprising one of the earliest committees connected with the founding of that College.

"As boys we used to listen spell-bound as he told us of his travels into the heart of Kaffraria as interpreter-guide to Dr. Theal, the famous historian, in his historical researches.

"He was really and truly a brave man and as I read those words (ascribed to him) in Sam Sly's story I could not but feel they were just the kind of words one would expect of him in such an hour of danger—it was just like him."

After Verwoerd's Walk-out**TANGANYIKA CONTINUES
ANTI-NAT CAMPAIGN**

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Dr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, can take pride that his threat to the commonwealth on the South Africa issue has been effective.

Dr. Nyerere, in a message to the commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, has said that to vote South Africa in, would be to vote Tanganyika out.

But that is not the end of the matter. Dr. Nyerere will not rest content until South Africa abandons altogether her policies and establishes full democracy in that country.

His stand and that of his ruling party — the Tanganyika African National Union — was reiterated by the party's Secretary-General, Mr. Oscar Kambona

the United Kingdom has been unable to make its voice heard in the halls of the United Nations. Now that Dr. Verwoerd has walked out of the commonwealth, Britain will be free to censure him and his racial policies in the United Nations, and when Tanganyika takes her seat too in the United Nations, there will be yet another nation eager to champion the rights of South Africa's Black and Coloured peoples. I am confident that we shall be allies in fighting apartheid through the United Nations."

Mr. Kambona said when the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, arrives in Tanganyika on 27th March, the party would make it clear to him and through him to the British Government that Africans and the people of Tanganyika would not rest content until they had succeeded in "rescuing our brothers and sisters from the degradation into which they have been plunged in the Union of South Africa".

"In Tanganyika we will redouble our efforts to make the boycott on South Africa felt by South Africa, despite the sacrifices such a boycott entails for us," Mr. Kambona said.

"Our boycott is already proving effective — just look around Dar es Salaam and notice the dearth of South African goods and products. It is a voluntary boycott supported by all sections of the community and all races.

"To those millions of men and women today trudging the shanty towns of South Africa, smarting under the brand of racialism, I say lift up your hearts and your heads. The first blow has been struck, and say what they will, the Verwoerd Nationalists are reeling from it. There are more blows to come and we are determined to win — for Africa and for humanity."

**GREAT AND TRUE
COMMONWEALTH**

To-day's decision means that the commonwealth has survived its greatest crisis and that in the fire of conflict of opinions has been forged a great and indestructible commonwealth of all peoples, of all colours, of all languages and of all faiths.

The true commonwealth has been born to-day. In all humility I thank God for His hand in this conference of the commonwealth premiers.

—Dr. Julius Nyerere, Tanganyika's Chief Minister, on learning that Dr. Verwoerd was "out".

at a press conference here immediately after Dr. Verwoerd decided to quit the commonwealth.

"Of course, we shall not rest until South Africa is finally freed from the fetters of apartheid," Mr. Kambona said. "Hitherto, because of the Union's membership of the commonwealth, the vast and liberally-minded population of

NON-VIOLENT VICTORIES (1)**Hungarian Freedom, 1867**

NON-VIOLENT actions have been used on many occasions. Since the multitude does not understand such actions violence has all through the ages held a prominent place.

Last century a successful non-violent action occurred about which some historians have been silent.

Hungary was subordinated to Austria contrary to the terms of an old treaty. The Hungarians also felt helpless until Francis Deak, a landowner, protested to his compatriots: "Your laws are violated, yet your mouths remain closed! Woe to the nation which raises no protest when its rights are outraged! It contributes to its own slavery by its silence. The nation which submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed!"

Means were found. Among them a refusal to pay taxes. The Hungarians were admonished not to be betrayed into violence or abandon the ground of legality. When the tax collector came, people did not beat him, or even hoot him, were friendly even, but refused to pay.

Their goods were seized, brought to auction and no one bought. Later soldiers of the Austrian army were billeted on the householders. Again there was no violence. As even soldiers could not live in places where they were despised, they protested strongly against their being billeted.

The prisons were full to overflowing. After a long non-violent

but unrelenting opposition, the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph capitulated and Hungary was given its full statutory rights on 18th February 1867.

T. KLOPPENBURG.

**LIBERALS ON
SHARPEVILLE**

The National Executive of the Liberal Party of South Africa issued the following statement on 20th March, 1961:

"March 21st is the anniversary of Sharpeville. The Liberal Party mourns with those who lost relatives and friends that day. Sharpeville was a demonstration by people without representation. As long as Non-White South Africans are without representation they will be forced to make their demands known by demonstrations. The way to avoid further Sharpevilles is to give all South Africans effective Parliamentary representation now. We call upon the Government to do so. We further call upon it to withdraw the present ban on the African National Congress, and the Pan Africanist Congress, when this matter comes up for review shortly."

Strike Winners

As a result of successful strike action wages on Rhodesia Railways have gone up dramatically. The new African scales are from £9 (plus allowances) to £50 a month. Pictured are the men responsible: The Hon. W. H. Eastwood, Minister of Transport; Mr. A. D. Chitala, Acting President of the Railway African Workers' Union; and Mr. A. H. Mwanza, General Secretary.

APARTHEID DEFENDED

MR. MENZIES showed at London that there was a certain amount of support in Australia for the apartheid policy of South Africa. Perhaps it is not known how much effort has been put into the Australian field by the South African Information Service, and by amateur propagandists such as Mr. Thomas Boydell.

It is not widely known that to this class must now be added the name of Rev. Dr. Shalom Coleman, once Bloemfontein's Chief Rabbi, now living in Australia.

"LAW AND ORDER"

In *Dagbreek* (Dr. Verwoerd's own paper) of 19th March, it is reported that Dr. Coleman defended the Union government's policy of "separate development". "Dr. Coleman," ran the report, "gave an account of the apartheid policy, and denied that the Natives were given an inferior role by that policy. Then he clarified the purpose of the pass system and with reference to the Sharpeville incident said: 'Each civilized land must maintain law and order at any cost.' He admitted that the Sharpeville events had saddened him, but added: 'It was the high point of a great mass of propaganda and poison which filtered through to South Africa

from the North.' But there were also other incidents in the Union, he continued.

"At the riots in East London the first two who were burned were two nuns who had devoted their lives to the Natives." The report ended with these words: "And then Dr. Coleman asked his critic if he knew how many brave policemen had already been cold-bloodedly murdered by masses which threaten to eliminate the White man in South Africa."

TSOPANO

Nyasaland's independent monthly magazine, published to promote freedom and justice.

6d. (5c) per issue.

Publisher:

P.O. Box 2719, Salisbury, S.R.
P.O. Box 378, Blantyre, Nyasaland.

