

contact

MANDELA'S STATEMENT TO "CONTACT"

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—see page 3

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



South West Africa—

● Rebellion on Frontier

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● New Labour Racket

—page 5



Herero woman South West Africa, in traditional dress.

contact

The following editorial expresses the views of the editorial board. No other body or movement is in any way responsible for the views expressed.

Stay at home!

MR. NELSON MANDELA, speaking for the All-in African National Action Council of the Pietermaritzburg conference has called for Union-wide peaceful demonstrations at the end of May against apartheid.

On this day all the oppressed people and their friends are asked to stay at home and not to go to work.

Contact gives its full support to this call.

In the past we have had differences with Mr. Mandela and even today we do not identify ourselves with everything that he stands for. But that is not the point.

The point is this: that Mr. Mandela's Council has successfully taken the initiative against the vile system of apartheid.

A year ago, in March, 1960, that initiative was taken by the Pan-Africanist Congress.

At that time we had differences with the policies of the P.A.C., which we never tried to hide. But when they courageously stood up and defied apartheid we praised them and gave them all the support we were able to give.

Since then the way has been open for other organizations to take the initiative against the government, but until the Pietermaritzburg conference no movement actually succeeded in doing so. If a movement had succeeded we would probably have supported it.

Now that Mr. Mandela and his Council have succeeded in creating the base for a successful campaign, it is, in our view, the duty of all democrats to give them their full support.

It might be objected that the planned demonstrations are not worthy of support because, since they have been called for on the day of the establishment of Dr. Verwoerd's new republic they will therefore merely support the anti-republican policies of bodies like the United Party.

This objection seems to us to be not of much weight. The demonstrations are to defy apartheid. And apartheid is as much the policy of the United Party as it is that of the Nationalists. Further, the preamble to Dr. Verwoerd's new constitution clearly excludes Africans (and all whose ancestors did not immigrate from afar) from membership of the new South African state.

Let it be remembered that Mr. Mandela and his Council are committed to peaceful demonstrations. At this stage of the South African revolution such non-violent protests are the only alternative to bloodshed, which all South Africans, nationalists as well as the oppressed, should avoid. This declared intention of non-violence is a fundamental reason why Contact lends its support to the Pietermaritzburg plans.

Finally, we give our support because we believe that Mr. Mandela and his Council will act responsibly and not seek to use the campaign to further the purposes of any particular ideology. In foreign policy the campaign must preserve strict neutralism. Any attempt for instance to harness the people of South Africa by such a campaign to a "hate the West" movement will ensure that the unity that might have been created will be broken.

And the only gainers from such a failure would be the Nationalists, the perpetrators of apartheid.

Therefore, all who love freedom, all who love South Africa, all who wish

(Continued at foot of next column)

THE LONG VIEW

The Natal Convention

THE Natal Convention which, I suggested a fortnight ago, might send some light through the prevailing gloom, is over. What are the impressions it leaves?

The over-riding impression is of the tremendous success of the occasion; that much more light was cast than even the Convention's most enthusiastic supporter could have hoped for. Representation turned out to be better than the best expectations. There was a last-minute rush of African members; White people and Indians were very well represented, and Coloured people, perhaps the most conservative group in Natal, played a most effective part in the three days' proceedings.

STRIKING UNANIMITY

What was most striking was the extraordinary unanimity achieved by a large number of people of widely differing backgrounds on a wide range of subjects. And these were subjects which many South Africans think too dangerous to discuss at all with people of their own race, let alone those of other races. Who, for instance, would have thought that a "Natal" Convention could accept "that there should be no racial restrictions on the ownership and occupation of land and property"? Who would have thought that a large number of White South Africans would accept school integration as their ideal, differing only on whether this should be introduced gradually or immediately?

The one thing that emerges quite clearly from the Convention report — which, incidentally, is a startlingly

"radical" document — is that, except on the question of the franchise, there is substantial agreement amongst reasonable South Africans of all races, on the kind of society they want to see established in the future. And even on the franchise it is accepted that there must be an extension of the vote at all levels and that this must take place on a non-racial basis and on a common roll — and quickly!

OUT OF THE IMPASSE

The second thing which impressed was the remarkable effect that a meetings of this sort has on the attitudes of all those who take part in it. Not only do they hear the views of people whose opinions they have never heard freely expressed before; they also find out that there are sound reasons for people holding some of these views — they aren't just the emotional expressions of Black ogres or White ogres, but the views of South Africans who are anxiously looking for a way out of the impasse into which the Nationalists have led us. The sum total of all this is a great stimulus for all those who have participated.

The range of views represented at Maritzburg was very wide. Only the most conservative White sections were not there. Yet every single person seems to have extracted great benefit from the experience of three days of the closest contact with all kinds of people. The sharp corners of racial intransigence have been rubbed off some whose corners were sharpest and those who believe in race co-operation have had their

Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party



views, and I think their ranks, strongly reinforced.

But the thing that came most clearly out of Maritzburg was the craziness of apartheid, that the only way out of our difficulties is the way we go together.

LITTLE TIME LEFT

The Convention also showed quite clearly that the difficulties anticipated by many people along this road are grossly exaggerated. Certainly there are many of them and they are great but there is no reason why they should not be overcome, provided we make up our minds to do it together.

Most important of all, this Convention appreciated the great urgency of the problems which beset us. There is hardly any time left. If Natal, for so long the home of active anti-Indian and anti-Afrikaner sentiment and of passive acceptance of apartheid, can come out with a document like this Convention Report, there is hope for all of us. A call has gone out for a new National Convention. Let all of us support it and let all those who subscribed to the Natal Convention Report start now to take all possible practical steps to put its recommendations into effect and to persuade their associates in other provinces to do the same.

PHILOSOPHER FOR LIBERALISM

ON 19th April, Professor Denis V. Cowen delivered the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture before some 1,200 people in the Cape Town City Hall, probably the largest audience ever to hear a Hoernlé lecture.

The subject was "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity — To-day".*

On 25th April was published Professor Cowen's latest book. It is called "The Foundations of Freedom".**

Both are centred upon the South African situation, and are the fruit of years of thinking. Not surprisingly, the book and the lecture are similar. So far as South Africa is concerned, indeed, the lecture is almost a shortened version of the book.

The lecture and the book are of considerable importance. In my view no more important Hoernlé lecture has ever been delivered. At last, in this series that has now lasted 21 years, we have a frank admission that adult suffrage is right for South Africa, and that it is unavoidable.

Opportunity Missed

And yet, having said this, in my view, Professor Cowen missed a historic opportunity. It was the opportunity to open, with a telling phrase, with a daring speech, the final act that will destroy apartheid.

Two hundred years ago Voltaire said "Ecrasez l'infâme" (squash the infamous thing, meaning the French royal government's abuses). Last year Mr. Macmillan said "The wind of change". Each of these phrases was so well-timed and well-chosen that it was repeated by thousands, till it achieved a power of its own and entered history.

(Continued from column 1)
to remove the leprosy of apartheid, all must hear the call when it comes at the end of May, must obey it and must stay at home.

If, on the platform of the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture, Professor Cowen had drawn the only possible conclusion that his own arguments lead to, he would have preached not only that the South African Revolution was necessary, but that it was desirable. If he had done so the occasion would have entered history.

Revolution Inevitable

It is a great pity that this did not happen. True, he accepts the inevitability of the revolution: "The present order in South Africa is about to pass away" (p. 14). Yet nowhere does Professor Cowen call for the only action that can win them liberty, that is revolutionary action.

