

contact

PRESS PREPARES
TO MUZZLE
ITSELF

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— see page 4

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



The Duke of Edinburgh dances with Mrs. Maria Nyerere, wife of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, at the Independence celebrations on 9th December

contact

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

STOP THE BOMBS!

ORGANISED sabotage, long-awaited, long-predicted, came to South Africa on 16th December when explosives did some damage to Fordsburg post office and to a few installations of the B.A.D. department.

Let us say at once that we hold the government largely responsible: its apartheid policy and its policy of suppressing almost all expressions of African opinion are so inhuman that one is only amazed that the oppressed people were not, long ago, driven to far worse excesses of violence.

Having said this we wish to condemn the bombings with all the strength at our command, and to ask the unknown saboteurs to give up any plans that they may have for future violence.

We say so because violence will probably delay, not hasten, the day of liberation.

It is often complained that "non-violence has been proved to be useless in South Africa". This is quite untrue: except for the half-hearted gandhiism of the Defiance Campaign, and the more genuine Indian Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946, true satyagraha has not been tried. And, in the case of the many flopped stay-at-homes, no one can say that the people ever really gave the leadership proper backing. In the one

break-through, the Cape Town stay-at-home during the P.A.C. 1960 campaign, when port and industry were virtually paralysed, it was obvious that, if other areas had done what Cape Town's Africans did, and if in Cape Town the whole working-class had acted in solidarity, the foundations of apartheid would have been shaken and the nation as a whole beyond repair. No, so far from non-violent non-co-operation having been proved a failure in South Africa, it has never been given a proper trial. It is, on the contrary, highly probable that if it were given a proper trial it would prove to be a sure-fire winner. For if we, inside South Africa, can act together, it is obvious that not only are we in a position to paralyze the country, but also that we are in a position to unleash an unstoppable avalanche of outside help, including effective oil sanctions.

Our future lies within our own hands, and victory against White supremacy is almost assured within a few years, providing that the struggle remains non-violent. The greatest reason assuring victory is White apathy. White apathy to the government's crazy Bantustan plans, and White apathy to the government's schemes for a semi-Nazi dictatorship. In continental African terms White South Africa is a military giant. This giant is asleep and will remain asleep (if the struggle remains non-violent) until after the whole country is closed-down by a total political strike, until the oil has ceased to flow, until South West Africa has been detached, and until the world takes us over as its responsibility.

But, with the self-styled "Umkonto we Sizwe" ("Spear of the Nation") throwing its bombs, will the struggle remain non-violent? That will be for the oppressed people to decide by giving or withholding their support from the new organization. If they give support, then the apathetic Whites will begin to awake. In the minds of the Whites for the first time President Swart's poisoned wells will begin to become real: "the chaos of Africa" will have entered the South African area. The conse-

quence will be that they will agree to a dictatorship, will agree to conscription, and will agree to massive expulsions of Africans from areas such as the Western Cape. And, as the terrorism gets worse (and it is in its nature to go from bad to worse), so the aroused Whites will agree to ever harsher moves against the African people, to their removal from vast areas of our country, even at the cost of economic disruption.

When that day comes, who will move to protect the thousands and millions that will be moved out into the undeveloped Bantustans? "Umkonto we Sizwe" will scarcely be able to protect anyone. And so Dr. Verwoerd will be able to achieve his dream: the partition of South Africa on the White man's terms, with the gold, uranium, industries, good farms, most of the water, railways, and ports in the hands of the Whites and cleared of Africans,

and with all the Africans concentrated in the poor Bantustans.

World opposition? Who knows? The world might well heave a sigh of relief to be told that at last the Africans here had got "their own independent country", and that the South African problem had been finally solved.

These are the prospects that lie ahead of our country if the *Umkonto* gets a following. It is understandable for the government's opponents to rejoice when they see the authorities assailed by bombs. It is understandable, but it is suicidally short-sighted.

Contact's call, therefore, to the people of South Africa is this: before going down the path of violence with *Umkonto*, reckon well your own strength and that of your opponents. And do not do something that not only will surely slow the arrival of freedom, but that will give the Verwoerds and Vorsters a permanent victory.

WHY NEHRU WAS RIGHT

NEHRU hesitated for years before marching into Goa and taking it over. For Gandhi's disciple the decision to use aggressive force was an agonizing one. We are convinced that his decision was right, and that the critics, chiefly Western, who have mocked and jeered at him have missed the point of the whole problem.

