

contact

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FINDS GANYILE

— see page 5



SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

“Zik” Plans Pan-Africa

DR. NNAMDI “ZIK” AZIKIWE, first Governor-General of independent Nigeria, reached that high office after a quarter-century's campaign for the freedom of his country from British rule, finally achieved last year. He was born in 1904, the son of a clerk and educated at mission schools. He completed his higher education at Lincoln University in the United States, working as a miner and casual labourer to pay his fees.

He was much influenced by the idea of Negro emancipation in the States, and this developed into his life's work, the winning of freedom for his country and the whole of Africa.

He rose to success in Nigeria as a journalist, editor and leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the largest party in Eastern Nigeria. But he had been active in politics since his return to Nigeria in 1937.

In 1952 he became Prime Minister of the Eastern Region, and after the 1959 Federal elections, President of the Senate, soon followed by his appointment as Governor-General.

His ideas on Pan-African unity are outlined on page 4.



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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.

Capitalism — Potent Instrument to Abolish Backwardness

LENIN'S VIEWS EXAMINED

“ONLY under state socialism (or communism) can backward countries progress and become modern; under capitalism or free enterprise really backward countries cannot progress: an example is Russia, which has progressed from nothing in the forty years since the communist revolution.” This belief is widespread in African and Asian countries. **But though it is widespread it is false.**

It is false for two main reasons: firstly it is false because the greatest leap forward in the history of man has taken place under a capitalist system — the modernization of Japan.

It is false, secondly, because capitalist Russia before the communists took over was not undeveloped. On the contrary, it was a country developing with fantastic speed. In some respects it was progressing faster than it has progressed since the revolution of 1917, when the dictatorship of the emperor (called the Tsar) was destroyed, and replaced by a communist dictatorship.

Perhaps the best witness on this question is Lenin, the man who led the communist revolution against the Tsar. In 1907, ten years before the revolution,

working mostly in exile, he wrote a book called *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Here are a few facts from the book:

The output of pig-iron in Russia increased from 200,000 tons in 1867 to nearly 2,000,000 tons in 1902, an increase of 1000% in ten years. The output of coal, in the same period, increased from 300,000 tons to 12,000,000 tons, an increase of 4000%. Lenin's comment: "We now see that the development of mining is proceeding faster in Russia than

in Western Europe and in some respects even faster than in the United States." (p. 536)

The output of the Russian oil industry increased from 9,000 tons in 1856 to 8,000,000 tons in 1902 (p. 538). The exports of timber were increased sixfold in the forty years following 1856, and the amount of building timber and wood conveyed along the inland waterways increased four times between the years 1866 and 1890. In the twenty years succeeding 1866 the number of workers in the wood-working trade increased over three times, and the output by nearly five times (p. 518).

These are only a few of the many thousands of facts quarried by Lenin out of official and other reports. All the facts show that, before the 1917 revolution, capitalism had awoken Russia from her age-old sleep, and had launched that country on a career of spectacular development with increasing productivity. Let us hear Lenin's own comments: "It is capitalist large-scale industry that rapidly increases the number of workers, at the same time enormously increasing the productivity

of their labour." (p. 537) And "these figures clearly show what a technical revolution is now taking place in Russia, and what an enormous capacity for the development of productive forces is possessed by large-scale capitalist industry." (p. 535)

Despite the vast expansion of railways in the Soviet Union, no less than 60% of all existing miles of track were laid by 1913, four years before the revolution (*Whitaker's Almanack*, 1960, p. 950).

Now these statistics are facts and show that Russia was progressing at a great speed before the communist revolution.

What was Lenin's attitude to this capitalist development? He gives it clearly at p. 654, where he recognizes "the progressiveness" of the "historical role" of capitalism, while fully recognizing "the negative and dark sides of capitalism . . . the profound and all-sided social contradictions which are inevitably inherent in capitalism . . ."

Perhaps if Lenin were alive today and could see the way that capitalism has reformed itself and also the unspeakable miseries which communism inflicted on Russia, miseries only now being revealed by Mr. Khrushchev, he would not have attached so much importance to what he called capitalism's "inherent contradictions".

The world accepts today that early and unreformed capitalism produced disorganization and misery together with the fabulous progress which it made possible. What is in danger of being forgotten is precisely the fact that the swiftest examples of progress in history have been under capitalist systems, and that Russia under capitalism was not an undeveloped country. On the contrary, pre-revolutionary Russia was a country burgeoning with creative energy, and developing with dramatic speed.

(All references to 1956 edition: "The Development of Capitalism in Russia", Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.)

Shorts . . .

● Radio Monrovia (Liberia) can be heard in South Africa in the evening in the 19-metre band. There is a comprehensive English-language bulletin of unslanted news about Africa at 8 p.m.

* * *

● The traditional dislike felt by South African business for African trade unions is beginning to disappear. "Most manufacturers," says the *Financial Mail* (3rd November), "accept that the creation of properly run African trade unions is inevitable. Many are prepared to urge that this happens now." This new attitude appears in an article in the current issue of *The Manufacturer*, organ of the Federated Chambers of Industries, where it is argued that African workers are beginning to resent "handouts" by employers: they wish to negotiate terms with their employers themselves.

* * *

● The United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia has produced a special 24-page issue of its newsletter *Voice of U.N.I.P.*, in which are detailed alleged brutalities and other forms of misconduct committed by the Security Forces in the Northern Province of the territory during the rebellion there earlier this year.

Apart from giving a well-documented account of the alleged behaviour of these troops and police, it is in itself a most revealing document on the breakdown of the rule of law. Called *A Grim Peep into the North*, it has an introduction by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of U.N.I.P., and is obtainable from U.N.I.P.'s International and Publicity Bureau, P.O. Box 302, FUSAKA, Northern Rhodesia. No price stated.



VERWOERD: "The country is all ours now that THEY are all in their Bantustans."

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Basutoland:

COMMUNISTS PLAN TAKE-OVER

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Basutoland's communists have opened an all-out attack on Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle, President of the Basutoland Congress Party, the country's only sizable political party.

The recent disgraceful rioting in Maseru over the threatened expulsion from the country of Mr. Mohau Mokhehle, B.C.P. Youth League leader, has caused such a revulsion of feeling inside the B.C.P. that a clear division is now almost unavoidable, with a further weakening of the position of Mr. Mokhehle.

The immediate communist aim is to take over the B.C.P. by replacing Mr. Mokhehle with someone who will owe his position to the communists, and who will take orders from them. One of South Africa's top communists has told three people known to me that "I will destroy Mokhehle locally and internationally". "New Age", the South African pro-communist weekly, has launched out on a campaign to smash Mr. Mokhehle's reputation.

If successful in removing Mr. Mokhehle, the aim then would be the establishment of a communist (or communist-dominated) republic in mountainous, remote Basutoland. If they succeeded, it would be almost im-

possible in the existing climate of world opinion for them ever to be removed or evicted.