There are, indeed, passages in the book which suggest that when he wrote it he had not yet arrived at the view that revolution is unavoidable. At page 103 he is discussing the franchise. "If the non-Whites are progressively to win a voice in the government of the country, it may be essential for White men not only to commit themselves to a policy of gradually admitting more and more non-Whites to the franchise, but also to envisage a time-schedule for periodic revision and advance."

This passage seems to suggest that the White voters are considering placing more non-Whites on the roll. But they are not. The South West African election, and the bye-election in Bethal-Middelburg, where Dr. Verwoerd greatly increased his vote as against the more moderate U.P., are only the latest results in a century of retreat which proves conclusively that non-White rights are being taken away, not granted, by the White voters.

Firmly Democratic, Africanist

Having expressed this disappointment that the book and the lecture did not actually make history I must now state

that they remain considerable landmarks in the path of South African political thought. They support and richly document the standpoint of the Liberal Party. They are firmly democratic. They justify the pursuit of political equality. They call for adult suffrage quite unmistakably. They are staunchly anti-communist. Above all, they are "africanist". By this, I mean they accept that the majority voice in the new South Africa, about to be born in travail, will be the voice of the Africans.

Perhaps the major contribution of Professor Cowen is his view that the democratic world must dig back into its own traditions for a revival of the doctrines of natural law. No other doctrine can justify a belief in freedom, and with no other doctrine is freedom secure against tyranny. Natural law is the full defence against totalitarian dangers, and Professor Cowen successfully conveys to the reader his own enthusiasm for this philosophy.

I warmly commend to all readers of Contact this brilliant book and this brilliant lecture.

PATRICK DUNCAN

*Published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, 35c.

**Published by the Oxford University Press, R3.30.

Sam Sly

Sam Sly is out of town. We hope to include his column, as usual, in the next issue.

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.

EXCLUSIVE STATEMENT TO "CONTACT"

Mandela Calls—"Deliver the Knock-out Punch"

From ROBIN FARQUHARSON

In the following exclusive statement to "Contact" Mr. Nelson Mandela, former Transvaal Chairman of the banned African National Congress, calls on those who "are still assailed by doubts and hesitations to join in supporting the decision of the Maritzburg conference", which almost certainly involves a withdrawal of labour power.

"The *Sunday Times* of the 26th March, 1961, acclaimed the all-in African Conference in Pietermaritzburg as the biggest political gathering of Africans in South Africa since the Government banned the A.N.C. and P.A.C. last year. Almost all the country's leading dailies and periodicals conceded in varying degrees the success of this meeting. And so it was. The organizers had worked for a target of just about 1,000 delegates. But with the much publicized withdrawal of a certain organization and individuals, the arrest of most members of the Continuation Committee which organized the conference, the view that became prevalent immediately thereafter, namely, that the arrests meant in effect that those who participated in the deliberations of the conference would be courting arrest and prosecution, and with the universal atmosphere of uncertainty that prevailed, the prospect of reaching even this target seemed very dim indeed. And yet 1,400 delegates from town and country and representing various shades of political and religious thought and from social, sporting and cultural organizations, overcoming numerous difficulties, found their way to the conference hall. A remarkable achievement by any standard.

"The view has been expressed that this conference was merely another meeting of the A.N.C. and not in any way representative of the African point of view. Others put the matter in a slightly different way. They say that the so-called delegates did not represent anybody but themselves. The report of the credentials committee gave the names and addresses of the delegates that attended as well as that of the organizations they represented. It shows that more than half of these organizations are known to have existed years before the A.N.C. was banned and there could be no question of the A.N.C. having dissolved itself into these bodies. The Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, the Southern Transvaal Football Association, the Apostolic Church in Zion, the Liberal Party, are amongst those which sent delegates to the conference. This was undoubtedly the greatest demonstration of African unity and solidarity seen in recent years.

"South Africa now knows that conference unanimously decided to call on the Government to summon, before 31st May this year, a national convention of all South Africans, Black and White, to draw up a new democratic constitution. Africans appreciate that one of the greatest weapons in their hands at present is the withdrawal of their labour power. Without a single dissenting voice, delegate after delegate called for this type of demonstration on the eve of 31st May and numerous speakers urged that this time the demonstrations should be of such duration and so massive in scope as to rock the Nationalist Party Government to its foundations.

"Delegates warned that this decision involved much more than the forthcoming demonstrations. They urged that the non-collaboration provisions of the main resolutions open up a new chapter in the struggle of the African people against race discrimination. They meant the beginning of a long period of stubborn and militant mass cam-

paigns in town and country to unseat this Government.

"What are the prospects? How powerful are we? What machinery is there to ensure success? How resilient is our organization? Is it capable of surviving the countermeasures the Government might take?

"To a certain extent all these questions have already been answered. In the conditions that prevail to-day in South Africa is it not astonishing that we should be able to assemble so many delegates? Is it not surprising that these same delegates should pass such a challenging resolution?

"Only twelve months ago seventy-five people were killed by the police in Vereeniging and Cape Town in the course of a peaceful demonstration against passes. Nine days thereafter a state of emergency was declared and the normal rights of citizens were suspended. Thousands of innocent people were arrested and detained in jails without trial. The A.N.C. and P.A.C. were suppressed, the army was mobilized to terrorize the political opponents of the government and to crush any form of opposition to its policies.

"For a little more than four years, leaders of the A.N.C. had faced a treason trial which only came to a dramatic end after the Pietermaritzburg conference. In recent years scores of our people have been forcibly removed from their homes and families and banished to remote parts of the country

there to fend for themselves amongst strangers in a strange environment.

"Could there be anything more terrifying than this ordeal through which our country has just passed? Yet notwithstanding all these things opposition to the Government continues to grow, and one of the most significant aspects of this growing opposition is the upsurge of political consciousness amongst the Coloured people. They have openly declared that there can be no compromise or collaboration with the present Government and have thrown in their lot with the African people. In the light of these dynamic developments can anybody doubt what the prospects are?

"Since Pietermaritzburg, we have visited Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Durban and we have been struck by the enthusiasm of all sections. We have spoken even to those of us who had certain reservations about this historic resolution and we are happy to indicate that we were able to find common ground on this issue.

"WE FACE THE FORTHCOMING DEMONSTRATIONS TEMPERED AND STRENGTHENED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE UNITY TO A DEGREE UNPRECEDENTED IN THE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY. THERE ARE SOME WHO ARE STILL ASSAILED BY DOUBTS AND HESITATIONS. WE SAY TO THEM THAT THE TIMES ARE CRITICAL AND MOMENTOUS. WE URGE THEM TO JOIN IN WITH US AND TOGETHER TO DELIVER THE KNOCKOUT PUNCH."

WAR IN ANGOLA

REBELLION ON S.W.A. BORDER

From "Contact" Correspondent

OVAMBOLAND, S.W.A.: The resistance to Salazar's government in Angola has spread as far south as the Cunene River, boundary between Angola and the mandated territory of South West Africa.

Troops of both the Portuguese and South African armies are patrolling the frontier.

Centres just north of the Cunene River have been affected by the rebellion.

TOWNS, BUILDINGS BURNED

Buildings have been burned down at Namakunde, a few miles from the frontier.

The Roman Catholic Mission at Ompanda has been burned down, as has the big administrative centre Ondjiva (Vila Pereira de Eça), seat of the chefe do posto (district commissioner) for southern Angola.

Namakunde and Ompanda lie between Ondjiva and the South West frontier.

In the past few days the town of Evale, north of Ondjiva has been burned. Indications are that the rebellion is spreading north from the Cunene River.