The point of the problem is this: that when the realities of life become too much out of harmony with laws and constitutions, then laws and constitutions have sometimes to be swept away to make place for life. This has happened in India. The real-life relationship between India and Europe has, within the last twenty years, been revolutionized. Where there had been colonialism, there is now freedom; where there had been inferiority, there is now equality. Britain had the wisdom to understand this, and in 1946 gave India independence. Even France had the wisdom to understand, and transferred Pondicherry to the Indian Union.

Only Portugal refused to accept this reality, and, as in Africa, refused to adapt its laws to life. The result in Goa has been that Portugal has had taken from it what, if it had been wise, it would have cheerfully yielded. Thus the law and the constitution of Goa have been bent by Indian wills to harmonize with Indian reality.

Portugal and its friends in Southern Africa will learn, perhaps the hard way, that mere laws, mere constitutions, are worthless if they conflict with the reality of life. In Southern Africa, too, Portugal's out-of-date grip will be broken, as freedom and equality replace colonialism and inferiority. And in Southern Africa, too, when the time comes there will be found liberators who will act to restore the harmony between life and the law, just as Nehru has done in Goa.

We, who are about to be liberated from the dead shell of the past, salute Nehru, and honour him in his agonizing, correct, decision.



Mr. Eric Louw is calling for the speeding up of apartheid.

contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly

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SOUTH WEST AFRICA

U.N. Votes to Help Territory Gain Independence

By a vote of 90 to 1 (Portugal), the General Assembly of the United Nations has accepted a resolution which, if implemented, will release the people of South West Africa from the apartheid policies of the South African Government and will set the territory well on its road to independence.

Charged with this momentous task will be a United Nations Special Committee, consisting of representatives of seven member states, which will be instructed ("in consultation with the Mandatory Power") to achieve the following objectives:

1. Visit South West Africa before May 1st, 1962.
2. Evacuation of all military forces of South Africa from the territory.
3. Release of all political prisoners without distinction of party or race.
4. Repeal all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants in reserves and denying them all freedom of movement, expression and association, and all other laws and regulations which establish and maintain the intolerable system of apartheid.
5. Preparations for general elections to the Legislative Assembly based on universal adult suffrage to be held as soon as possible under the supervision and control of the United Nations.
6. Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the general elections, with a view to preparing the territory for full independence.
7. Co-ordination of the economic and social assistance with which the specialised agencies of the United Nations will provide the people in order to promote their moral and material welfare.
8. The return to the territory of indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment, detention, or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside the territory.

Struggle

It would take a very naïve politician to believe that South Africa will be induced to release its hold on South West Africa without a struggle. But the United Nations resolution is the brightest sign yet that the people of this territory will be freed from the bondage of enforced segregation, of rule without chance of change by a minority group, and of the offensive migrant labour system which has kept thousands of Ovambo workers from any hope of progress beyond the status of miserably-paid menials.

This migrant labour system is the strongest of all indictments against the way South Africa has carried out its mandate. For the payment of a fee of R25 to a semi-official recruiting organization, an employer can hire an Ovambo worker at wages which will bring him about R50 for 18 months of work. It has been said in defence of the system that these wages include free food, housing, a blanket a shirt and a pair of shorts, and that they are an essential source of income to impoverished Ovamboland. But no Ovambo, no matter how anxious he is to become part of the industrial or farming life of the territory in the only areas where money is to be made, is allowed to advance, to hold and propagate views of his own, or to enjoy a settled life outside the reserves with his wife and family. And as the Ovambo workers have come to resent and to plan and act against this economic insult to them, so they have been harried by police action and by the even less tender reprisals of some of the government-paid chiefs.

"The Security Police are intensifying their actions against African political leaders," says a recent report to *Contact* from a leading member of the South West Africa People's Organization.

On the 2nd November they arrested Mr. Zachariah Shikombo who served on the Swapo Executive Committee in Windhoek. The following day he was brought before the court.

Deported

He was sentenced to forty days' imprisonment and after serving his sentence he would be deported to Ovamboland; this was done. On his arrival in Ovamboland he was fined R5.97.

Mr. Thomas Kanandjembo is a member of Swapo who lived in Walvis Bay for the past nineteen years.

He was on his way early in April from his holiday in Windhoek. When the train in which he was travelling stopped at Usakos, he stood at the door of his compartment holding the Afrikaans magazine *Huisgenoot* which he was reading.