Good Deal Against Him

Mr. Mokhehle has a good deal against him. Ample funds are available to the communists, and they are able to get free tickets and free passports for people to travel to and from Moscow and the communist lands. They have just been granted a site in Maseru by the British authorities for setting up a large printing press. And Mr. Mokhehle has weakened his own position by issuing statements that he has later had to withdraw.

At the same time Mr. Mokhehle is one of the biggest figures in Basutoland, and none of his rivals are in the business of full-time political work, as he is. He is now fighting for his political life, and can be depended upon to fight hard. His erstwhile enemies, the Roman Catholics, have ceased to criticize him as they used to, and will almost certainly give quiet support to him against Mr. Motloheloa. As reported in last fortnight's *Contact*, the newspaper of the Church of Basutoland (Paris Mission) has already come out in strong support of Mr. Mokhehle. Mr. Mokhehle can also count on the support, tacit or active, of many of the ex-P.A.C. refugees now in Basutoland,

who greatly fear a growth in the influence of their old opponents, the communists.

The crisis will come to a head in December, when the B.C.P. holds its annual conference. If Mr. Mokhehle is ousted, it means that he will not become Basutoland's first Chief Minister when, as is expected, Britain grants responsible government to the Basuto in 1962 or 1963.

MR. JOHN MOTLOHELOA is the driving force, though almost certainly not the leader, of the Basutoland communists. He returned from Moscow, where he had spent three months, on about 16th October. He has now issued a *Programme*, and a *Draft Constitution* (dated 11 November, 1961), both of the "Communist Party of Lesotho" (Basutoland).

In the draft constitution the first aim of the party is given thus: "to act as an independent party of workers and peasants of Lesotho, aiming at a socialist republic of Lesotho". The programme speaks of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress as "our nearest allies".

The programme calls for "complete and genuine independence" which is defined as meaning "control of (our) own defence force, foreign policy, inter-

(Continued on page 6, col. 1)

Liberals Wake People To Politics



Walter Hain, Pretoria Liberal Chairman, addressing a meeting in Cape Reserve.

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: There is no doubt that at last the Coloured people of Pretoria are beginning to take a real interest in the political situation in the country and have made up their minds about the sort of future they want.

This is proved by the rapidly growing interest in the regular Liberal Party public meetings which are held with a loud speaker in a backyard in the Cape Reserve, the "Coloured location". At every meeting more and more people gather to listen to "the voice of freedom"—talks by members of the Liberal Party Pretoria Branch and sometimes by visiting members from Johannesburg. At each meeting there is the feeling that the people are less and less concerned about the presence of the Special Branch with their tape recorder, are more contemptuous of these political policemen whom they know well as intimidators in time of emergency.

Questions and Membership Forms

After each meeting groups form round various party members who answer questions, sell literature and take in membership forms.

It is most encouraging to meet in the Cape Reserve and Asiatic Bazaar a rapidly growing number of people proudly displaying the party badge upon their lapels. A Cape Reserve resident remarked to L.P. members recently, "Before your Liberal Party meetings began nobody talked politics—now even the children are beginning to take an interest".

"We Are All South Africans"

The second very encouraging development is the attitude of most Coloured people to the vote question. It is generally accepted that one man one vote is the answer and with the threat of removal to Derdepoort and Claudius (Coloured and Indian townships respectively) hanging over their heads, the demand for free choice of residential area is growing. More and more the Liberal Party cry is repeated, "We are all South Africans no matter what the colour of our skin".

This is a most gratifying advance in a city like Pretoria where almost everything is on the side of the government.

Personal Files

DR. A. C. JORDAN, passportless University of Cape Town lecturer, has started work at the School of Oriental and African Languages in the University of London. Having left South Africa illegally, he forfeited his Carnegie grant, but will visit the United States in December to lecture at the University of California. His younger son, Lindi, is at Kingston High School, Hull, Yorkshire, and is living with family friends in the town. He is due to matriculate there in June next year. Dr. Jordan and his son called on Dr. Julius Nyerere in Dar es Salaam on their way north. Friends are wondering if Dr. Jordan will get to Oslo in December to see Chief Lutuli get his Nobel Peace Prize.

THE OVERSEAS PRESS contained in full the verse that Alan Paton read out for Lutuli at the 1,200-strong tribute meeting in Stanger on 28th October. Local papers lacked space, it seemed:

You there, Lutuli. They thought your world was small. They thought you lived in Grootville. Now they discover it's the world you live in.

You there, Lutuli. They thought your name was small. Lutuli of Grootville, now they discover your name is everywhere.

You there, Lutuli. They thought you were chained like a backyard dog. Now they discover they are in prison but you are free.

You there, Lutuli. They took your name of chief. You were not worthy. Now they discover you are more chief than ever.

Go well, Lutuli. May your days be long. Your country cannot spare you. Win for us also, Lutuli, the prize of peace.

STORIES from East Pondoland of bloody reprisals by government-supporting chiefs and their retinues against the now crushed rebels are cir-

culating in the Transkei. Apart from serious outbreaks of violence among Chief Victor Poto's people in West Pondoland, arising out of a purely local feud, there have been no recent press reports of trouble in the Transkei. Non-co-operation is reported in Tembuland once more, however, and in parts of the Engcobo district there has been no dipping for weeks, as dipping tanks have been damaged and dipping records destroyed. Police "nylon" vans are much in evidence as tension rises in this Transkeian resistance outpost.

IF MR. B. J. VORSTER is so proud of "our non-Whites who have achieved distinction in the arts and science and other fields", it must puzzle him that they show no desire to stay here and bask in his affection. A recent, regretted departure was that of Mr. Todd Matshikiza, the musician, composer and journalist. He has produced what an informed person calls "a strangely violent and bitter outburst". Others whom Mr. Vorster showed no sign of being proud of when they were here, were Lewis Nkosi (U.S.A.),

Personal Files, a new feature, will appear each fortnight. It will present news about political figures that doesn't normally get into any papers!

Gerard Sekoto (Paris), Miriam Makeba (U.S.A.), Ezekiel Mphahlele (Nigeria), Peter Abrahams (West Indies), Albert Adams (Switzerland), "Bloke" Modisane (London), Alfred Hutchinson (London), Hugh Masekela (U.S.A.) to name a few. A fellow Afrikaner who went the same way was Patrick van Rensburg, whose memoirs, *Guilty Land*, have been published in London and are eagerly awaited here. It was not, like Marion Friedman's novel, *The Slap*, banned in advance through the mistaken efforts of the publisher not to offend the S.A. government.