BORDER CLOSELY GUARDED

The Portuguese are doing their best to prevent the news leaking out. The border between South West Africa and Angola is guarded by strong contingents of Portuguese and South African troops.

Angolan contract labourers returning from the South African mines and the

farms of South West have been turned back at the frontier and forbidden to enter Angola.

South West Africans visiting relations in Angola have been prevented from returning home to Ovamboland.

The African population throughout Angola is having a rough time, I learn. Not, of course, that there was any rule of law even in normal times, but now the lives of these people are entirely in the hands of the Portuguese troops who are cruel and undisciplined.

Frightened and collapsing families are crossing the border into South West fleeing from what has become a reign of terror. Some of them are caught trying to escape and are held prisoner. Then men, women and children are taken away to the forest regions far from their homes to work on roads for the use of Portuguese army vehicles.

The cause of the revolt just a few miles north of the South West border, is, I learned, the contact southern Angolan contract labourers have had with the rebels in the north.

FROM THE NORTH

The southern tribesmen, mostly Ovambos have returned to their homes after working in the north determined to help

Africa Day in Mbabane

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: On 16th April, 1961, members of the Youth League of the Swaziland Progressive Party turned up in full force at Musunduzi Hall, Mbabane, to celebrate Africa Freedom Day.

The President-General of the S.P.P., Mr. J. J. Nquku was the first speaker.

He thanked the youth for the great task they had undertaken and said that they should be aware of the fact that although Africa has indeed achieved something to be proud of there is yet more to be done and all that rests squarely on the shoulders of the youth. In conclusion he said that the youth of Swaziland is therefore faced with this duty and that they should remember that "where there is no vision the people perish".

DAY OF PRAYER

The chairman of the Youth League, Mr. D. Dlamini, then addressed the meeting. He said, "This memorable day in Africa is the day of prayer, of sorrow and of great joy and jubilation: of prayer because we remember all the freedom fighters in Africa, the dead and the living; of sorrow because of the remembrance of such casualties as Sharpeville, Langa, Cato Manor, the Congo tragedy and many others of their nature; of great jubilation because of the fast increasing independent states in Africa and the fervent hope that Africa is marching forward to a prosperous destiny.

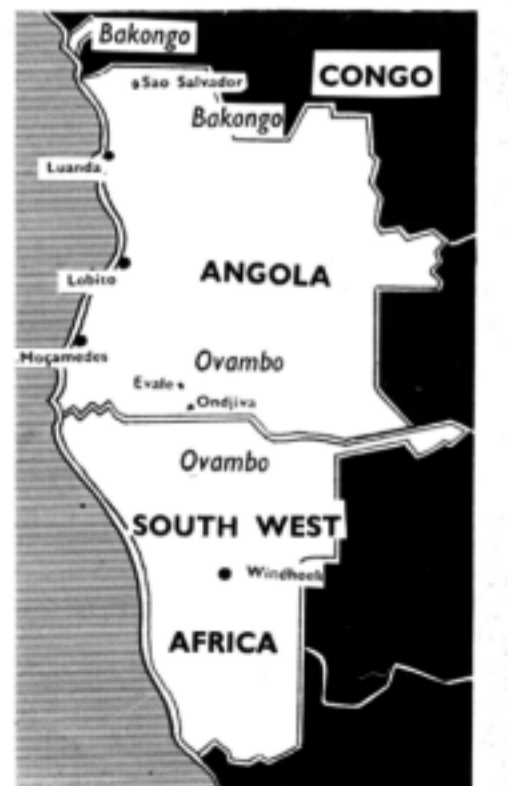
"We hail with great joy the dramatic end of the Treason Trial in the Union in favour of the freedom fighters," he said.

In conclusion he said that the youth of Swaziland should understand that independence from colonial oppression is something that must be fought for without compromise but they should also remember that fighting for independence and the maintenance of independence itself both demand a high sense of duty and responsibility.

A motion was adopted pledging all present to "the service of our mother country Swaziland and Africa in general".

their fellow countrymen to overthrow the Portuguese tyranny.

For years the Angolan Ovambos have been making contact with people of other tribes in the north, mostly with the Bakongo in the coffee plantation areas of São Salvador, Bembe and Teinbo Aluma.



Transkei Independence

Partition 1962?

By a Reporter

AT its session which opened on 18th April the Transkei Territorial Authority asked the Union Government to grant the territory self-government. And it set up a Recess Committee to look into the implications of such a request. The request aroused the greatest interest all over South Africa, with Paramount Chief of the Tembus, Sabata Dalindyebo, whose eloquent speeches led the move for independence, filling a hero's role.

Was the request an embarrassment to the government? Or was Minister de Wet Nel of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development telling the truth when he said that the request was in line with government policy?

REQUEST NOT PLANNED

The truth appears to be that the request is in line with government policy, but that government was taken by surprise when the request was made.

The request was certainly not planned in advance; for it was not tabled before the T.T.A. met on 18th April. And it was proposed at a day's notice.

ENTHUSIASTIC PROPONENT

Its most enthusiastic proponent was Tembu Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo. While he spoke the public gallery applauded, though government servants looked glum.

The request was debated on Friday, 21st April. On that day Mr. V. M. Leibbrandt, Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, government's principal collaborator, retired from the Bunga building to find Commissioner-General Hans Abraham and to discuss their unexpected predicament with him. The demeanour of the officials on that day was that of bewildered men.

So much for the evidence that officials in Umtata were taken by surprise.

NOT UNWELCOME

At the same time it seems clear that at the highest levels of government the request was not unwelcome. If carefully handled it might even be the catalyst that might start Dr. Verwoerd's plans for partition rolling.

The Liberal Party and other democratic organizations oppose permanent partition. A request for partition from the Transkei itself could be used for strengthening Verwoerd's case that White and Black are incompatible nations. It could also strengthen Verwoerd's position with the rapidly increasing number of Afrikaners calling for real moves towards partition.

HASTY BLESSING

These considerations perhaps explain the haste with which Mr. de Wet Nel gave the Transkei request his blessing.

Thus, once the surprise caused by the request had gone, the government clearly decided to make the best of it, and to turn the move to its own advantage.

Firstly, they clearly let a principal collaborator, Chief Sandy S. Majeke, know that the request was all right. His speed in support was the signal for all pro-government councillors to support it.

Secondly, the government was able to

The Record Straight

The Transkeian Territories are South Africa's biggest "Native reserve", 1½ million strong. Its phony "parliament", the Transkeian Territorial Authority, has served Verwoerd well by giving an appearance of acceptance of apartheid by the Xhosa-speaking people of the Transkei.

The calm of the T.T.A. in its unga in Umtata has been shattered by a debate on a resolution of independence NOW for the whole Transkei.

On 21st April a surprise resolution was debated and the vote deferred until:

26th April, when an amendment was passed, agreeing to self-government but setting up a 27-member Recess Committee to report back on the subject in 1962.

This move has been given widely-differing meanings by the press and radio.

To set the record straight we print on this page the resolution, the amendment, and the names of the committee, plus background material. Two points should be noted:

- The demand for independence has not been rejected by the Government or the T.T.A.
- Many important Transkeians see independence not as contracting out of the South African nation, but as a means towards winning freedom for all oppressed South Africa.

buy time. The amendment which was actually carried set up a Recess Committee of 27 members. This committee cannot report before twelve months have elapsed.

During this time Dr. Verwoerd, who likes acting theatrically, will have time to think up a dramatic scheme for the implementation of Transkei independence.