To all over 40

NU-CELL

ANDREAS DE PARE (SWITZERLAND)

**COMPLETE REJUVENATION, PUTTING TIME
BACK 25 TO 30 YEARS**

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

**SECRETARY, NU-CELL LABORATORIES — P.O. BOX 819, DEPT. CON,
BULAWAYO, SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

A.A.P.O. CAIRO CONFERENCE

Strong Feeling Against S.A.

THE third conference of the All-African People's Organization ended in Cairo on the evening of Thursday, 30th March. Delegates represented fifty political, cultural, and trade union organizations from thirty-four African countries. The conference, comments the London *Observer*, continues to represent an important cross-section of African opinion, though this Cairo conference was the least representative conference yet held.

- None of the vast French African territories, including Madagascar, sent delegates, with the exceptions of Guinea and Mali.
- The three major parties from Nigeria all stayed away, and so did the Sudan.
- Uganda was represented only by the minority groups.
- The Tunisians were present, but played only a nominal role.
- Delegations from the independent African states have been down-graded. Previously they tended to be led by ministers. None went to Cairo this time.
- The only representative to go from South Africa was Mrs. Mary Turok, representing the Congress of Democrats, though delegations went from the S.A. United Front in Dar es Salaam and London. For the first time the Liberal Party of South Africa was not represented.

Predictably the heat was turned on South Africa, though resolutions were more moderate than many observers had expected. The dominant accent was bitterness against the United States and the United Nations. Almost every anti-U.S. reference was greeted with bursts of applause, though, as noted by the *Observer*, if one looked carefully one could see that the anti-americanism was centred in the delegations from Guinea, U.A.R., Mali, and Gizenga's Congo.

Anti-americanism was also evident in references to "neo-colonialism". (In marxist jargon this word of abuse is used against those countries which after independence seek to maintain friendly links with the West, and to preserve a considerable private sector in the economy financed at least partly by foreign private capital.) "Neo-colonialism", went one resolution, "is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won independence or are approaching it." Among the examples given were the Congo, the whole French community, and the Rhodesian Federation.

Strangely this hatred for the West was not balanced by devotion to the East. There was no praise for the U.S.S.R. or for the Chinese.

Resolutions filled thirty-three pages. Space only allows a selection to be printed here. Among other demands, conference made the following calls:

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa must quit South West, and the United Nations must take immediate action there. Race discrimination was condemned. All African states should sever diplomatic relations, and impose an economic and labour boycott. Commonwealth countries to break off all relations with South Africa. The Afro-Asian lands in the United Nations to move for the expulsion of South Africa.

According to the *Observer*, there was talk that only "military intervention" or "a violent revolution" can now produce changes in South Africa's policies.

AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

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

P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

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

The main perpetrators were named as: U.S.A., West Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, South Africa, France. Other resolutions condemned the "imperialists" for pouring money into Africa to create puppets.

A call was made to the peoples of Africa to wage a pitiless struggle against the use in Africa of President Kennedy's Peace Corps of young volunteers. Conference felt that the purpose of the corps was to conquer and dominate Africa.

Conference called for economic liberation from the West and the extension of links with the "anti-imperialistic bloc".

UNITED NATIONS

Technical assistance personnel from "imperialistic countries" were "exposed" as "active agents of colonialism".

Conference called for the dismissal of U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.

CONGO

Lumumba was proclaimed "Hero of Africa". Gizenga's government was called the "legal government". Delegates called for immediate punishment of the murderers of Lumumba, and condemned General Mobutu.

TRADE UNIONS

Conference called for the "immediate launching of the All-African Trade Union Federation to counter "neo-colonialism". Its first conference is to be held in Casablanca in May 1962.

ALGERIA

Delegates gave unanimous support to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria (G.P.R.A.), called on

African states to increase their political, diplomatic, and material support to the G.P.R.A., and backed its claim to the Sahara against that of France.

KENYA

Conference called for the immediate unconditional release of Jomo Kenyatta, and the ending of all concessions for British bases.

OVERALL STRATEGY

Delegates called for: An African "Freedom Fund", a "free African radio station" to help freedom fighters, an African Consultative Council to lay down a joint African policy binding on all African states, a "Committee of African Military Commanders" to work out plans for African continental joint defence, and a Pan-African News Agency.

The next conference is to be held at Bamako, capital of the Republic of Mali, towards the beginning of 1962.

The *Observer's* correspondent sums up the conference as follows: anti-Western feeling is stronger than I have ever known it, but there is no sign of a corresponding strength in pro-Soviet feeling; non-commitment is still the strongest feature; the stock of the U.N. has fallen almost to zero—yet many delegations continue to pin their faith in its effectiveness.

And *Contact* sums it all up as follows: Unless future conferences can be more representative of responsible governments, and of French-speaking Africa as well as English-speaking Africa, then their usefulness will progressively lessen, and the real conferences will, more and more, be those at governmental level.

MASS ARRESTS IN MOÇAMBIQUE

By a Reporter

ACCORDING to information received by a member in the Union of the Moçambique African National Union, a reign of terror exists in Moçambique.

In a riot in Lourenço Marques during March, 28 people were killed and many more injured.

Hundreds of people have been arrested: in Lourenço Marques 248 and in Inhambane 185 (the only centres for which figures are available). These detainees have not been brought to court but have been sent to São Tomé (where

they work as slaves on plantations) or to the island of Moçambique.

In Inhambane a state of martial law exists, and both there and in Lourenço Marques White men have been advised that they may be required to serve in the armed forces.

Where previously Africans could move from place to place without hindrance, they now have to get permits to travel even ten miles from their place of residence.

The frontier between Moçambique and Nyasaland and Tanganyika has been closed.

Our informant said that never before had such large numbers of troops been seen in the territory.

Meanwhile the Moçambique African National Union which has recently set up headquarters in Zanzibar, continues to operate underground in Moçambique.