THE Dr. W. J. B. Pienaar who was photographed carrying an anti-Lutuli poster outside a Cape Town meeting honouring Chief's prize, is Cape Town chairman of the rent board—a government appointment. He is also the amateur historian who unintentionally made half Cape Town laugh

when he was quoted as saying that the mixture of European blood in the Coloured people "was infinitesimally small". He also called the whiteness of the Whites their "great miracle and great achievement". It was a new twist to see Dr. Pienaar and his fellow members of the Mosleyesque "Association of (White) South Africans" placarding a non-racial meeting. We'll have Dr. Verwoerd carrying a poster yet.

HAS VERWOERD got his followers fully under control at last? Stanley Uys, a shrewd observer, says so and calls this no mean achievement after 13 years of rule, when cracks should be showing. A possible crack at high level might come from personal differences. Between Dr. Albert Hertzog and Mr. B. J. Vorster, for instance. Though both "hard" Nat. authoritarians, John Vorster is known to be a loyal ally of his former colleagues at the Johannesburg bar, whereas the implacable Albert has been out to "get" Johannesburg's outspoken advocates for a long time. Vorster will have a powerful voice against recommendations that bar and sidebar (i.e. advocates and attorneys) be merged, and that magistrates have power to try bigger cases, which would knock out nearly all junior advocates, who rely on lesser work. The Johannesburg bar has been a thorn in the government's side, and has issued statements attacking government measures when others have kept silent.

THE D.R. Church's revolt is not over, despite the break with the World Council of Churches. A much-admired Transvaal dominee whose rebellion is not yet, like Ds. Geysers and the others, in the open, told a private meeting in Johannesburg in July that he knew 100 Transvaal dominees who would sign a memorandum against apartheid. We will hear more of him and his kind.

FOOTNOTE: In London, Rev. Martin Luther King, anti-segregation champion in America's deep south, said he "had had no real support in his campaign from White Ministers in the south although there had been individual exceptions. One of the great tragedies was the fact that the church often stood behind rather than led the way. It was an echo instead of a voice."

Schoolmaster Explains Why He Quit S.A.

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: In an interview with *Contact*, Mr. M. D. Bolofo, former history master at the Botha Sigcawu High School, Flagstaff, Pondoland, has explained why he quit South Africa to go into exile in Basutoland (where he has a post as interpreter in the Legislative Council).

Mr. Bolofo says that following a strike at the school, when the pupils protested against one of their number being sjambokked by a policeman for writing slogans on the wall, he was accused by the Principal of having assisted the boys in organizing and fostering the strike.

"I was also accused of having done the following things:

- Being an agent of the anti-government press in Pondoland.
- Having helped the students in drawing a memorandum listing their grievances.
- Having held a press conference — as I was supposed to have been seen talking to a reporter.

"After the strike the local circuit inspector interviewed members of the school staff as to the causes of the strike. Later I was informed that a Commission of Inquiry would come from Pretoria to 'try' my case as based on the accusations mentioned above.

"I immediately demanded that there

should be legal representation for me but this was refused. The Principal told me that there were already sworn statements made against me by other members of the staff.

"This was astonishing since only a few days before I was being patted on the back by the Bantu Education Authorities, and had been praised for 'the high standard of his work in general and outstanding ability as a teacher'.

"At a combined staff meeting that followed I pointed out that the strike at the school had been caused by the harsh methods of punishment which the Principal meted out to the students. I told them that the whole thing arose out of the fact that a Matric. boy had been expelled because he had refused to be sjambokked."

Mr. Bolofo revealed to me that there was a large number of police spies at the school.

He had expressed his feelings against the cruelties done by the armed forces occupying Pondoland at the time.

"The day before the Commission arrived, I decided to leave Pondoland," he said. He did not feel that a Commission composed entirely of Nationalists would do justice.

Authorities Silent

On hearing Mr. Bolofo's story, I telephoned the authorities at the Botha Sigcawu High School, asking his whereabouts. I was politely refused any in-



BOLOFO

formation and referred to various officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education, who also refused to comment.

Mr. Bolofo is a widely-travelled man and a veteran political "backroom-boy". He drew up the first presidential address of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, now headed by Dr. Banda.

MOKITIMI:

NO IMMEDIATE EXPULSION

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The Maseru magistrate, police officers, the Maseru District Commissioner and defence lawyers moved into the Maseru Central Prison with their briefcases on Wednesday morning, 8th November, when the cases of the B.C.P. leaders and members who were arrested after last week's rioting, were due to be remanded. About 50 men and women are involved.

The defence lawyers, Mr. W. M. Tsotsi and Mr. J. Matthews, made the bail applications on behalf of their clients, but bail was refused after it was formally opposed by government authorities, on the grounds that the situation is still too tense.

The 50 men and women have been held in custody without bail since 31st October and 1st November after violent rioting broke out in Maseru. The riot followed an appeal by Mr. Mohau Mokitimi, B.C.P. Youth Leader to the Basutoland High Court against a magistrate's decision declaring him a prohibited entrant in Basutoland. He had earlier been found guilty and sentenced by a magistrate to six months' imprisonment (or R50 fine). The Control Officer in Maseru subsequently issued a deportation order against him. On 31st October Mr. Justice I. V. Elyan reserved judgment on the appeal; he gave his decision on Monday, 6th November, and dismissed the appeal. The judge has, however, not yet confirmed the deportation order, and Mr. Mokitimi is in no immediate danger of being expelled from his country.

I learn from very reliable sources that a special magistrate from Johannesburg will preside over the trials and also that a special prosecutor is being brought from Johannesburg to lead evidence for the Crown.

The trials, on charges of public violence and incitement, are provisionally set down for 15th November.

The ban on meetings has been extended.

COVER PICTURE:

"Zik" Urges Pan-African Union

DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE, has published in the *Nigerian Daily Times* a series of articles giving something like a blueprint for Pan-Africa. He begins by commenting on the Commonwealth and the French Community out of which so many of the new African nations have been created. Azikiwe considers that the ideals of British Parliamentary democracy have influenced the English-speaking African States and encouraged the two-party system; while the fact that parliamentary institutions have not been able to create stable government in France has tended to foster the one-party system in French-speaking African States.

Impediments

In his second article in the *Nigerian Daily Times*, Dr. Azikiwe discusses the factors in Africa making for fragmentation and thus impeding Pan-African solutions. He notes the diversity of races — Mediterranean, Negroid and Nordic (in small numbers) — and the multiplicity of languages; and he says that it was fear on the part of many African States of one another which evoked the principles, laid down at the Monrovia Conference, namely equality of sovereignty, the right of self-determination, the right to federate, and the principle of non-interference. Dr. Azikiwe cites Mauretanian fears of Morocco and Togo fear of Ghana, to illustrate his point. Of the economic factors making for division in Africa, Dr. Azikiwe points to tariff walls, separate currencies, competition for markets and different communication systems.