Such a scheme might well be on the lines of a statement by *Landstem* editor

PARAMOUNT CHIEF
SABATA DALINDYEBO

Piet Beukes which found its way into the English press, that the Union government would "as quickly as possible draw up constitutions for seven Bantu States" (Ciskei, Transkei, Zululand, Northern Areas, Western Areas, Ovambo and Herero states). They would gain "full freedom . . . a 25-year friendship treaty and aid . . . (plus) U.N.O. membership".

GOVERNMENT LINE DECIDED

At any rate, by the second day (Wednesday, 26th April) of the debate it was clear that the government line had been decided upon. Officials were calm and relaxed; and Chief Kaiser Matanzima, presiding territorial chief, whose speech read as if it had been written by a B.A.D. information officer, seemed to be "in the know".

CRADLE OF FREEDOM

Whatever is to happen, the independence debate was of historic importance. Dr. Verwoerd will seek to use it to divide White and Black ever more irrevocably; the leaders in the Transkei will seek to use it to build the cradle of freedom in South Africa, to establish an area from which freedom can expand over the whole sub-continent.

Which side will succeed in moulding the independence debate into its plans? The answer to this question will be determined by strength.

T.T.A. FREEDOM VOTE — THE FULL TEXT

INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION DEBATED:
21st APRIL, 1961.

Cr. L. Maninwa moved, Cr. Chief G. Ntantala seconded:

"That in order to ease the present situation of uneasiness in the Union of South Africa and in view of the Government's policy of separate development, and the fact that the Bantu people have no representation in the Union legislature, (a) this Territorial Authority in session respectfully requests the Government to declare the Transkeian Territories as a whole a self-governing state under the control of the Bantu people, (b) that arrangements for the drawing up of the relative constitution be made by the authorities in consultation with the leaders of the Bantu people in the Transkeian Territories, and (c) that this item be given priority in order to take advantage of the presence of Government officials from

AMENDMENT PASSED: 26th APRIL, 1961
Cr. Chief D. D. P. Ndamase moved, Cr. Singata seconded:

"Whereas it is the stated policy of the Government that the Bantu Territories shall be developed to the status of self-government, and Whereas this authority has now been in existence for about five years, and Whereas this authority, considering the supreme importance of the Government's policy, does not doubt the sincerity of the Government in this respect, this authority accepts the notion in principle and resolves to appoint a recess committee of 27 members, with powers to co-opt such persons as it may deem fit to go into the implications of the granting or otherwise of self-government to this authority's area of jurisdiction and report to this Authority during the next session, and that the following be the terms of reference: (1) to consider the financial implications of the granting of self-government, bearing in mind, inter alia, taxes, direct and indirect paid by Bantu in these territories, (2) to consider the relations between the Government and the proposed Bantu state, (3) to consider the possible date of the granting of self-government, (4) to consider the manner of approaching the Government in order to effect self-government."

27-MEMBER RECESS COMMITTEE
W. Pondoland: T. N. Ndamase, L. Maninwa, D. D. P. Ndamase, E. Pondoland; B. Sigcawu, S. M. Mshube, E. A. Pinyana, K. G. Jono (Mt. Ayliff), —, Ngcongco, Fingoland: C. W. Monakali, G. X. Gcingca, M. Salukaphatawa, Gcalekaland: C. K. Sakwe, P. Dangazele, Z. Sigcawu, Emboland: S. S. Majeke, C. Ranuga, G. K. Makaula, Maluti (E. Griqualand): S. Mshesh, E. Kuali, P. Jozani, Emigrant Tembuland: G. M. Matanzima, K. D. Matanzima, R. Mshengana, Tembuland: S. Dalindyebo, J. Mtrara, —, Gwebindlala.

NEW MOVE

From "Contact"

DURBAN: One of the surprises held in Pietermaritzburg from 17th its report read out on the final day.

Admittedly the United Party was not there, the Nationalist Party was represented only (*Contact* was told) by one delegate who did not have the blessing of his organization. The Durban City Council boycotted the proceedings as well.

Nonetheless conservative opinion was represented to a certain extent by delegates from some local authorities, White farmers and others. Church groups in South Africa are not noted for their radicalism and they too were represented. The Liberal Party sent only a few observers and the Natal Indian Congress and South African Congress of Trade Unions were in the same discussion groups as members of the more staid Natal Indian Organization and the South African Trade Union Council.

Nonetheless the 200-odd delegates produced a report which among other things:

- Called for a national convention of all races.
- Rejected apartheid as a policy.
- Condemned the Group Areas Act, restrictions on freedom of movement, the punitive withdrawal of passports, land apartheid, the pass laws, influx control, job reservation, separate amenities, Bantu education.
- Laid down the principle of free, compulsory and equal education for all Natal children. (There was some disagreement over the pace of school integration: some wanted it immediately, others gradually, but nearly all agreed on "open universities" immediately.)
- Recommended that workers of all races should be brought into the scope of workmen's compensation, industrial conciliation, unemployment insurance and the apprenticeship system.
- Recommended that there should be no discrimination in wages on the basis of race or colour.
- Condemned the migratory labour system.

Raw Materials

"THE corruption of the best is proverb.

It comes to mind when one examines the second interim report of the Regional Survey of the Tugela Basin, entitled "Towards a Plan for the Tugela Basin (Pietermaritzburg, Town and Regional Planning Commission, 1960; R3.00).

There has been so much higgledy-piggledy development in South Africa that it is a joy to see from this book that in the development of the Tugela Basin many linked factors are being given intensive study, such as water and soil, as well as the more usual factors of transport, markets, and raw materials.

"RAW MATERIALS"

The book is imaginatively produced with some beautiful maps and plans. Some of the plans are in an atlas which is ingeniously bound separately, yet together, with the book.

And yet, "the corruption of the best is the worst". The whole work is based on the crazy Verwoerd-notion that industry should be sited on the borders of the reserves. Sometimes the notion is pursued in embarrassingly slavish ways. For instance, figure 5 is entitled "Raw Materials: Sugar and Forests" and yet there are three, not two maps (all on an identical scale). The third map is entitled "Bantu Areas": the "Bantu" classed as a raw material. The insult of it! That this was not an error is shown at page 52, where, under a heading "Influence of Raw Materials", the last sentence again speaks of the dis-



The T.T.A. in Session, 26th April, 1961 (empty galleries reserved for Whites).

IN NATAL

Correspondent

of the multi-racial Natal Convention of 19th April was the radicalism of

The franchise question, most vexed of all in South African politics, caused some controversy and the final report could only put the two viewpoints. These were: an unqualified franchise on the common roll; and a qualified franchise on the common roll.

Perhaps the group to benefit most from the convention was the Progressive Party team. For perhaps the first time they saw Liberals and Congress supporters of all races pull together (whatever their differences elsewhere) on questions such as the franchise.

The tone for the convention was set by three papers—one on political aspects by Mr. Ken Heard of Natal University; another by Mr. Ian Allen, an economist; and one by Prof. Leo Kuper, a sociologist. All three rejected apartheid and warned of its social, political, and economic dangers.

The closing session of the convention was marked by an announcement by Archbishop Denis E. Hurley of Durban that he was going to work towards a united religious front, including the non-Christian faiths, against apartheid.

The report of the convention is a statement of faith rather than a plan of action. But the various discussion groups were called upon to make practical suggestions as to how apartheid could be broken down and the continuation committee of the convention is at present studying these.

Three significant facts emerge:

- The convention showed a recognition by a representative section of Natal that extra-parliamentary pressures are needed;
- The association of people of different races produced a far more radical document than would have appeared possible on the first day; and
- Another voice has joined the many calling for a national convention.