ANGOLA

(Continued from col. 5)

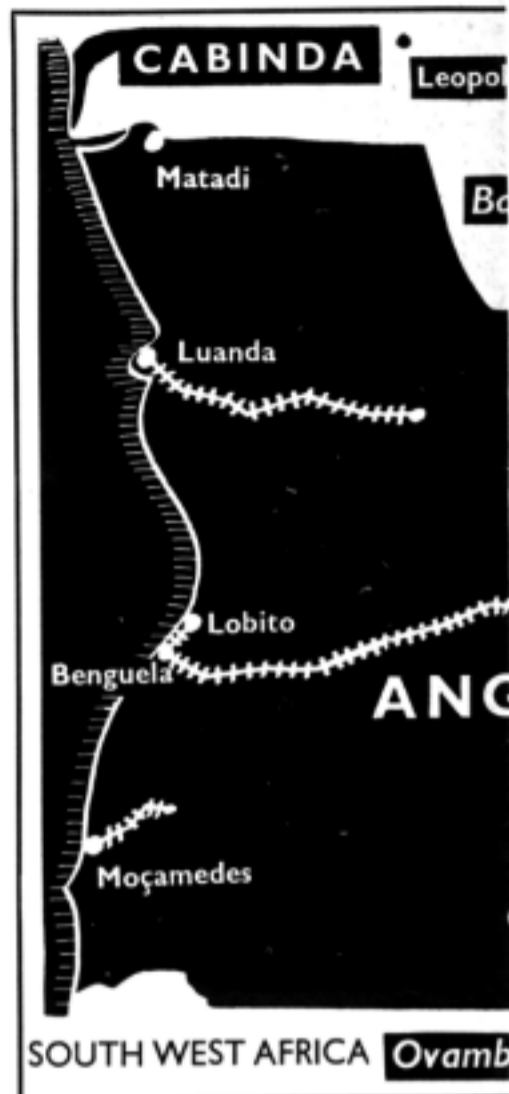
spect in our attitude by this time I do not deny . . . but is disrespect for an official a valid reason for summary expulsion from a country?

Rather I saw our expulsion, and the whole pattern of our treatment in Angola, as being the product of the bewilderment, fear and consequent hysteria of both the White Portuguese and the police.

After we left, far more extensive fighting broke out in Northern Angola, with 150 Portuguese killed during the last half of March alone.

The fact of the matter is that the Portuguese Government and the colonists have been taken completely by surprise. The political police are floundering, unable to pin down the leaders of the risings. The military has been proved powerless, even though reinforced, to prevent fresh outbreaks of terrorism. Public morale is shaky.

This may not be Angola's long-awaited revolution. But it does seem that the way is clear for a wave of terrorism which could loosen Portugal's tight grip on her African colonies.



ANGOLA:

Portuguese R

By GEORGE

THE curtain of silence around Angolans are busy patching it up. But can still be seen through the gaps to—and the regime of the dictator, Salazar.

Nationalist resistance movements have sprung up in the country and among exiles in the Congo and elsewhere. Leopoldville, conveniently situated just north of the Angola border, is the headquarters of one of the biggest Angolan nationalist movements: the Union of Populations of Angola (U.P.A.).

The Movement of the People for Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.) has its African headquarters in Conakry, Guinea, and has recently formed a united front with three smaller nationalist movements.

The U.P.A. in Leopoldville is led by an energetic young expatriate from Angola, Roberto Holden, who was forced to flee the territory as a young boy because of his father's political activity.

Holden has recently been in New York for the United Nations debate on Angola.

I was in Angola when the first dawn raids were launched against prisons and police stations in Luanda. My own experiences in this period perhaps reveal the extent of the hysterical confusion into which both the government and the White Portuguese were thrown by these surprise attacks.

In the week before the disturbances there were a number of newsmen in Luanda—all waiting for the remote possibility of the arrival there of the Santa Maria. During this week, with two cameramen, I set about making some background films about life in Angola. We had no trouble until, almost by chance, we took a sequence showing a truckload of troops passing through the town. Immediately our cameras were seized and the film was destroyed. This was, however, just normal Portuguese routine.

A few hours after the raids by the nationalists, with the same cameramen, I went to the scene of the worst fighting. There were still some African bodies in the long grass near a police station. We filmed policemen loading one of the bodies on to a truck—and were promptly

SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

AFRICAN POSTAL UNION

R1.40 (14s.) a year

ELSEWHERE

R1.70 (17s.) a year

To The Manager

P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

CONGRESS THREATENS GOVERNMENT

MUST CALL CONVENTION—OR FACE CONSEQUENCES

From "Contact" Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG: At the All African People's Conference, held here on Saturday, 25th March, 1,398 delegates, said to represent 145 organizations, issued an ultimatum to the Union Government, calling on the government to convene a National Convention which would draw up a constitution for all the peoples of South Africa.

The resolution stated: "We demand a National Convention of elected representatives of adult men and women on an equal basis, irrespective of race, colour or creed or other limitation, to be called by the Union Government not later than May 31st.

"We demand that the Convention shall have sovereign powers to determine, in any way the majority of delegates shall decide, a new non-racial democratic constitution for South Africa.

"We resolve that should the minority Government refuse the demand of representatives of the united will of the African people

"(a) we will stage country-wide demonstrations on the eve of the Republic. We shall call upon Africans not to co-operate or collaborate in any way with the proposed Republic or any form of government which rests on force to perpetuate the tyranny of the minority.

"(b) We also call on all Indians, Coloureds and democratic Europeans to join forces with the Africans in opposition to a regime which is bringing disaster to South Africa. We further decide that in order to further the objects of this conference, the conference (A) elects a national action committee; (B) instructs all delegates to return to their areas and form local action committees."

This conference was arranged by a "continuation committee" which was formed at the meeting in Orlando, Transvaal, of African leaders on 16th and 17th December, 1960.

A week before the conference was due to take place, the majority of the members of the continuation committee, including those who had resigned, were arrested by the Security Branch.

Undeterred by this setback, delegates from all over South Africa met as arranged at the Local Health Commission Hall in Edendale just outside Pietermaritzburg. While the Steering Committee met to elect a chairman, delegates sang "De Wet Nel is troubling our mothers, therefore he is going to die", "Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika" and "Spread the Gospel of Lutuli". Finally Mr. Nyembe, former Acting President of the A.N.C., was elected as chairman of the conference.

Meanwhile it had been discovered that the hall had been wired for microphones. Delegates then marched in a chanting column to Plessislaer Indian Hall, two miles away, where the conference began at 5 p.m.

It soon became obvious that the conference had failed in its principal stated objective of uniting the various African political movements. The only members of other political organizations observed by me were seven members of the Liberal Party and three former members of the banned P.A.C.

Those present were predominantly former members of the banned A.N.C. This feature was emphasised by the mistake made by Mr. Nyembe who, in his opening address, welcomed delegates "in the name of Congress" but he was quick to correct himself. This already strong suggestion of A.N.C. domination was further strengthened by the chairman's request for speakers from the floor to refrain from expressing any personal opinions but merely to ask straightforward questions.

Mr. Nelson Mandela, former Transvaal A.N.C. President and Treason

Trialist, whose ban on attending meetings expired on 14th March, was the first delegate to address the assembly. Bearded in the new nationalist fashion, he was the star of the show.

He said that the first purpose of the conference was to achieve unity among the African people and because of the serious political position in South Africa, it was imperative that the African people speak, think and act with one single voice. "The time," he said, "has come to forget differences and to strive for democratic objectives."

The second purpose of the conference was "to demand that a National Convention elected on an equal basis, irrespective of differences of race, colour and creed, be called by the Union Government. We demand that this National Convention have the sovereign power to decide on a non-racial democracy for South Africa."