Optimism

Having enumerated these many difficulties, it comes as something of a surprise that Dr. Azikiwe's estimation of the prospects of Pan-Africa being realized is such an optimistic one. He writes: "My considered views are that Pan-Africanism has come to stay and . . . will yet be a shining example to the rest of the world." In order to

realize it, Dr. Azikiwe declares, "it will be up to African leaders to disentangle themselves from written and unwritten defence pacts (with European Powers) and from open and secret military alliances". As for the political structures of Pan-Africa Dr. Azikiwe enumerates some of the dilemmas: The states will have to decide whether to surrender internal sovereignty or simply sovereignty over foreign policy; they will have to decide whether the government of Pan-Africa is to be unitary, federal or confederate. The Nigerian Head of State advocates a British type of democratic constitutional structure and he appears to favour a confederate system.

Concert of States

"A concert of African States . . . should be organized to enable top-level decisions to be made probably by Heads of State or Heads of Governments of their representatives. A parliament of African States will have to meet periodically for general discussion of the problems confronting the African concert. Naturally, it should be organized on the basis of the United Nations Assembly."

Thus, a very loose form of Pan-African union is recommended — perhaps a wise prescription in the light of Africa's great diversity.

It is in his suggestion for Pan-African economic unity that Dr. Azikiwe is most precise. He proposes a Convention on Economic Co-operation which should declare a customs union, an African common market and a common currency. He praises the removal of customs barriers between Ghana and Upper Volta, and declares that Ghana and Nigeria made "inexcusable mistakes" when they "virtually destroyed the unifying influence of the West African currency on their attainment of independence". But Dr. Azikiwe goes on. "This mistake can be rectified now, and thus help to revamp the economies of Sierra Leone, Gambia, and other countries which may be willing to join

such a concert". The Nigerian Head of State further proposes a regional road authority, a trans-African railway system, a Pan-African airways and a telecommunications authority.

Pan-African Foreign Policy

Dr. Azikiwe outlines his concept of a Pan-African defence and foreign policy. He suggests that the members of his concert of African States should subscribe to a Mutual Defence Pact stipulating that an attack on one member would be construed as an attack on all. An African High Command, "consisting of the General Staff of each member of the concert," should be set up; and a doctrine of "no foreign intervention" in Africa, on the lines of the Monroe Doctrine, should be promulgated. Dr. Azikiwe continues:

"This doctrine should make it clear that the establishment or the continued existence of any colonial territory in the continent of Africa by any European, American, Asian or Australian powers shall be regarded not only as an unfriendly act, but as an act of aggression against the concert of African States."

Finally, the concert of African States should sign a Pan-African Declaration of Neutralism and promulgate an African Convention on Human Rights. And, in the last of Dr. Azikiwe's articles in the *Nigerian Daily Times* he expresses fervent wishes for a reconciliation between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups of African States.

Mokhehle for Tanganyika Freedom Celebrations

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, has received an official invitation from the Government of Tanganyika to attend the Tanganyika Independence Celebrations from the 7th to the 12th December in Dar es Salaam.

"Soft Sell" Apartheid

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The Nationalist government is adopting a "soft sell" technique in trying to make apartheid acceptable to non-White people.

Following speeches by Dr. W. M. Eiselen, Commissioner General for the Northern Sotho — asking for more courteous treatment of Africans — and other prominent Nationalists' similar appeals, the Department of Health has launched a courtesy campaign.

All magistrates and district surgeons in the Republic have been sent circulars headed "Promotion of Amicable Relations Amongst Different Racial Groups".

It makes "an urgent appeal to each district surgeon, in so far as it lies within his power, to treat non-Whites with whom he comes into contact in his official capacity in such a manner as not to kindle a feeling of justifiable resentment or rancour".

This, the circular states, is necessary to promote "in accordance with government policy, amicable relations among the different racial groups".

The circular adds "The avidity with which actual or imaginary racial tension is exploited by persons and organizations who are not well-disposed towards the Republic renders it imperative that goodwill in connection with race relations be fostered at all times".

The circular is issued with the concurrence of the Department of Justice and Bantu Administration and Development.

LOCATED BY "CONTACT" CORRESPONDENT

Ganyile is in Umtata

Bloodstains Analysed in Britain

ON 25th October Mr. Anderson Khumani Ganyile, the Pondo leader kidnapped by the South African Security Branch inside Basutoland, was in solitary confinement in Umtata gaol. Probably he is still there. This is first-hand information, given to our correspondent by an official of the Union government.

The Union authorities have never admitted that Mr. Ganyile is in their hands. Since his kidnapping no remand has ever been made in court for his detention in any prison.

But, under the year-old state of emergency still in force in the Transkei, no remand or warrant for his detention in Umtata is necessary. Under this state of emergency it is possible for the police to hold people in prison secretly for unlimited periods. In the Transkei no court authority is necessary for the detention of anyone.

Some five weeks ago, on 13th October, a *habeas corpus* application was made to the Supreme Court in Grahamstown. The Court was asked to order the authorities to produce Mr. Ganyile. Although it has not yet been admitted by the authorities that Mr. Ganyile is in prison in the Transkei, the real question before the judge (Mr. Justice Wynne) is whether a court has the power to order the appearance of a prisoner who is in prison in the emergency-gripped Transkei, even though he may have been arrested outside the Transkei. The court reserved judgment on 18th October, nearly four weeks ago.

Bloodstains Analysed

It is clear that the case is also a source of embarrassment to the British authorities in Basutoland. Despite clear proof of a struggle inside the hut in which Mr. Ganyile used to live, and despite the letter which Mr. Ganyile was alleged to have sent out of Kokstad gaol saying that he had been kidnapped inside Basutoland on 26th August, the British authorities have publicly denied that there is any reason to believe that Mr. Ganyile was kidnapped inside Basutoland. And they have said nothing in the matter since 7th October.

As pointed out in *Contact* (19th October) a bloodstained blanket was in the possession of the British for three weeks before it was taken to the South African Institute of Medical Research. Although it was presumably analysed six weeks ago, no statement has been made by the British giving the results of the analysis.

When the editor of *Contact* visited the hut, a bloodstained piece of cardboard was found. Medical experts in Johannesburg were unwilling to analyse the bloodstains, knowing what had happened in the case. So the cardboard was posted over to England, where it was analysed. A preliminary report from England says that the bloodstains are human, and that they belong to blood group "A".

Since this independent analysis has made it is unlikely that the British will stick to their story denying that there is any proof of a kidnapping. But what will they do?

The Basutoland Congress Party and Mr. B. Makalo Khaketla's party, the Basutoland Freedom Party, have both called for the establishment of a commission to go and take evidence from Mr. Ganyile. So far the British are believed to have taken no steps to set up a commission.

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SUMMARY OF HAPPENINGS IN THE GANYILE CASE

August

26th. According to a note later smuggled out of Kokstad gaol, Mr. Ganyile and his friends were captured at 10.30 p.m. and taken to Kokstad gaol.