And these things in themselves are a hopeful sign of changing attitudes in a province whose Whites have been behind the bland phrases about British fair play as racialistic as any.

als = People

the worst"—so runs the old Roman

tribution of "Bantu Reserves". And, at page 64, the report accepts without comment that government policy is that industry should be sited on the borders of "Bantu Reserves".

ATTEMPT FAILED

Nowhere is there any recognition that "Bantu" are not trees, that they have shown an extraordinary ability to move into the cities, with so great an ability that the government, in its panic, is spending millions, and employing thousands of officials in an attempt to keep Africans out of our cities.

The fact that this Canute-like attempt has failed, according to the most recent census counts, is not taken into account in the report. The report everywhere assumes that one of the essential factors in the siting of industries is the proximity of the reserves, that it is as important, for instance, as the lie of the land (for railways) or the presence of water.

POLICIES NOT PERMANENT

Such an assumption vitiates the whole report. For there might well be ideal sites for industries which are not on the borders of the reserves. Under an enlightened government—such as is coming within a few years—industries might be sited there and the people invited to move to the industries.

But no, the assumption has been made that Verwoerd's policies are permanent, that South Africa will be talking about "Bantu Reserves" till the end of the century.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Grip of Oppression

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Rising dissatisfaction is being felt in South West Africa by the contract labourers, mostly Ovambo from Ovamboland in the north of the territory.

Nearly all labour from this reserve is channelled through the South West Africa Native Labour Association (S.W.A.N.L.A.). Employers pay this association, which is a private-enterprise concern, £13 - £18 for each labourer recruited.

In contrast to this heavy capitation fee, wages are low, amounting usually to 1s. 3d. for a shift (day). Overtime is often exacted, and is sometimes not paid for.

Workers work in the canning factories, in the diamond mines at Oranjemund (De Beers), in domestic work, and in various industrial concerns in the territory.

BITTERNESS

This exploitation is bad enough, and has for years caused bitterness and dissatisfaction among the labourers.

But there is a new type of exploitation which dates back only three years. In certain circumstances labourers are forced to work against their will for the fares for their own repatriation to the reserves.

In view of the low wages, when a contract is finished, some labourers try to stay on in the towns, industries, etc., to earn a little more money. To do so is against the law and they are often found and arrested. A special force of five uniformed White "labour inspectors" and twelve Africans are employed in Windhoek alone for the sole purpose of discovering such workers and bringing them to court.

Those found are charged with living in the Police Zone without a permit. The sentence is usually £10 or thirty days in prison. Most choose to serve the sentence in prison.

REPATRIATION FEE

When released they must find their "repatriation fee". Most cannot pay. Such workers are then given to employers for three months, on the condition that the employers pay the repatriation fees, not exceeding £5.

As in the original contract, the worker is not allowed to choose his employer. As when recruited by the

LIBERAL BRANCH IN PORT SHEPSTONE

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT SHEPSTONE: On 24th April, over 200 people attended the first meeting of the new Port Shepstone branch of the Liberal Party. The meeting marked a stage in the growth of the thriving Southern Natal region of the Liberal Party.

There are branches at Cedarville, Matatiele, Kokstad (East Griqualand), Underberg-Himeville-Bulwer, Port Shepstone.

The chair was taken at the Port Shepstone meeting by the chairman of the region, Mr. Neil Alcock, an Underberg farmer.

CAPE TOWN U.N. ASSOCIATION FORMED

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: At a meeting here far larger than the organizers had hoped, a Cape Town branch of the United Nations Association was formed.

More than 300 people, representative of the population of Cape Town, gathered in the Banqueting Hall of the City Hall on 24th April to hear Professor Denis Cowen, Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, Dr. R. E. van der Ross and Mr. Neville Rubin inaugurate the Association. The chairman of the meeting was Mr. Tom Walters, and it was organized by Mr. Brian Bishop who also spoke.

South West African Native Labour Association, workers are grouped either as domestic or as industrial workers.

Often such labourers earn nothing for themselves, all their "wages" being swallowed up in earning the repatriation fees.

Sometimes it is alleged that these labourers are not good enough to earn their repatriation fees in three months. In these cases the contracts are extended to four and even six months.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The rising dissatisfaction has led to a great increase in political activity. Particularly among the Ovambo the South West African People's Organization has been active in demanding political rights and better conditions.

VICTIMIZATION

The authorities have not been slow to react, and are victimizing S.W.A.P.O. workers wherever they can find them.

In September, 1960, Mr. Mahuiriri, an official of S.W.A.P.O. at Walvis Bay, where he was a permanent resident, was banished to Ovamboland. From there he visited Tsumeb, in the Police Zone. Traders in this mining town heard of his presence, told the authorities that he was a dangerous man, and he was arrested. He was due to appear on 14th March on an unknown charge, undefended, as is nearly always the way with such cases in South West.

Again, Mr. Levi Muashekere, a resident of Tsumeb, was suspected of holding meetings in the contract labourers' compound. His house was searched while he was locked in the police van. A letter from S.W.A.P.O. officials in Windhoek was reported to have been found. The police in the meantime held a meeting of the contract labourers and offered £5 to anyone willing to give evidence of Mr. Muashekere's alleged meetings in the compound. Mr. Muashekere was also due to appear on 14th March, and no information has yet been received of his trial.

All over the territory workers are now considering ways in which they can take mass action to compel the authorities to take note of their grievances.

SPECIAL BRANCH HARASSES PRETORIA LIBERALS

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party has gained many new members in recent weeks and support, particularly among Coloured people, is growing strong.

Maybe it is for this reason that the Security Branch has been paying the Liberal Party so much attention recently. At the last members' meeting in Lady Selborne on 12th April four non-White S.B. members stood outside the hall watching the members arrive and leave.

Two Party members have been questioned and one has had his room searched. On Monday two S.B. members visited the home of one of the Branch's active committee members, Mr. Poen Ah Dong. When they found him "not at home" they made enquiries from neighbours as to his place of work and visited him there. They asked him many questions ranging from "where were you born" to queries about other people whom "we know are members of the Liberal Party". When Mr. Ah Dong was unable to help them very much they resorted to the usual intimidation remarks such as "we will come and fetch you one night and talk to you about all this and show you where you are wrong".

On Wednesday night non-White members of the S.B. parked outside the

NON-VIOLENT VICTORIES (2)

Reformers Win

From time to time we will publish stories in a new series "Non-violent Victories". They are contributed by Mr. T. Kloppenburg, of Durban.

NON-VIOLENCE succeeded in altering the attitude of one group of people towards another during the 1920's at Vykomb in Travancore, India.

A highway ran through low-lying country around Vykomb and through the village close to the Brahman quarter and temple. For centuries the Brahmans had not allowed any low-caste person to use the road.

Some reformers started the struggle by taking some low-caste friends, "untouchables", with them along the road and into the Brahman quarter. The immediate result was that the Brahmans maltreated and attacked them. No one was seriously hurt as the demonstrators did not retaliate.

Later, some of the protesters were arrested and sentenced to prison sentences of up to one year. When the newspaper published the news, trained volunteers arrived from every part of India to take the place of those in prison.

The State then stopped arresting the reformers. Police were posted at the head of the road to prevent the reformers from entering. Now the reformers stood facing the police in a praying attitude in four shifts of six hours each.

This continued for many months. When the rainy season came on, the reformers continued to stand sometimes up to their shoulders in water as the road was on low ground. The shifts were shortened to three hours, while the police maintained the cordon in small boats.