Mr. Mandela said that the Nationalist government, after a fraudulent referendum of only a minority of the people, had decided to institute the republic on 31st May. It was clear that such a republic would only intensify the government's policy of racial discrimination. He said all the delegates had met to decide what course of action should be taken against this proposed republic.

Mr. Mandela said that the fundamental right of democracy was denied the majority of the people in South Africa and those who demanded this right were shot down, deported and persecuted.

The delegates were reminded by Mr. Mandela of the killings at Sharpeville and Langa and were also told that the people in Pondoland and Zeerust who opposed the implementation of Bantu Authorities had suffered for the stand they had taken. "The government refuses to meet their grievances but thinks only in terms of brute force."

The A.N.C., which for almost 50 years had been the "sword and shield of the African people", had been suppressed and banned, along with the P.A.C. and a number of newspapers. Now the Union Defence Force was being organized to suppress liberatory movements and not for the purpose of meeting an external invasion. The entire White population was being mobilised to collaborate with the government in suppressing and denying the rights of Africans.

Because this faced the entire African population "we make this clarion call to freedom".

"If we do not act, we will betray the people of Pondoland, Zeerust and Sekukhuni. Our course is to fight shoulder to shoulder for that great idea—the liberation of all the oppressed people in South Africa. A ruling power can never be induced to meet that power by a policy of appeasement. If we are united, the government is powerless, and if we put forward a militant plan of action, we can prevent the Nationalist government from doing anything unless the people give their consent.

"If the Nationalist government refuses to call this convention, we call upon the African people to refuse to co-operate with such a Republic or with any form of government which rests on force and suppression. The government, although it is determined to use force, is weak both internally and internationally. We know that our victory will be won by militant campaigns launched in this country by us and guided by us. You must be inspired by the knowledge that your cause is strong and invincible

and that your struggle is supported in all parts of the world where freedom is invincible."

Mr. Mandela congratulated the United Front on their achievement in having South Africa expelled from the commonwealth and asked them to expand their activities to other fields in order to put pressure on the South African government.

"All these victories cannot avail us unless we grasp the fact that it is we and we alone who can deliver the knockout punch."

The chairman then read messages of solidarity from Mr. M. Shope, S.A.C.T.U. and Chief Lutuli.

Speeches from the other delegates centred around Mr. Mandela's speech and at about 3.30 a.m. resolutions were discussed.

The other resolutions taken—

(a) deplored the arrest of the continuation committee and recorded the conference's appreciation of the work done by this committee. The conference expressed full confidence in the courageous stand of the continuation committee;

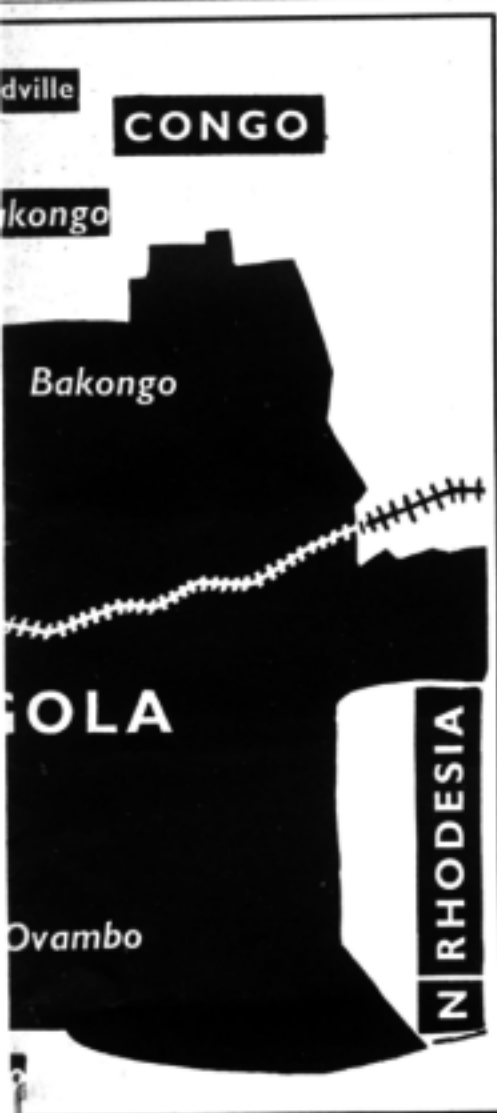
(b) deplored the methods employed by the government in implementing Bantu Authorities in Pondoland and the Transkei and a demand was made for the immediate release of people who had been arrested in these territories. The government was warned to withdraw "the unpopular and draconian system which has resulted in a worsening of race relations in this country. Should the government fail to comply with this demand, the conference reserves for itself the right to take appropriate action to remove the disabilities imposed by this system."

(c) welcomed the commonwealth prime ministers' decision to reject South Africa's application for membership. "This step has further weakened the international position of White South Africans and will serve as a source of tremendous inspiration to those who are struggling for democracy in this country."

(d) called upon the government to lift the ban on the A.N.C. (The resolution made no mention of the P.A.C.)

The delegations were made up of anti-pass committees, residents' committees, workers' unions and cultural clubs from the Reef, and over 50 delegates from the Cape (Eastern, Western and Northern), large numbers of delegates from Durban, Maritzburg and rural areas, sporting associations, church organizations, S.A.C.T.U. and the Federation of South African Women.

These resolutions were taken after 14 hours in conference just before dawn on Sunday morning. Because some of the delegates did not have sleeping accommodation, people were taking short spells of sleep on the wet ground outside the hall at various intervals throughout the night. The delegates seemed good humoured throughout and after the report of the credentials chairman, the delegates reminded the numerous African members of the Security Branch sitting among the delegates that they had not presented their credentials. Two vanloads of police kept watch outside the hall for the duration of the conference. Considerable numbers of C.O.D. pamphlets were sold in the hall, as well as framed *New Age* portraits of Lumumba.



Rule Ending?

GE CLAY
Angola has been badly torn. The Portuguese enough of the truth about Angola indicate that Portuguese colonialism is being seriously challenged.

arrested, cuffed about a bit, and marched into the police station.

Five hours and three police stations later we were released—without our films, and without apology.

The next day we filmed the funeral of seven policemen killed in the raids, and we were in the high-walled cemetery of Luanda when the crowd of about ten thousand White Portuguese broke and ran screaming in ghastly panic under the impression that an attack was being made on them by Africans.

In the dreadful hysteria of the next few hours I saw four lone Africans pattered to death by mobs of fear-crazed White men, who had seized huge stakes from the graveside and were using them as clubs.