September

15th. Mr. Ganyile's friends in Basutoland discover that he has vanished, and tell the authorities in Basutoland, giving them the bloodstained blanket and other exhibits.

October

7th (approximately). Blanket believed to have been sent to S.A. Institute of Medical Research, Johannesburg, for analysis of bloodstains.

13th. Application to Supreme Court, Grahamstown, for production of Mr. Ganyile.

18th. Court reserves judgement.

25th. Report reaches *Contact* correspondent that Mr. Ganyile is in solitary confinement in Umtata gaol.

COMMENT: On March 12th, 1868, Britain accepted the Basuto as British subjects, and Basutoland was proclaimed to be British territory.

That remains the position today. Mr. Ganyile had asked for political asylum, and was living inside British territory with the permission of the British authorities. If nothing is done by the British, then it will be taken as a sign that Britain is unable, or unwilling, to protect people living under the Union Jack from the aggressions of apartheid. Dr. Verwoerd's Gestapo-like Security

Branch will know that they are able to roam where they wish, illegally seizing anyone they wish to seize, anywhere in the High Commission Territories. It will be taken as a sign that Britain is shielding, not the Basuto, but South Africa's Security Branch from the consequences of their aggression into British territory.

Must the world believe this? Only a full and frank statement from the High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, can answer this question.

If, when Sir John Maud has spoken, it should appear that Britain is indeed shielding the Security Branch in the Ganyile case, there might be catastrophic results on British influence and even on British trade, in the whole world. For at this very same moment Britain has emerged at the United Nations as South Africa's shield in the sanctions debate. No nation was so hostile to the idea of sanctions against apartheid as was Britain.

If in these two matters Britain were to emerge as the shield of apartheid, then it is certain that Britain's reputation in Asia and Africa would stand lower than it has stood since Suez.

SWAZILAND

Committee Fails to Reach Agreement

LONDON CONFERENCE LIKELY

MBABANE: The Swaziland constitutional committee ran into real difficulties here on 6th November. It assembled expecting to sign an agreed report on what Swaziland would like the new constitution to be. Instead of harmony reigning a dogfight broke out, and after long discussions the committee failed to agree and adjourned until 13th November.

As already reported in *Contact*, this committee was set up by the Swaziland government a year ago on the initiative of the traditional ruler, King Sobhuza. Although in the beginning Mr. J. J. Nquku and Dr. A. P. Zwane, representing the Swaziland Progressive Party, were members of the committee, they were forced out after a few months because King Sobhuza said that he was against the participation of any political parties.

The committee thus contains no representatives of the only modern political party in the country, the S.P.P. It also contains no representative of the Eurafrikan (Coloured) community.

For most of last year it seemed that the committee would recommend a form of "racial federation"—i.e. that the White inhabitants would vote for their members of the new legislative council on an adult suffrage roll, and that the Swazi nation would nominate its representatives to the same legislative council, and that there would be parity as between White and Black.

Then the S.P.P. called in Professor Cowen, who now represents them and also the Eurafrikan Welfare Association. Together with his clients Professor Cowen produced a report, recommending a non-racial constitution, but with certain compromises to allow the White and Coloured communities more seats than a purely one man one vote system would have allowed them. And then the British Government sent Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, one-time Governor-General of Ghana, to help Swaziland produce agreed and reasonable proposals.

London Conference

Because the constitutional committee is unrepresentative, the S.P.P. has now come out with the view that the new constitution must be hammered out in London at a conference between all the interested parties, including the S.P.P. and the Eurafrikan Welfare Association. Acting for the S.P.P., Professor Cowen addressed a request on 9th November to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for such a conference.

So far the High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, has been strongly against the idea of a London conference, but there is strong support for it in Swaziland, and the *Rand Daily Mail*, in an editorial dated 9th November, said "Professor Cowen and his clients, the S.P.P. and the Coloured community, have a strong case in requesting talks in London at which all points of view could be put to the Secretary of State". And it is known in government circles in Swaziland that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke would like a conference in London.

Taking all in all, it is reasonably certain that such a conference will be held, early in 1962.

Tagore Play A Great Success



The cast of the play "King of the Dark Chamber", produced by Krishna Sha of New York, was scheduled to open a week's run in Cape Town on 20th November. The play has just finished a three weeks' run playing to packed houses in Durban. The tour is one of the ventures of Union Artists, a Johannesburg group which has done much to broaden South Africa's cultural field. Picture shows the cast arriving at Port Elizabeth where they played for a week.

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N.D.P. to Open Offices Abroad

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, President of the Southern Rhodesian National Democratic Party, bids farewell to Mr. Leopold Takawira, Director of external affairs at the party's London office, at the end of the party congress held in Bulawayo in October.

On Mr. Nkomo's right is Mr. Robert Mugabe, the N.D.P. Publicity Secretary. The others are (from left to right) Messrs. Morton Malianga (vice-president), T. G. Silundika (secretary general) and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole (treasurer).

Mr. Mugabe said that a number of N.D.P. men will leave Southern Rhodesia soon to open offices abroad, including one in Ghana.

SWAPO MEN HANDED OVER TO PORTUGUESE

From "Contact" Correspondent

ONDANGUA, OVAMBOLAND: The South African Police have for the first time in history now set up police stations in Ovamboland, in the north of South West Africa, and they have begun to act against opponents of the government here in a manner which reminds people of the Ganyile kidnapping.

On 4th October the police went to the home of Mr. Absalom Nangonya and arrested his son Mr. Godfrey Nangonya. They took him over the border into Angola and, although he was wanted for political reasons, handed him to the Portuguese authorities.

Mr. Nangonya had worked in Cape Town until 1952 when he left for Angola. He went from there to Sierra Leone where he stayed a few months and then returned to settle in Angola where he became an "assimilado". He remained constantly anxious about the

liberation of the oppressed people in Angola and South West Africa.

It is believed that when the Portuguese became aware of his activities he was sent to São Thomé penal colony where he was kept for two years. He was returned to Angola last year.

Early this year the Portuguese authorities wanted to hang him, but he escaped from Angola to Ovamboland (South West Africa) where his parents live. He has been hunted continually by both the Portuguese and South African police, but he was sheltered by the South West African People's Organization of which he was an active and valuable member.

Mr. Nangonya, who is about 35 years old, evaded arrest until 4th October. Nothing has been heard of him since then.

On 24th October, the South African Police arrested Mr. Mathews Hukupulua, a member of Swapo, and took him to Vila Pereira da Eça (Ondjiva) where they handed him over to the Portuguese authorities.

The programme ends: "The party will maintain close relations with the S.A.C.P. and with the world communist movement."

The *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg) comments:

"There are no laws against Communism in Basutoland."

"A 'central committee' has been formed in Maseru and will issue a draft constitution and a draft programme. A conference to inaugurate the new Communist Party will be held in Maseru on March 14 next year." (5th November.)