Finally, the courageous endurance and consistent non-violence of the reformers melted the hearts of the Brahmans. After a struggle lasting 16 months they said: "We cannot any longer resist the prayers that have been made to us, and we are ready to receive the untouchables."

The Brahmans opened the road to all comers and the low-caste people were allowed to walk past the temple at any time.

T. KLOPPENBURG

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Northern Rhodesia:

KAUNDA'S U.N.I.P. BOOMS

From VICTOR ZAZA

NDOLA: After three months of sabre-rattling over the constitution of Northern Rhodesia, the United National Independence Party has embarked on a full programme of political propaganda throughout the country.

It has presented what could be termed the most expensive publicity ever used by any political group in the territory.

The National Council of U.N.I.P. which met early in April, gave approval to the party's delegation which attended the constitutional talks in London to continue with the talks in Lusaka, providing "Welensky's demands and interference are ignored". President Kaunda since his return from London via Cairo, Damascus and Addis Ababa, has addressed 22 public meetings and about six meetings in White homes. Soon after the party's National Council meeting, Mr. Kaunda flew to New York where, with Tom Mboya, he addressed an Africa Day rally.

World-wide Activity

U.N.I.P. party officials are busy: Deputy Treasurer-General, Nalumino Mundia, recently flew into London to lobby the Commonwealth Prime Ministers for major constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia. Secretary-General

Munukayumbwa Sipalo headed the U.N.I.P. delegation to Cairo at the All African People's Conference; another delegation headed by Andrew Banda, Divisional U.N.I.P. leader, has gone to Indonesia. Sikota Wina, the Publicity Chief is due to leave for Tokyo, Japan, shortly to attend the "Afro-Asian Conference for Writers".

In America, Arthur Wina, the party's representative, has submitted a memorandum to the Afro-Asian Nations at U.N. about U.N.I.P.'s dissatisfaction over the constitutional talks. Reuben Kamanga, the Cairo U.N.I.P. representative, is acting as the liaison officer between the Cairo and London offices.

Brains Behind Power

With all these international reputations being accredited to the United National Independence Party abroad, at home even more work is done by the divisional and district leaders, who hardly appear in the papers, but who are the brains behind the power of the masses.

Eighty duplicating machines and eight



At a Mufulira U.N.I.P. rally, Mr. Kaunda is chaired to the dais.

typewriters have been bought and distributed to the country's eight provinces. In addition to that each of the eight divisions has been provided with a Landrover and loud speaker (the party possesses 15 Landrovers at the moment). A printing machine worth £1,300 has been purchased for the purpose of printing pamphlets and party documents at the National Headquarters in Lusaka. In addition to that a fortnightly U.N.I.P. newspaper is printed in Ndola; it has a circulation of 20,000, and it is understood that it will be changed to weekly soon.

A cinema section is also about to begin in the publicity department. Political films from independent African states will be shown round the country and a cine camera will be attached to this section.

The National Headquarters of U.N.I.P. have moved from a two-roomed house in Matero African Location to a three-roomed office right up in the centre of Lusaka town, along the Stanley Road. Party slogans shall be shown in neon lights.

Scholarships

The Party has also wide projects for the education of the masses; eight students are already abroad on U.N.I.P. scholarships and 40 students might be sent by the Party to Ethiopia towards the end of the year. Students in the country's secondary and technical schools are also provided with scholarships.

According to the Party's Treasurer, U.N.I.P. is believed to have 650,000 card-carrying members and many more sympathizers. The latest of the Whites to join U.N.I.P. is Lt. Col. Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, D.S.O., a millionaire farmer in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia. He has lived longer in Northern Rhodesia than any White (50 years) and he was a member of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative and Executive Councils from 1935 until 1951.

Kaunda Deplores New Zealand Plan

PLANS are being made for an all-White New Zealand cricket team to tour South Africa next summer.

In a statement to *Contact* Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, National President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, commented as follows:

I have recently learnt that a New Zealand cricket team will visit South Africa next summer (southern summer). I don't know how well the Maoris are treated in New Zealand. But it is deplorable that a country with such a record, as New Zealand has, could allow its cricket team to associate itself with the South African Cricket Association which maintains a purely White membership in spite of the presence, in South Africa, of non-White teams.

One does hope, however, that the New Zealand cricket team will think twice before coming to South Africa.

WHAT IS THE "CONVENTION" MOVEMENT?

By a Reporter

AT this critical period one factor above all others is giving the government sleepless nights: the success of the South African National Convention in rallying the "Coloured" people to a militant stand against apartheid.

No longer can White supremacy count on these "allies" against the African oppressed masses.

What is the "Convention" movement?

The proposed South African National Convention which will be held on the 23rd, 24th and the 25th of June is arousing interest all over the country. Over the past few weeks numerous area convention committees have been formed, and are in the process of being formed. Everything indicates that the Convention is going to be the most representative political gathering of the Coloured people ever held in South Africa. With the exception of the Non-European Unity Movement, practically all organizations have lent their support: the Coloured People's Congress, trade unions, cultural associations, sports organizations, women's clubs, etc.

About five to six hundred delegates are expected to attend the Convention in the Civic Centre, Claremont, Cape Town.

PACKED MEETING

Last week a packed meeting at the Wynberg Town Hall cheered Convention speakers as the aims and principles of the Convention were pointed out and explained.

According to latest reports the 25,000-strong Federal Council of Coloureds, representing a number of organizations in Natal have decided to support the Convention.

Already a number of Afrikaners are trying to persuade Coloured leaders not to abandon the Afrikaner nation, which they say is making moves to give the Coloured people more rights. *Die Burger* in an editorial expressly asked the Coloured leaders not to take such a radical step as to team up with the Africans and all those "extremists who are trying to hatch a plot against the White man".

At a planning committee meeting held last week it was concluded after much discussion that since the Convention had not yet been held it had no authority to participate or not to participate in the May demonstrations. But it was also decided, after a motion by Mr. B. Desai, Vice-President of the Coloured People's Congress, that no statement against it be made by members of the Planning Committee.

But in Port Elizabeth, the local Planning Committee has come out in whole-hearted support of the May demonstrations.

African leaders in particular have welcomed the Coloured community's decision to take a democratic stand upon the government's apartheid policies.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The members of the executive council of the Convention are as follows: D. van der Ross, Chairman; J. C. A. Daniels, General Secretary, who is also business manager of *Contact*; E. F. Doman, President of a powerful teachers' organization; B. Desai, Vice-President of the C.P.C.; Bishop the Rt. Rev. Francis Gow, head of the 35,000 strong African Methodist Episcopal Church; N. S. H. Kearns, National President of the 45,000 strong B.E.S.L.; C. Marney, Welfare Officer of the 8,000 strong Municipal Workers' Union, Cape Town; Dr. R. E. van der Ross, educationist, writer and leader; Rev. R. Joost, National Secretary of a teacher's union; M. A. Gierdien, National Executive member of the Progressive Party; and D. B. Smith, Snr., a Cape Town political figure.

There are also among the 55-member Planning Committee such personalities as Reggie September, National Secretary of the C.P.C.; newly-elected Cape Town City Councillor, George Peake, and T. Bardien, Secretary of the Taxi Drivers' Union.

To all over 40

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

The biggest job

SIR.—Please give me a small space in your newspaper, *Contact*, so that the people who are living abroad should be able to hear me.

One of the biggest jobs in front of all South Africans is to get rid of this evil system of baasskap, race discrimination and Bantu education, under which we suffer today. This is what stands in the way of all progress, causes endless misery among South Africans, and makes the name of South Africa stink throughout the world.