I was recognized by one of the mobs to be a foreigner and was set on in similar fashion. I was rescued by police, but had to run the gauntlet for about three miles through menacing hostile crowds. On one stretch we were fired on from close range, a volley of shots going just over our heads.

Then began a different sort of battle . . . to get news of these events to the outside world. First, all our cables were stopped. Then we had to submit our reports to a censor, who argued for hours with each of us about not only our statements of fact but the interpretation we placed on the situation.

My radio broadcasts were interrupted with the reminder that the censor's representative was listening.

And in any case, we were given the minimum of official information, and this only after constant pressure.

When Jim Brown, reporter for the Argus Africa News Service, was shot, a group of us protested to the Director of Information that the communique he had issued was insufficient. An argument ensued, and next morning at two o'clock the Portuguese Gestapo (P.I.D.E.) visited our hotel to inform four of us that we were being expelled from Angola in five hours time, for "disrespect".

That there was an element of disre-

(Continued in col. 2)

Special Bulawayo Congress

N.D.P. MAY BOYCOTT ELECTIONS

From "Contact" Correspondent

BULAWAYO: The only African-led, but non-racial party in Southern Rhodesia, the National Democratic Party, has reserved its right to participate or not in the June referendum and the elections to follow thereafter on the basis of the results of the recent constitutional conference chaired in Salisbury by Mr. Duncan Sandys, the British Secretary for Commonwealth Relations.

This very important decision was taken at a special Congress of the party held in Bulawayo on 18th and 19th March. The Congress laid down six resolutions as conditions for participation in a referendum or the elections.

And now the party leaders are waiting for a reply to the letter sent to Mr. Sandys telling him of the decision of the Congress. Either Mr.

Sandys or Sir Edgar Whitehead must accept the N.D.P. conditions or Southern Rhodesia Africans will boycott the elections.

The Congress rejected the franchise and representation proposals (15 African seats in a House of 65) as "unsatisfactory" and decided that if seats were not increased there would be no participation.

For the last two years the Southern

Rhodesia government has held in detention seven former leaders of the banned African National Congress without conviction or trial—if these people are not released "immediately" N.D.P. will have nothing to do with elections.

N.D.P. leaders have accused Federal Premier Sir Roy of interfering in the Northern Rhodesia constitutional proposals. Unless he stops so interfering the N.D.P. will boycott the local elections.

The land question must be settled to the satisfaction of the African people. The ban on political meetings in the country must be lifted before the N.D.P. can take part in the elections.

On 19th March, Sunday morning, at the Barbourfield Sports Stadium, party leaders addressed the biggest mass rally ever seen in the Colony—about 40,000 men and women assembled.

The President, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, said: "No matter what the imperialists put in our way, we shall get back our country. The African people shall resist with every weapon in their hands those who want to be masters over the indigenous people."

Mr. Nkomo called upon Whites and Indians to work together with the African people or "get out".

Mr. Enos Nkala, the vice-secretary general, condemned violence and said that the N.D.P. recognized only what he described as "a battle of intellectualism and the inborn right of every human being to decide the destiny of his own country".

Supporting Mr. Nkala, a member of the National Council, Advocate Herbert Chitepo, said: "A non-violent man is the stronger when matched against a violent one."



Mr. Joshua Nkomo, President of the National Democratic Party.

Mr. Robert Mugabe, the Publicity Secretary, said: "We want to destroy White supremacy once and for ever. Whites have possessed our land and now even claim to possess us. We cannot be possessed as goods and shall not allow the selfish ownership of land to continue."

The most significant result of the N.D.P. Congress in Bulawayo was that the President, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and his National Executive emerged as the undisputed leaders of the African people of Southern Rhodesia.



Mr. Robert Mugabe addressing the meeting. Seated at the table are Mr. Nkomo (left) and Advocate Chitepo.

THE "NATIVE MARKET"

DAN was on the other end of the phone. He wanted me to join him that night at a house in Dube where he said he'd like me to meet a "prominent visitor from the United States of America". Dan actually talks like that. He hinted quickly before I could think up an excuse for not accepting that there would be a few bottles of the waters of knowledge at the meeting. He also asked me to organize a few friends who would be interested. I "organized" Can because he's such a dedicated soul when it comes to drinking.

We met this "prominent visitor" although I can't remember his name. Whether he was prominent or not, I cannot say, but he definitely was not a visiting American. You've got to hand it to Dan.

The guy turned out to be someone in the advertising field who wanted to find out—from the horse's mouth—why a certain brand of cigarettes "aimed at the African market" did not sell as well as it should. Was it perhaps the colour of the pack? he asked as he offered each of us one of the brand of cigarettes that caused him such a headache.

We told him bluntly just what was wrong with the brand. The colour of the pack had nothing to do with it. Frankly, the man gave me the impression that he was one of those misguided Whites who labour under the delusion that Africans prefer a certain colour to the rest, namely, yellow. I wonder which expert on the so-called "Native mentality" let loose this fallacy?

Anyway, what we told him was that the brand was completely lousy. "Those cigarettes taste like dried dung," said someone. "They're nothing but legalized dagga," offered another. The hooch was enjoyable and I hope our "prominent visitor" left having learned that Africans are just ordinary folk like everyone else

and not a "problem" that need special treatment.

Urban Africans—and they are the spending force advertisers are interested in—are becoming more and more suspicious of any commodity that they think is "aimed" specifically for their consumption. Some even prefer buying expensive American cigarettes just to make sure they are not buying any brand in the "African line" category.

Brands of blood purifying pills and mixtures "guaranteed" to give you new life, vigour and strength are legion. But they carry some of the most fantastic labels, like a man killing a pride of lions singlehanded or a guy hoisting a train over his head. Some of them are so laughable that they seldom get bought. Then someone wonders how come the "hidden persuader" didn't get his commodity selling like hot cakes. What these people need to sell their goods is a little commonsense and some respect for other people's intelligence.

NON-SELLING LUMBERJACKET

Some time ago a White couple came to the office carrying some lumberjackets and sincerely wanted to know why Africans were not buying their masterpieces. They made no bones about the fact that they thought even Dior couldn't have dreamed up a better creation. But the snag was that they were not selling. And at such a reasonable price, too.

Because I didn't want to hurt their pride, I didn't tell them that their lumberjackets were an eye-sore. But I did give them all the psychological reasons why Africans don't go for cheap stuff. I introduced them to one of our mes-

sengers. His Parisian belt alone cost more than one of the jackets.

"Why don't you like them?" the wife asked in desperation.

"I don't like a jacket with many colours," he told her with all the subtlety in the world.

In America, advertisers woo the public to buy their stuff via the sex angle. But here, with some advertisers dealing with Africans, the stress seems to be on the ludicrous. And this has got them into a lot of trouble.