EDITOR'S NOTE: When the present Chinese dictator, Mao Tse Tung, was harried by the Chinese Nationalists in the 1930's, he and his followers withdrew to Yen-an, a remote province of China, where government authority was too weak to resist them. There they set up a Chinese communist state and organized a tough army. When the right moment came this army swept out and conquered China. There is little doubt that South Africa's communists are dreaming of a "Yen-an" in Basutoland. Many of them have been holidaying there and photographing the interior of Basutoland. These dreams explain their hysterical attempts to discredit Mr. Mokhehle.

BASUTOLAND:

(Continued from page 3, col. 3)

nal security, posts and telegraphs, airlines . . . It calls for Basuto representation at the United Nations.

Faint Praise

The programme then faintly praises existing parties in Basutoland, but says that "they are not adequate" at the present time. "To meet the . . . problems of today it is essential that the Basuto should have a party of the new type, . . . a party guided by the most advanced political and economic theory, namely Marxism-Leninism . . ." This party would "greatly assist the B.C.P. by working for national unity . . . it will work for a united front with the B.C.P. and all other progressive forces."

Extraordinary Promise

Perhaps the most extraordinary promise made to the people of Basutoland is this: "The party will demand that negotiations be opened to provide Basutoland with an outlet to the sea in return for territories wrongfully included in the Union by British Imperialism." It is not stated with whom the negotiations will be held.

"Contact" Suggests an Exam. to the S.A.B.C.

IT is rumoured that journalists who want to join the news or talks departments of the South African Broadcasting Corporation may soon have to write a special examination. This examination—Dr. Albert Hertzog and Dr. P. J. Meyer are expected

to be the examiners—will ensure that only the most suitable people work for these departments of the S.A.B.C.

Contact has drawn up the following examination paper for these candidates which it respectfully submits to the S.A.B.C.:

- Write an essay of not less than 500 words on two of the following topics:
 - "Some people say we are one-sided because we put our country first." — Mr. Gert Fourie, head of the news department.
 - "All news shall be treated objectively, impartially, and on the basis of its factual news value." — S.A.B.C.'s code of ethics.
 - "Every effort shall be made to give equal emphasis to both sides of any controversial issue." — S.A.B.C.'s code of ethics.
 - Explain the difference, if any, between the "South African" and the "National Party" point of view.
- Which of the following politicians would you describe as "Mr." in a news broadcast, and why: Adoula, Tshombe, Nkomo, Mboya, Kenyatta, Blundell, Nyerere, Lutuli, Nehru, Khrushchev, Kennedy?
- Which of the following topics would be more suitable for a discussion programme on the English Service, and why: Press Control—for and against or Should South African rugby become professional?
- Why are lecturers at English-speaking universities rarely asked to broadcast on current affairs?
- How would you define an "unpatriotic listener"?
- Complete the following phrases, using these words: chaos, events, riots, disturbances. Each word can be used once only.

"The — at Sharpeville."
 "The — in Basutoland."
 "The — in Pondoland."
 "The — in Southern Rhodesia."

Explain your choice of words.
- Analyse the difference between a Hungarian freedom fighter and an Angolan rebel.
- Which of the following items would you exclude from a news broadcast because they were not of sufficient news value:
 - Dr. Hertzog today opens a new post office in Kei Road.
 - Ex-Chief Lutuli has applied for a passport to go to Oslo.
 - The Chicory Control Board has warned retailers that price control will be reimposed if they continue to make excessive profits.
 - President Kennedy today said that he did not think apartheid would ever work.
 - Floods have caused severe damage in Formosa.
 - Serious riots are expected in Ghana next month.
 - A Portuguese editor visiting the Republic says that South Africa is misunderstood overseas.
- Arrange the following items in their order of news value:
 - South Africa will soon make its own knitting needles.
 - Professor Geyser has been found guilty of heresy and will have to give up his professorship.
 - Many nations have protested against the Soviet nuclear tests.
 - Dr. Verwoerd today appealed for greater unity between the two White groups.
 - A leading South African industrialist says that job reservation is unnecessary.
 - The Minister of Agriculture has said that South African farmers are the best in the world.
 - The Minister of Defence today warned school children that they would soon be called upon to defend Christian civilization.
- Distil the news from the following report:

"Mr. A. Bogotá, of Colombia, told the General Assembly that his country abhorred South Africa's racial policies. He said the time had come to take positive action to bring South Africa to her senses. He urged that military action be considered to end South Africa's mandate over South West Africa. Referring to suggestions that South Africa be expelled from the United Nations, Mr. Bogotá said he did not think this was a wise course. Expulsion of South Africa would set a precedent. It would also make it more difficult for the world body to criticize South Africa if she were not represented there."

Harsh Rule in Alexandra

From "Contact" Correspondent
 JOHANNESBURG: The control of Alexandra, the freehold African suburb to the north of Johannesburg, passed from the Health Committee to the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board in 1958. Since then there have been great encroachments on the already limited freedom of residents.

The latest incident was a raid for passes and permits conducted by the Health Board on 20th October. Fifty women were arrested for not having permits of residence, something never experienced before.

The women were not permitted to

hold a public meeting to protest against the arrests and raids, and fines of from R8—R16 (£4—£8) were imposed on them when they appeared at the Alexandra Bantu Commissioner's Court. Some who paid fines were refused permits to continue living in Alexandra: they were referred to such places as Sophiatown, whence they came, to get permits.

Many people are worried by the prospect of having to move from their homes in Alexandra to Diepkloof, a leasehold township in the south west of Johannesburg.

Attempts to evade this removal have been met with threats of banishment to where the person concerned was born.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

A hollow victory

SIR.—We, the people of South Africa, let us build a new South African nation. The Nationalist party with its biggest majority has been returned to power, but we must not be downcast. It is a hollow victory which can bring no joy to the victors because it has been procured by trickery and is not based on genuine support of the majority of the people. But we must not remain calm in the face of this victory. Apartheid must be destroyed at all costs.

The future of South Africa along its present line of advance is dark. Let's devote ourselves to the struggle for freedom, justice and independence in this country.

I further call on all South Africans regardless of colour or creed to support and strengthen the Liberal Party in its attempts to create a true non-racial democracy in this country.

NON-RACIALIST,
Pretoria.

"Five errors in one paragraph"

SIR.—In your issue of the 2nd November (page 2), you have what appears to be an editorial comment on the D.R.C. Heresy Trial. Whether or not that trial has political undertones is a matter on which I do not propose to touch. What I find remarkable is the first paragraph, into which you pack at least five errors. The most outstanding is the reference to Arianism as an "insignificant doctrinal difference".

If we admit that Professor Geysler, as an authority on Calvinist theology, must be concerned with the divine nature of Christ, and if we concede that the divinity of Christ is important to Christians, what is insignificant about this "difference" to the parties concerned? Of course, if you have made up your mind that Christ was not a divine person, you are just as dogmatic about it as either the Professor or his accusers, since you do not appear to entertain the possibility that any sane man will differ from you on the point.