I pledge myself to work loyally and courageously with democratic South Africans of all political views, to destroy racialism and the colour bar. Let us unite in the great fight for freedom and democracy, to win for every single person in our land:

(a) The right to vote for and share in the government.

(b) Equal rights and opportunities, regardless of colour.

(c) Enough wages or land for a decent life.

(d) A life of dignity, peace and freedom.



GEORGE MAKGALEMELE,
Evaton, Transvaal.

Abolish Bantu education

SIR.—I beg to appeal for the abolition of bantuisied inferior education. Education is a whole and therefore it is indivisible. The Black man does not want to be thrown into a chasm of semi-barbarism by being indoctrinated in Bantu education.

Instead we want education which is the beacon of light and truth, the fountain of knowledge and salvation of humanity.

Education must be based on a scientific truth and be state controlled on the basis of equality for all parts of a democratic state. Education is universal and it cannot be based on artificial, invented differences between groups. It must serve the interests of all who compose the nation.

REGINALD SOMVUMASE,
Cape Town.

Share as brothers and sisters

SIR.—The South Africa we hope and long to see is one which is not a jungle where the policy and the rule is still one of terror; where fear and hatred dominate the minds of all people.

If that position continues, our South Africa will ever be a dreaded and unhappy place to live in—a South Africa which is no better than the worst jungle.

But the moment the races and parties of South Africa are bound and kept together by a chain of love, by mutual and conscious understanding, we shall no doubt see the South Africa of our dream and hope, a sane and calm land. The jungle life of fear and hatred will be known no more. Suppression and oppression will be a dream of the past. The people of South Africa will breathe in the family air of freedom, the air of economic, social and political development.

The riches this South Africa—our home—has, we must all share. The political, social, economic and religious privileges our home offers we must share as brothers and sisters of the same home.

Then the streets and avenues of South Africa will be clean of all the stinking dirt of fear and hatred and become glorious paths of sane and calm humanity—the homogeneous humanity which is for God.

Thus united and freed from prejudice, our South Africa with her rich and capturing scenery and her bright sun-

shine will be a happy, free and independent home for all people born and bred there.

It will then no longer be a dream to have an Africa made of united independent African states, growing to a great continent—a mighty heart between East and West.

M. LUZIPO,
Transkei.

Many things to be corrected

SIR.—When Bechuanaland gets its new Legislative Council in June this year, it will get its first parliament.

It will then be possible for the people of Bechuanaland to mould their development in the right channels towards independence in five years' time.

The country has to be developed politically, socially and economically in order to attain responsible government. There are many things to be corrected:

1. The rate of progress is slow because most of the people depend for their living on stock raising—there are no industries or factories where people might get work.
2. There are not enough high schools.
3. Roads are poor and transport remains a big problem.

However, I predict that when the Legislative Council is formed, it will overcome some of these problems as it will be working for the good of Bechuanaland.

MATTHEWS J. K. MORE,
Molepolole, B.P.

Looking forward

SIR.—The Gwelo Branch of the National Democratic Party's Youth Council looks forward to the day when the whole of Africa has democratic government.

We say that to-day Ghana is free and enjoys one man one vote. That is democracy.

Other leaders, fiery politicians like Nkomo, Kenyatta, Dr. Banda, Tom Mboya, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Lutuli and Kaunda also demand one man one vote.

We are waiting for the whole of Africa to be freed from the yoke of domination—colonial and racial.

J. JETHRO ZEUDAH,
Secretary, N.D.P. Youth Council,
Gwelo, S.R.

Not democracy

SIR.—Dr. Julius Nyerere, as reported in *Contact*, clearly states that he and his country will not rest content until South Africa abandons altogether her present policies and establishes full democracy in the country.

Dr. Nyerere does not speak of "freedom" or of "communism", but of democracy.

Democracy is the will of the majority while communism is just the reverse—the will of the minority.

So viewing the whole situation from this point of view, one sees vividly that

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All political comment and headlining in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Our country is entering a great crisis.
- Be prepared to act.
- Remember freedom must be won — it is never given.
- It is up to you, no matter what happens, to keep on writing, sending us news.

the South African government is merely what we may call "communism" in the true meaning of the word, and not democracy at all.

ANDREW MONOANE,
Stellenbosch.

Remember us!

SIR.—Here in South West Africa the Union government brings up the inhabitants very badly. Though an African is well educated he does not get a wage according to his qualifications.

Let the United Nations remember us!
S. TOMAS,
Oranjemund, S.W.A.

Challenge to British govt.

SIR.—I deem it a matter of vital importance to challenge the evil practices of the British government in Bechuanaland as shown in *Contact* (23rd March).

While the British delegates at the U.N. are vaguely boasting about their work in Africa, those who were sent to Africa by the same government with a view to subduing the African people have gone to the extent of threatening Africans with the loss of their jobs if they take part in politics or make use of public facilities such as hotels.

Bechuanaland is a colony, like all British settled colonies in west, east and central Africa, and Britain has ruled the country contrary to the concept of modern civilization.

As a result of this mockery of the fundamental principles of human rights and dignity, the people of Bechuanaland are still in a state of economic, political and social backwardness even when compared with those who are under the fetters of the neo-Nazi government of

Verwoerd in the old German concentration camp of South West Africa.

I would like to point out that if the western powers want democracy to be maintained and preserved in Africa then justice and fairness must be practised—not theoretically—but in practice.

African nationalism is based on a determination to create a society in which people of all races will learn to live and love together on the basis of equality.

If the opportunity ever arises, the first duty of the South West African National Union will be to eliminate the geographical demarcation between South West Africa and Bechuanaland and work towards a confederation of the two countries.

Yours for the continent of our fathers!
JOHN G. MUUNDJUA,
Acting Vice-President,
S.W.A.N.U., Windhoek.

No deeper passion

SIR.—I am a Malawi member, firm N.D.P. Nyasaland supporter, as well as a National Council of Labour freedom fighter. I believe in one man one wage.

There is no deeper passion native to the human heart than to be free, to be trusted, to move in accordance with voluntary choice, to render submission only where it is due.

I sell *Contact* as well as *African Mail*, excluding federal papers. As flowers reach for the sun so men are always striving upward toward the finer things of life.

God created us the same and we are the same and we shall be the same whatever the cost may be. *Contact* takes the opportunity of saying what it believes.



E. P. USAVI,
Blantyre, Nyasaland.

Zulus oppose Bantu Authorities

SIR.—The Mandlakazi tribe is totally against Bantu Authorities and it is watching with dismay the loss of land ownership by the Usuthu tribe under Cyprian.

A deep refusal to accept Bantu Authorities is all over the area.

Never before have the Zulu people been so united to say "No" to the policy of the government.

If you speak in favour of Bantu Authorities you are in for trouble.

While I appreciate soil conservation by the government, to return to tribal authority is useless because we will not have free property.

But Whites and others have showed us the truth: we want democracy.

FREEDOM FIGHTER,
Zululand.

NEVER ALONE IN STRUGGLE



SIR.—My picture shows Malawians in Kilosa district, led by Mr. Stanley Shaba, going to the station to meet some Malawi leaders from Dar es Salaam who came to visit the Kilosa branch of the Nyasaland Brotherhood Society. Mr. Shaba is head of the branch.

Dr. Banda is never alone in the struggle for freedom; we in this country are with him in prayer and hope that Almighty God will help him.
SELWYN CHIBAMBO, Kilosa, Tanganyika.

LIBERAL PARTY CONGRESSES

ON 16th April two divisions of the Liberal Party held their provincial congress. In the Transvaal a new chairman was elected and important policy decisions made. In Natal the stress was on organization.