Take this case, for instance. I won't vouchsafe for its truth, but

it serves to prove my case. Some company wanted to sell a certain canned foodstuff exclusively to Africans. The blurb

claimed the contents were nutritious, and to illustrate this point, they had a drawing of a hefty African smiling from ear to ear on the label. But the Africans didn't bite. Inevitably, someone was sent out to get the reason from the horse's mouth.

The poor man got all sorts of comments which didn't make sense. He was just about to give it all up when luck—or was it a shock?—came his way.

"Why don't you people buy this stuff?" he asked an old man he met in the street.

"I NO EAT"

In his best fanagalo, the oldie gave him the facts. "You buy him,"—pointing at tinned fish—"you get fish inside. You buy him,"—pointing at canned peaches—"you get peaches inside. You buy him," pointing at the canned foodstuff of the smiling African—"You get Mkaya (home boy) inside. I no eat my Mkaya."

Simple, straightforward, unadulterated logic.

OXFORD
University
Press CAPE TOWN

Inene nasi
Isibhozo

A. M. MTINGANE

A tragic play about family quarrels over a Transkei marriage

30c/3s.

Electricity
in your
Home

A PRACTICAL BOOK
by
A. P. KNOTTENBELT

How to mend electrical fittings. How they work. All explained in straightforward English

30c/3s.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Contact and New Age

SIR.—Contact and even Mr. Duncan have played a very useful role in exposures of government machinations and helping to fight its iniquitous policies. They have therefore been together with the oppressed in fighting what is to them (i.e., Mr. Duncan and Contact) an immoral policy.

But, as Mr. Duncan also contends, pigmentation is not the criterion by which a man's abilities may be judged.

Mr. Duncan belongs to a class which has vested interests in this country (whether he likes it or not), and these have been gained largely through the exploitation of a group of people—even if it was with the sanction of legislation. It is particularly significant that in Mr. Duncan's paper, no mention is ever made of "leftist" issues like the redistribution of land, etc., or anything in fact which will help the oppressed to start on a good foundation when they finally achieve their political freedom. This would, of course, not suit Mr. Duncan.

But Mr. Duncan realizes that the only way he can safeguard his interests is not stupidly to deny people their legitimate rights, but to do exactly what he alleges are the plans of the communists, namely, to secure the support of influential people in the African organizations. In the Congress Movement he does not stand much of a chance, and so does the next best thing. The Africanists, together with pigmented Liberals make a formidable battering ram to break not only the Congress movement but to sow confusion amongst the ranks of freedom fighters. When the P.A.C. saw one of the main reasons for breaking away was the communist influence in Congress, this was manna to Mr. Duncan. This factor, incidentally, did not enhance the P.A.C. leadership ideologically. Some of their members hastened to point out that they believe in Socialism, in a vague sort of way.

However, Mr. Duncan as a freedom fighter is welcome, but we are not taking our line from him. As a unilateral self-styled policy-maker, we simply do not recognize him.

As for the clash between African nationalism and world communism, by which, in effect, Mr. Duncan means the Soviet Union: African nationalism is merely a policy whereby all people belonging to Africa, with loyalty to Africa and working for the interests of Africa will be welcome to stay in Africa. But this does not give any explanation as to the political and economic systems which shall obtain in the countries in Africa. African nationalism alone will not solve the burning questions of hunger of millions of people in a country where there are also individuals owning millions of pounds in wealth. Really this attempt to compare such two different things would be dismissed as logically puerile were it not so mischievously dangerous.

CLARITY,
Johannesburg.

Contact does stand for a radical redistribution of land along the lines adopted in the Liberal Party handbook.—Editor.

Press Freedom

SIR.—That without a free press there can be no free people is a thing that all free peoples take for granted; we need not discuss it. Nor will we at this moment discuss the restrictions placed upon the press in time of war. At such times all liberties have to be restricted; a free people must see to it that when peace comes, full freedom is restored. In the meantime it is wholesome to consider what that freedom is, and how far it is truly desirable. It may turn out to be no freedom at all, or a mere freedom to tyrannize: for tyranny is in fact the uncontrolled freedom of one man, or one gang, to impose its

will on a particular group of people.

When we speak of "the freedom of the Press" we usually mean freedom in a very technical and restricted sense—namely, freedom from direction or censorship by the government. In this respect the British press is, under ordinary conditions, singularly free.

It can attack the policy and political character of ministers, interfere in the delicate machinery of foreign diplomacy, conduct campaigns to subvert the constitution, incite citizens to discontent and rebellion, expose scandals and foment grievances, and generally harry and belabour the servants of the state, with almost perfect liberty. On occasion it can become a weapon to coerce the government to conform to what it asserts to be the will of the people.

How far is this true of South Africa?

B. SIKITI,
Matatiele, C.P.

"HELDRITH" ANSWERED

"HELDRITH" claims that his people have been teaching us the so-called Western civilization. History tells us that they have been here for more than three hundred years, which has given us no improvement as he claims. Even in industry we have no skilled workers. Africans have got to be dunces.

It is clear that the so-called guardians of our nation are not prepared to lead us to any genuine success; even tribalism is being revived and perpetuated by the government.

MTHINKULU PATRICK GUMA,
Cape Town.

THE primary fallacy of "Heldrith's" letter is implicit, not stated. It is his arrogant assumption that he and his kind are able to judge and prescribe for others.

He is as blind to the real situation as the most superstitious primitive in the kraal. He simply will not believe that Africans are taxed beyond their means to pay in full for every inadequate service which the Whites have the Himalayan impertinence to say they "give" them! The Institute of Race Relations has a "Fact Paper" on the subject: *African Taxation in Relation to African Social Services*.

His letter goes on: "But first you must give us TIME." Time, Heldrith? You have had three hundred years and time has run out.

In fact, the game is up. Sheer weight of numbers is against the Whites, and we can only pray that the Africans will be more merciful than the Whites have been to them.

T. R. CARPENTER,
Johannesburg.

THE Afrikaans Afrikaner "Heldrith" is not alone in entertaining such destructive political ideas. What he seems to ignore is that the oppressed Africans clamour for freedom, for a better life in the multi-racial South Africa.

Far from it that the Africans are deserting their culture, what they want is to be in keeping with the times; they want to enjoy their rightful place with the non-Blacks, not to be artificial Europeans. "Heldrith's" colour consciousness is what indeed begets his pernicious political beliefs.

The time of growth and greatness, for the granting of equal political rights to the oppressed South Africans is not the next century, but now.

I regret to say that "Heldrith" is blinded by the propaganda that tells him he is racially superior to Africans.

To all readers of "Contact"

Let us have your views

- on the kind of South Africa and Africa you want
- on the political struggle in your area
- send a photo of yourself if you like and please keep your letters short.
- always send your correct name and address

We have received so many letters attacking "Heldrith's" views (see "Contact", 9th March) that we are able to publish only the main points made by correspondents. Not one letter in support of "Heldrith" has been received.