It is not clear why you seem to

think that there is something sinister about the fact that "a part of the Dutch Reformed Church" is behind the prosecution. Why shouldn't it be? Has a church not the right to try one of its own members for preaching, within its own household, something it regards as wrong? If it has not, Professor Geysler has a simple remedy: he needs but to walk out of the investigation.

You will observe that I am assuming that the church court will try him on the doctrinal charge, and not on his politics. As a Catholic, and therefore not directly concerned, I am not entitled to decide, *a priori*, that the court will be untrue to its function.

J. POTIER,
Cape Town.

[Please tell us which the five errors are. Unrepentantly I stand by my view that there is no significant difference between the view that Christ was of similar substance to God, and the view that Christ was of the same substance as God. The brutal killing of thousands of people in the course of that argument was one of the crowning follies of the human race—and that is saying something.—Editor.]

Free to kill

SIR.—Why is it that Mr. R. M. Sobukwe, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for demonstrating against the notorious pass laws, has not been given a republican remission, while Sergeant Arlow, who has a record of killing thirteen Africans, has been released from prison and when he came out had a good job waiting for him?

In the past few years a sum of about 23 Africans were hanged because they killed five policemen in Bergville in Natal and a good number have been sentenced to death because they killed a few policemen in Cato Manor.

Recently about 30 Africans have been sentenced to death because they killed a few quislings in Pondoland, but a man who has killed 13 innocent African people has served one year in prison and is now free to kill more.

C. MLOKOTHI,
P.O. Nyanga, Cape.

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

SIR.—It is wonderful to see and hear how many nations outside of Africa are interested in making friends with the newly independent African states. Some of those nations intend to pour millions of pounds into African countries in the form of different kinds of technical aid, mostly for development. Others don't only intend to help us with money but try also to establish friendship, which is rather dangerous. I say dangerous because that friendship may push us again into slavery, putting the rope back when it has just been removed after so long a time.

I advise my brothers not to be tempted too much by so many millions of francs, dollars and pounds, either from East or West.

Some people have been engineering deep plans to attack us peacefully, or have got other means of taking over our beloved African continent by means other than shooting us with guns—by the war of ideas.

They may try to trade with us, establish diplomatic relations, invite us to visit them, while the very people we are paying a visit to are preparing our burial. Therefore we must be very careful and watchful.

We have heard and seen people with nice tongues preaching themselves to be the most benevolent to everybody, but especially to Africans and Asians.

So we may ask ourselves what these people have noticed in our countries this time? Riches? Diamonds? Gold? Water?

During the past years when we were fighting out the imperialists they would not come and help us, but today when we have removed the oppressors, there they come with aid and funds with the intention of helping us. I would like to tell our friends that we are standing neutral; we are not in favour of any side, either East or West. It is wonderful that the East claims that it can help us fight for independence when it cannot even free countries like Poland, Hungary, Tibet etc. An Englishman says that charity begins at home.

My last word is the following: "O God of Hosts, God of Moses, leader of the oppressed, take us out of this house of bondage and drive away the hungry lions which would wish us to go back to our former days of slavery."

ANTHONY MASOETSA,
Maseru, Basutoland.



TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Keep on writing
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"Surpasses in evilness"

SIR.—The Nationalists' so-called apartheid/separate development is a policy of sheer extravagance, and is a measure to incite one race against the other.

It is a policy devised to keep Black men in a perpetual state of degradation, and Afrikanerdom as a demi-god with its Bantustans as a rotten slice of bread buttered to puzzle the narrow-minded Bantu Authorities and urban Bantu councillors-to-be.

It is being frequently said that communism is number one evil on earth. But Nazism, and its successor apartheid, surpasses communism in evilness.

Freedom in our life-time and fraternity amongst the various races in South Africa!

THATHI,
Orlando, Johannesburg.

Virulent malady

SIR.—It is a long time that South Africa has suffered this virulent malady of apartheid.

Unfortunately there is a growing number among us who see in apartheid the prospect of becoming affluent as privileged slaves.

What a shame that there should be some among us who accept the position. Yet they see that Verwoerd and his Nationalists intend to blind and dwarf us. Our only hope is to outshine apartheid.

This is our land. "South Africa, Izwe Lethu!"

SAMUEL S. MDLULI,
Middelburg, Transvaal.

[And the only way to outshine apartheid is to work for non-racial democracy.—Editor.]

Can't learn about politics

SIR.—I am a young student very interested in politics. My school is very backward: one can't learn anything about politics, as it is under Bantu Education. Please tell me what to do in order that I may know more about politics, and I also expect some advice from all the readers of Contact.

I am in a position to join any political organization through correspondence. I want to influence my country people.

"As Jesus died to make men holy, let us die to make men free."

L. L. N.,
Lady Frere, C.P.

[We will ask a political body—the Liberal Party—to write to you.—Editor.]

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To enslave their minds

SIR.—The minority White settler government in South West Africa has imposed upon the Africans a policy of racial discrimination known as apartheid, a policy which denies them all rights of ownership of land in urban areas, a policy which refuses Africans all fundamental rights such as freedom of movement, association, assembly and public expression.

The South African settler government has introduced Bantu Education—a primitive and backward educational system which teaches the African children to believe that they are inferior to the Whites. The idea of

introducing such a system of education is to enslave their minds so that when they are fully grown they will not be in a position to demand freedom and independence in the land of their birth.



WILLIAM NELULU,
Swapo Office, Box 2603,
Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

Prize Letter

A SIGN OF LIFE

SIR.—"The freedom fighters including the Swaziland Progressive Party, are trying the impossible," said one imperialist to me as we were standing next to a hedge discussing the condition of the world.

"If you look at that flower," said I, pointing to a flower growing in the hedge, "you will notice that the stem sometimes grows downwards, sometimes grows straight, sometimes sideways, but finally it has bloomed above this well-tended hedge, and the bees, and insects are finding a feast on its sweet nectar. But can you seriously doubt the ridicule the stem has met from the branches of this hedge?"

Like the stem of this flower is the way of life of every freedom fighter. A freedom fighter will meet obstacles and cynics, but he must aim to bloom above them as this flower has done. The hungry will then feast on their achievements as do the bees and those insects on that flower.

"You are dreaming," was the answer I got. My reply to that was none except to tell the man that that was a sign of life in me, for dreaming is a privilege of the living and not of the dead.

KING MNGUNIE,
Kwaluseni, Swaziland.

Each fortnight the best letter will earn its writer a prize—a year's free subscription to "Contact". This fortnight Mr. Mngunie wins.

This is the second free subscription to go to Swaziland this month. Let's hear more from the rest of Africa!

Together as brothers

SIR.—I congratulate you on sending me your non-racial fortnightly Contact which encourages the politicians. We of the Swaziland Progressive Party are struggling for freedom for all irrespective of colour or creed.