1. Transvaal

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: "The Ice Age has ended and the superstructure is cracking," said Professor G. le May, opening the annual congress of the Liberal Party's Transvaal division. "I have become more hopeful about South African affairs during the last three weeks than at any time since 1948. It feels like September 1939: at last we are face to face with the consequences of our own actions. Events are showing that the ultimate home of nationalism will be the darkness of the sepulchre."

The Congress theme was "Change or chaos".

Over a hundred delegates attended: since the Johannesburg City Council refused to permit non-racial meetings in the Duncan Hall, the Congress was transferred to the Jack Eustice Hall, Booyens. Mr. Ernie Wentzel was elected chairman of the division, succeeding Mr. Leslie Cooper.

The Congress endorsed a draft revision of the party's economic policy the main points of which were (1) the goal of a non-racial welfare state; (2) the use of taxation to achieve the redistribution of wealth.

2. Natal

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The Liberal Party held a highly successful Natal provincial congress in Pietermaritzburg.

The opening, in the Supper Room of the City Hall, was packed to overflowing by a crowd which gave the speakers an enthusiastic welcome.

Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the party, and Mr. Ishwar Amin spoke in English, Mr. Elliot Mngadi in Zulu and Mr. Jean van Riet, Vice-President, in Afrikaans.

Mr. Brown said the Liberal Party was founded by people of all races and run by people of all races. It would continue to struggle for a just and equitable society. Bannings and arrests would not deter it.

Mr. Brown condemned the ban on the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress.

Mr. van Riet spoke of the inevitable collapse of the Nationalist Government.

The private session was attended by strong delegations from all over Natal. The rural areas were particularly well represented. In his address the Natal

chairman, Dr. Hans Meidner, stressed the need for organization and warned that unorganized and undisciplined mass action led to violence—and that freedom, true freedoms did not necessarily flow from this. He warned against complacency and said that the party was by no means as strong as it should be.

About 35 motions were discussed, dealing with every aspect of apartheid and including a call to sporting bodies to desegregate, and to international controlling bodies not to recognize racially segregated sports associations. Tribute was paid to the fine work being done by the South African Sports Association (S.A.S.A.)

Conservation

A PROJECT for an African Charter on the Protection and Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources is one of the items that will be discussed by about one hundred delegates from the continents of Europe, America, Africa, Asia and elsewhere, representing Governments and international organizations, who are expected to attend a conference dealing mainly with the conservation of wildlife and natural resources to be held at Arusha, Tanganyika, from 5th to 12th September.

The conference, which is being arranged by the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (I.U.C.N.), will discuss on the technical side the present role of natural resources, research, conservation, and development, and the place of nature and conservation in land use planning.

General subjects will include consideration of wild fauna and flora of Africa as a cultural and economic asset, and world interest in these matters, the integration of the conservation and development in modern states, local human attitudes to natural resources and their use, and mass education in this subject.

The agenda will also probably include consideration of international arrangements including action in the conservation of nature and the natural resources of Africa by the F.A.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., C.C.T.A. and I.U.C.N.

—Tanganyika Information Services.

Lewis Nkosi at Harvard

From a Reporter

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts.—Backstage at folksinger Harry Belafonte's show in Boston recently there was a happy reunion between two South Africans.

Journalist Lewis Nkosi, now a fellow at Harvard, America's oldest university, met singer Miriam Makeba, who is thrilling the critics and public as Belafonte's co-star.

Miriam was so pleased to see Lewis that she wept. Both had come a long way since they last met in Johannesburg.

Lewis Nkosi has not changed much since he decided to give up his South African citizenship to take up a Nieman fellowship in journalism at Harvard. His great passion is still writing and meeting people—and he is enjoying a wonderful opportunity to do both.

When he arrived at Harvard he found that he had been given a suite in one of the most sociable of its houses, Dunster. He has the status of a tutor and will probably take part in seminars on African literature and politics.

No one here can understand why the

South African government refused to give Mr. Nkosi a passport to come to the United States. The treatment accorded him by the custodians of White supremacy has only served to make South Africa even more unpopular in the eyes of Americans.

While Lewis remains an uncompromising opponent of apartheid, he has not become as bitter as many people would if they were treated in the same way. He emphasizes that his passion is writing (he is busy on a novel, and hopes to have a stage show on the boards in Johannesburg soon). His choice of courses reflects this interest.

Mr. Nkosi hopes to return to London after a year at Harvard. He will probably get British citizenship.

And, like too many other exiles from apartheid, he misses his homeland and would like to return there some day.



Pan-Africanist Commemoration

On 20th and 21st March Sharpeville was remembered in Accra, Ghana. The Pan-Africanist Committee, with the aid of the Convention People's Party, the Ghana T.U.C. and Farmers' Union, organized a rally which was attended by some 8,000 people on 21st March and also a torchlight procession, on 20th March. On the extreme left is Dr. T. Ras Makonnen; on extreme right Mr. Krobo Edusei.

COMMUNISTS BUY SOUTH AFRICAN

In spite of the decision of the governments of Ghana and Nigeria, and of leading political parties in other African states, to boycott South African goods, the U.S.S.R. and other communist countries are increasing their trade with Verwoerd's South Africa.

FOR many years it has been taken for granted that the principles of the Union government were so anti-communist, and those of the communist governments so anti-apartheid, that neither could afford to do business with the other. Now, however, several facts have shown that this was a mistaken view.

Shaken by the new "Kennedy" line in Africa, and the cutting of the commonwealth link, the Afrikaner Nationalists are indeed reaching out towards the communist nations, no doubt in the hope that they will be able to play them off against the Western powers.

Such a possibility was hinted at many months ago by Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs, but few took him seriously.

COMMUNIST COUNTRIES BUY AND SELL

Now however the Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Diederichs, has confirmed it. Speaking in Parliament on 27th March he said that exports behind the Iron Curtain could be expanded to compensate for commonwealth trade losses.

The communist world sells—and buys—about R26,000,000 (£13,000,000) to and from South Africa ("Cape Argus", 29th March). Principal South African exports are: wool, minerals, machinery, chemicals. And principal communist exports are: glassware, fibres, yarns, tools, machine tools, earthenware, motor vehicles (Skoda from Czechoslovakia).

RUSSIAN CRUDE OIL

The Russians tried just over a year ago to step up this trade dramatically by offering crude oil, for refining in South Africa, at a lower price than the ruling oil company prices. There is one refinery in production in the Union—that of the Vacuum Oil Company. And the Shell Oil Company is building another. Both are at Durban.

Contact learns that the proposal was put to the Department of Commerce and Industries unofficially at the time a communist (Czech or Polish) trade delegation was in the Union.

The Union government responded

favourably, and put the proposition to the oil companies.

The companies refused. All over the world they are doing all in their power to keep out Russian oil. And the experiences of the oil companies in Cuba, where their refineries were first expropriated by the Castro government, and then put to refining Russian oil do not make the companies any more willing to have the state-subsidized competition of Russian oil.

These negotiations were kept secret and have not been given any publicity.

FISH MEAL TO EAST GERMANY

A more successful stepping-up of trade with the communist world occurred in October or November of 1960. Without any publicity the chairman of the South African Fish Meal Producers' Association went to East Germany and negotiated a deal with communist East Germany.

Part of the late 1960 and 1961 production of South African and South West African fish meal (dried, powdered fish) was sold to East German buyers for R2,000,000 (£1,000,000).

The deal was all the more favourable to South African exporters because there is a world glut of fish meal, which is used principally in stock feeding.

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