Surely the "places" that are being kept open for the Africans are the pipe-dream Bantustans (as well as Colouredstans and Indostans). Whether liked or not, the urban Africans are there to stay. Has "Heldrith" ever visited the locations in his area?

We, the oppressed South Africans, are waiting for the granting of our natural and human rights. Now is the hour, the time, not the perilous tomorrow.

A non-racialist,
JOSEPH MOKWENA,
Kroonstad.

LET us think through a wider perspective; let us not imagine we can keep people where they were a thousand years ago. It sounds odious that "Heldrith" should be writing thus at a time when Africa is changing.

We look forward to Ghana, Nigeria and other free states for examples of self-government. It is the trend of the thinking world to allow people to govern or misgovern themselves because this is their God-given right. Your article, "Heldrith", is typical of the "oppressor" mentality of the Afrikaner with his malignant hatred for the Black man.

CULTURED AFRICAN,
Lobatsi, B.P.

ONE of the greatest follies of some White people like "Heldrith" is to keep on thinking that they must always do the thinking for us. What we Africans prefer can be rightly expressed by ourselves.

There are many literate and illiterate people in all sections of South Africa but all illiterate Whites have a right to vote. An African who has gone through University is denied a vote.

Your Afrikaner policy is aimed at sending the millions of the detribalised Africans back to tribal kraals in order to revive the obsolete tribal rivalries such as there are now in the Congo.

NGIBOBO MNTWANA,
Johannesburg.

TO grow to greatness with a bloodless passage of time is our fervent wish and would happen but for people like "Heldrith" who wish to have a Congo here by foolishly and stubbornly refusing to grant 12 million people democratic rights. Ask for time to prepare yourselves for the inevitable, "Heldrith", and not for time to impose your will on us and have

Hope for the future

SIR.—I appeal to all sons and daughters of the soil: Let us prove to the world the slogan of "Africa for the Africans"; Africans for humanity, humanity for God. We are human, so every human is equal in the face of God. By Africans we mean every man who is born and is a citizen of Africa, no matter the colour of the skin.

A people's future rests, therefore, to a high degree on the potential ability and talent of its youth. That is why teaching and education are such an important investment.

It is the duty of adults to do something more than prepare youth for the labour market. Forward to freedom and for full democracy must our Africans struggle.

EDDIE NYEMBEZI,
Vanderbijl Park, Tvl.

To join the Liberal Party

SIR.—The Cape Divisional headquarters of the Liberal Party wants to contact people in the country districts of the Cape who are interested in joining the Liberal Party. We are sure there must be many of these among readers of *Contact* in the Cape Province. If they will write to us, we will arrange for them to join, will see them as soon as possible and will then proceed to organize suitable country branches where these do not exist.

Will anyone in the Cape country districts who wants to join the Liberal Party please write at once to: **The Secretary, Liberal Party of South Africa, P.O. Box 3618, Cape Town.**

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE,
L.P.S.A., CAPE.

our wives and children "subjected to slavery by your ambitious rulers".

In my humble opinion time for argument as a means to better understanding of one another has long expired. "Heldrith" and his government should hasten to grant basic rights to the non-Whites before it is too late to do so, rather than argue about anachronisms such as Africans wanting to become artificial Europeans and wishing to desert their heritage.

S. L. MOLOKENG,
Teyateyaneng, Basutoland.

I SHALL not hesitate to tell "Heldrith" that there is no African who is fighting to be White. Our struggle is for FREEDOM. Freedom to live in the land of our birth; free without fear or prejudice to shape a bright future for our children in which they may have a share in the administration of our mother land. "Heldrith" alleges that we Africans want to desert our culture and become artificial Europeans. This is a very weak point of his argument. "Heldrith" must realize that we live in a scientific world of evolutionary ideas, and there is no monopoly in this. If we look at South Africa to-day can "Heldrith" compare the life in 1652 with that of the present moment?

Can Afrikaner tell me if the cities of South Africa like Pretoria, Johannesburg, Maritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Cape Town and Stellenbosch have been developed by the so-called Afrikaner-nasie alone? In South Africa the black races were there before Afrikaners came.

"Heldrith" should not dissipate his energy with vain argument which will give him no benefit. The Africans have already said in plain language **AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS**. If "Heldrith" claims to be an African then let us sit together like brethren of one soil and leave aside all colour prejudices.

C. SPENCER NKATA,
Kitwe, N.R.

SOBUKWE SPEAKS FROM GAOL

From MATTHEW NKOANA

WHAT does Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, leader of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress now muzzled and confined in prison, think about the future? He has now done one year of his three-year term of imprisonment following Sharpeville.

Until a fortnight ago I was with Mr. Sobukwe and other former P.A.C. men in the Stofberg Prison, just across the Vaal border in the Orange Free State, where I also served for my part in the Positive Action Campaign of the P.A.C. of 21st March 1960.

There is probably no place like gaol for inducing dreams about the future, and of these we have had plenty.

I will have a lot more to say about the whole group in time. For the moment I wish to report that these men—the vanguard of the struggle against oppression in South Africa—are perhaps the most confident about its successful outcome.

They bear the burdens of prison life cheerfully, strengthened rather than weakened in their convictions, sustained by an abiding faith in the future.

It might be expected that these men—who have had so much suffering to go through, who have forsaken the comfort of their homes, who now know the worst evils of *baasskap* as those who pass through South Africa's prisons must—would be bitter and anti-White.

True, some there are among them—and they're a few—who have taken their lot with less than grace. It is only human. But faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen, and where there is faith and

clarity of ideas, there can be no bitterness and crude hatred.

Thus, from the crucible of their harrowing experience emerges an even greater determination—sometimes fiercely expressed—to end White domination and liquidate injustice.

Speaking for all, Mr. Sobukwe says:

"One is convinced of the ultimate triumph of our cause, because it is a just cause. While we are fighting for the vindication of every man's right to life abundant, those who oppress us are fighting in defence of greed and *baasskap* arrogance.

"We have a strong intellectual and moral case. They have none. Ultimately they rely on pure brute force.

"We can justifiably look upon ourselves as the champions of mankind, because our aim is to restore to and preserve for mankind the best in human civilization—and we use the term 'human' advisedly, for we don't subscribe to the view that civilization is the proud possession of any particular group of people or any particular part of the globe.

"We are sure to win because right must triumph over might, freedom over serfdom. We are sure to win because the lessons of history are that those who are fighting in a struggle such as our own are assured of victory.

"Finally, we are sure to win because the whole continent is with us."