Away with the racialism of the imperialist rulers in Swaziland and in Africa as a whole! We are fighting to meet together as brothers of independent Africa, not as strangers.

D. D. DLAMINI,
Sicunusa, Swaziland.

Freedom Fighter on a Bicycle

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A young housewife of Johannesburg has hit the headlines in recent months for her brave and self-sacrificing one-woman campaign against apartheid.

She is Mrs. A. Brusse, an immigrant from Holland who still speaks with a marked Dutch accent although she has lived in South Africa for many years and has brought up her children here.

Campaign Against Colour Bar

A few months ago Mrs. Brusse, who lives in a small, modest home in a Johannesburg suburb, was unknown. Her name hit the headlines when she wrote to a newspaper asking people to join in a campaign she had started on her own.

She has been anti-colour bar ever since she came to South Africa, but she came to the conclusion that her Christian principles—she is a member of the Methodist Church—forced her to take some action against apartheid.

Her action consists in not using any kind of public amenity which is confined to Whites only. To avoid having to use buses to go to work—she is a typist in a city firm—she has bought a bicycle and pedals away happily through the streets wherever she wants to go.

She will not use segregated trains, hotels, restaurants, theatres, cinemas, or parks.

This means that the only forms of entertainment she can enjoy are the occasional stage presentations at the University of Witwatersrand, which are open to people of all races.

An enthusiastic music-lover, she has



MRS. BRUSSE on her way to work

had to give up one of her favourite pastimes—attending concerts in the City Hall and other places.

Mrs. Brusse said she sent her children to the Coloured Sunday School "because I believe it is useless to teach children about the love of God with words only. Worse than that it is highly dangerous—we are creating schizophrenic personalities".

Mrs. Brusse has had, regrettably, little response to her campaign from others—few people are prepared to make the sacrifices she is making.

Rehoboth Community Refuses Loan Bribe

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The Rehoboth community of South West Africa, gravely afflicted with unemployment and malnutrition, has been offered a loan of R200,000 (£100,000) if they accept a new Nationalist-devised constitution for the Rehoboth Gebied.

Ninety per cent of the community members are without employment, and children are suffering from malnutrition. A long drought, aggravated by the outbreak of foot and mouth disease among cattle, has deprived most of the men of their work on White-owned farms. Building work, and fence erection, the tasks usually performed by Rehobothers, have come to a standstill.

A meeting of the Rehoboth Citizens' Association was held on 4th November to discuss the situation.

Toe the Line

Meanwhile the Nationalist government is taking advantage of the difficulties facing the community and is making a bid to force it to toe the apartheid line.

After a vain attempt to re-institute the 1923 Agreement (see *Contact*, 15th June), the government has made a new offer—a new constitution for the Gebied. This new constitution does not envisage eventual independence and sovereignty for the people, but provides for "greater autonomy within the framework of government policy".

The loan has been offered for debt redemption—conditional on the acceptance of the constitution and security on land.

Rehobothers were given only two weeks to discuss the constitution. Their Advisory Council is at present dis-

cussing it but the leaders are not interested in an apartheid constitution.

They are busy drafting their own which will take account of the international nature of the South West African situation, current world developments, and the aspirations of the people themselves.

NEW PAN- AFRICAN REVIEW

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Professor N. J. J. Olivier, of Stellenbosch, is among those who have contributed to a new monthly "Pan-African review" called *Spearhead* which has just made its appearance here. The editor is a Johannesburg-born journalist, Miss Frene N. Ginwalla, who has been living in Tanganyika since March, 1960. It is published by a company called "Afreepress Ltd."

Among the other contributors to the 26-page first issue are: the Hon. Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, Prime Minister of



MISS GINWALLA

Tanganyika; the Hon. Mr. Masinde Muliro, Deputy Leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, and President Sékou Touré of Guinea.

"Ideas of a New Africa"

The first editorial in *Spearhead* affirms that the paper will be a forum to discuss political, economic, social and racial problems and will provide the "rostrum from where the ideas of a new Africa will be expounded".

"*Spearhead*" maintains that in any healthy political movement it is necessary that there be a free and frank exchange of views. It said: "Africa has the right to decide her own destiny—her peoples free of all barriers of race or religion and her nations free of international intrigues."

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Nyerere Warns Racialists

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: On 9th December, Tanganyika will be proclaimed a fully sovereign independent state within the commonwealth. On that day the Union Jack will be lowered, marking the

end of 40 years of British rule and the country will rejoice when, in its place, the new green, gold and black flag of free Tanganyika is hoisted.

Unfortunately there have been signs of African racialism, and a few malcontents have been going round the country threatening non-Africans with dire consequences after 9th December, as revenge for their past follies and behaviour towards the Africans.

Firm Action

Fortunately the government is fully aware of what is going on and of the need to show that the government of free Tanganyika will be strong.

Firm action has been taken by the police, and there have been a number of convictions of Africans who had threatened non-Africans on one pretext or the other. "Wait until Uhuru (Freedom) and you will see" has been the common slogan among hoodlums in Tanganyika.

Campaign by Leaders

The climax to this campaign has been reached. Responsible leaders of T.A.N.U., from Prime Minister Julius Nyerere to branch secretaries, have been going round the country advising people to maintain calm and order after independence has been achieved.

Mr. Kahama, Tanganyika's Home Minister, made no secret of such threats and appealed to all people to maintain "our reputation for courtesy and good behaviour".

"Our honour as an independent Tanganyika must not be besmirched by a single individual at Uhuru," Mr. Kahama said. "The date 9th December is a sacred day, and God does not intend that on that date we should commit crimes against other human beings, but should thank Him in the first place for having enabled us to achieve independence. He wants this day to be one of rejoicing and happiness, a day when

everybody should forget hatreds or grudges against his fellowmen."

In particular the Home Minister referred to threats issued by Trade Union leaders in Tanganyika that "unless their demands were accepted there would be trouble in the country".

Mr. Kahama warned: "Threats like this place a burden on those charged with the duty of maintaining law and order and I consider these threats most unnecessary. I believe quite firmly that one can get what one wants by behaving with dignity. These threats are not consonant with the general peaceful atmosphere prevailing in our country."

"Very Drastically"

Shortly after this statement, the Prime Minister warned when in early November he addressed a mass meeting of 15,000 people in Mwanza: "Incidents during the independence celebrations will shame us before our visitors, apart from anything else".

Referring to the Uhuru threats, the Prime Minister said: "If those Africans who threatened non-Africans—Europeans, Asians and Arabs—with trouble at Independence were intending their threats to be a joke, then it was a very poor joke," he said. "But if they meant what they said then the government will deal with such Africans very drastically, no matter who they are."

With events in the Congo fresh in the minds of many people, the Prime Minister's warning will do nothing but good.



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