Sobukwe's thoughts are not confined to South Africa but encompass the entire continent. To him the idea of a unified Africa is not a dream of the dim distant future but immediate, practical politics.

The idea of a union of Africa is cherished by many leaders on the continent, and among its foremost champions is President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

The man who first came out with views on the structure of a United States of Africa—views which have influenced the All-African People's Conference—was the late George Padmore, who visualized a federal structure.

"We in South Africa," Sobukwe says, "hold that a federal structure is unacceptable because federalism *per se* is a weak form of unity as it entails compromise, sometimes on vital issues.

"Because of the set-up in Africa it could present us with some knotty problems. I am thinking here in particular of tribalism, religious affiliation, the language question, and even the so-called race question.

"In short, a federal solution for the continent would militate against that unity and the development of the uniform outlook which the U.S.A. was designed to foster. We therefore propose a giant monolithic state.

"Let me state why a union of African states is necessary. There are those reasons which can be summed up as follows:

"(a) It is necessary to give formal expression to the desire of the African people for unity;

"(b) It is necessary for the defence of every country in the continent. 'or just as the oppressor set tribe against tribe in the earlier struggle for Africa, he will most likely set country against country in an attempt to maintain a foothold on the continent;

"(c) Today the historical lesson is that it is those countries which are territorially expansive and have large populations which have taken over world leadership, as in the case of America and Russia.

"It is only a United States of Africa that can mould Africa into a power strong enough to ensure its independence in world politics.

"A common programme for the economic and social reconstruction of Africa will contribute to this, with a combined effort for the exploitation of the vast mineral and human resources of the continent for the benefit of every part of it."

A uniform outlook could be fostered, among other things, by uniformity of laws, freedom of movement throughout the continent, a common syllabus for the schools with emphasis on the physical and natural sciences rather than the humanities, to suit the special and urgent needs of Africa.

Other points Mr. Sobukwe makes for a unitary state include the entrenchment of freedom of religion. This would ensure that, say, a predominantly Mohammedan population would be forbidden by law from making theirs a state religion.

TANGANYIKA FREE SOON

On 30th March, at the end of the Tanganyika Constitutional Conference, Mr. Iain Macleod, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced that Tanganyika would become fully independent on 28th December, 1961. (See front cover.)

At a time when progress in many parts of Africa is hampered and complicated by problems of inter-racial strife and tribal rivalries, Tanganyika has an encouraging record of steady political advance and of confidence and goodwill between different races and peoples. Relations between the African majority (more than 98 per cent of a population of about 9,250,000) and the small but important White and Asian minorities, have, with few exceptions, been consistently good.

UNITED KINGDOM TRUSTEESHIP

The United Kingdom's connection with Tanganyika dates only from the end of the first world war, when what was formerly part of German East Africa became a League of Nations mandated territory under the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919, and was placed under United Kingdom administration.

When the United Nations Organisation came into existence after the second world war Tanganyika was placed under its trusteeship system and, in accordance with the United Nations Charter—and with the United Kingdom's general policy towards its dependencies—political, economic and social progress has been fostered with the aim of preparing the people for eventual self-government.

AFRICA DAY

AFRICA DAY, the 16th April, will be celebrated in Cape Town this year with the usual big Liberal Party meeting on the Grand Parade at 3 p.m.

Announcing this, Mr. Peter Hjul, the party's Cape chairman, said that he hoped that all democrats in Cape Town would rally and demonstrate their support for the freedom of all people in Africa, and their determination to achieve a democratic non-racial South Africa.



A constitution introduced in the latter part of 1960 gave Tanganyika a considerable measure of responsible government. The legislature became predominantly elected and predominantly African—although Whites and Asians are also represented and have been elected on the basis of a common roll for all races—and the Chief Minister and most of the other ministers were appointed from among the elected members of the legislature.

THE TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

Tanganyika has at present only one major political organisation, the Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.), under the leadership of Dr. Julius Nyerere, which has over 400 registered branches throughout the territory.

In the 1960 elections T.A.N.U. repeated and consolidated the victory it had gained in the previous elections. T.A.N.U. African candidates and T.A.N.U.-supported Asian and White candidates won 70 out of the 71 elected seats in the Legislative Council. In 58 constituencies they were returned unopposed.

After the elections Dr. Nyerere was appointed the territory's first Chief Minister, and was consulted by the Governor on the appointment of other ministers.

Commonwealth Sport

BRINGING S.A. BACK BY BACK DOOR

SOON after the commonwealth link broke, the international sporting world became the scene of some desperate to-ings and fro-ings. White South African sportsmen for the first time saw their international position as truly precarious.

For years, by a combination of chicanery and blocking tactics they have managed to fight off the attacks of bodies like the South African Sports Association, bodies that called for international sport either to be non-racial or for a withdrawal of recognition of South African teams.

But now, by a decision of the assembled prime ministers, South Africa found itself (according to Frank Braun, vice-chairman of the S.A. Commonwealth Games Association) outside the Commonwealth Games. And according to Ronnie Aird, president of the Imperial Cricket Conference, South Africa could not continue as a member of that body unless its constitution were amended.

He has also advised the South African Sports Association that South Africa's membership will be reviewed at the next meeting of the Conference.

The big danger to South African Whites was this: that if they are out of the Commonwealth Games, they may lose the support of those very nations that have in the past protected them from the full force of anti-colour-bar criticism in the Olympic Games. It is probable that their position in the Olympics might become impossible.

But racists do not give in easily. According to the *Cape Times* (29th March) Mr. Frank Rostron, South African representative at the Commonwealth Games Federation, told the committee that "the vast majority of Union sportsmen favoured links with the commonwealth and should not be isolated because of politics". He managed to persuade Sir Arthur Porritt and the committee that the case should be reconsidered, after South Africa's report to the Olympics Committee at their meeting in Athens on 20th June.

Unless other commonwealth members insist that the decision to break the commonwealth link be honoured, it is

possible that the South Africans will be allowed in by the back door. Mr. "Sandy" Duncan, Secretary of the Commonwealth Games Federation, has for instance done a pro-South African wangle for years to keep colour-bar politics in and keep South African non-racial teams out of the games.

In the same way Mr. Foster Bowley, president of the all-White South African Cricket Association, is scratching around for a formula which will enable South Africa to remain a member of the Imperial Cricket Conference, though membership is at present limited to commonwealth countries.

The *Economist* foresaw that this sort of wangling would be tried, and prophesied that there would be pressures in Britain "to look for ways of maintaining Britain's familiar links with South Africa even though the constitutional connection has been broken. If this pressure is interpreted by the Coloured members of the commonwealth as an attempt to nullify last week's decision, there will be trouble." (25th March.)

WANTED

Agents to sell

contact

Good commission offered

Write Manager

P.O. BOX 1979
CAPE TOWN