One of the train conductors came and looked at the magazine Mr. Kanandjembo was reading. Without saying anything, he left and went to tell the police. The Usakos police phoned Swakopmund police who waited at the station. Mr. Kanandjembo was arrested at the same time and was detained till late in July.

He was brought before the court in July and was accused that he was on an organizing tour. He was told that he would be kept under detention until such time as he would be deported to Ovamboland.

WHITE HOOLIGANS ATTACK LIBERAL SPEAKERS

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A few days after Johannesburg's White hooligans nearly broke up a meeting called on the steps of the City Hall by the Congress of Democrats, they succeeded in smashing a Liberal Party Human Rights Day meeting on 11th December at the same place.

Speakers were Mr. Ernest Wentzel (Transvaal chairman), Mr. Jack Unterhalter and Mr. Reg. Mayekiso.

"We want Ernie, we've come to get him," shouted the thugs as they arrived. They cut the loudspeaker cables and, in the delay while these were being repaired, surrounded the platform in organized groups from all sides chanting, "We want Ernie, we want Ernie."

Messages from Eleanor Roosevelt and Jo Grimond, leader of the British Liberal Party, read by Jack Unterhalter, were drowned by the whistles and jeers of a gang who stormed the platform and tried to seize the microphone.

Ernie Wentzel, Transvaal chairman of the Liberal Party, shouted the mob down while the riot squad cleared the platform. He said to the hooligans, "You people are behaving like this because you are terrified. You know that there is a tide coming down Africa that will sweep you away." The crowd listened in comparative silence while Mr. Wentzel attacked the governments



This picture, taken during the United Nations debate on South West Africa, shows some of the 13 petitioners (exiles from the territory) who gave evidence before the Trusteeship Committee. This Committee had a mandate to investigate the situation in South West Africa.

In November he was escorted to Ovamboland. He arrived at the Native Commissioner's office and was also fined R5.97.

To Portuguese

The South African authorities are also reported to be handing some South West African political prisoners over to the Portuguese in Angola.

On 9th November an Angolan member of the South West African People's Organization saw in Ondjiva (Vila Pereira da Eça), Angola, a South West African who had been handed to the Portuguese by the authorities. He saw him again on 13th November in a "bad state". The South West African was Mr. Mathews Hikupulua—a Swapo member—who appeared to have been beaten badly and who was chained up day and night.

The whereabouts of another Swapo man who has been handed to the Por-

tuguese is unknown. He is Mr. Godfrey Nangonya.

It is now believed by Swapo that these two men and another member of the organization have been executed by the Portuguese.

Shorts . . .

- Due to the clamp-down by the Tanganyika government on recruiting for the mines, the W.N.L.A. (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) has stopped flying recruits out of Tanganyika. Its planes now visit Mbeya, Tanganyika, merely to repatriate miners. Over the border, in Nyasaland, they face the prospect of having to close down the huge airfield specially built for the Association's Skymasters at Fort Hill, when Dr. Banda follows Dr. Nyerere's example and stops recruiting in Nyasaland.
- About 1,300 athletes, representing 13 African countries, have so far said that they will take part in the Abidjan Games, to be held in that city, capital of the Ivory Coast, starting on 24th December.

(Jeune Afrique.)

THE NEW AFRICAN

A Monthly Review for Radicals

The first 16 page issue (January, 1962), will carry articles by Dennis Brutus, Rev. Ndabani Sithole, Anthony Delius, Fr. Trevor Bush and others.

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S.A. PRESS PREPARES TO MUZZLE ITSELF

From "Contact" Correspondent

EARLY in the New Year will be held the annual conference of the Newspaper Press Union, an association of the proprietors of South Africa's press. At this meeting steps will be taken by the press to "discipline itself", taken in the hope that official press censorship by law can thereby be avoided.

For years government has wished to introduce a system of full-blown press censorship, by law. Last session a draft law was placed before the House of Assembly, and then, in face of many protests, withdrawn. But it was not scrapped—government left it hanging as a threat over the heads of the South African press (particularly the English press). And then government suggested that the unpleasant necessity for a law could be avoided if the press would "discipline itself", meaning, of course, self-censorship.

This the N.U.P. is now prepared to do. As revealed in the last issue of *Contact*, a Code has been drawn up by a sub-committee of the N.P.U., under which in future newspapers will have to consider "the general good of South Africa" in publishing news and comments. Now the time has come to accept the Code, and to provide machinery for this self-discipline.

A motion will be placed before the annual conference of the N.P.U. Having been drafted by an influential sub-committee, it is virtually certain to be accepted. In its essentials this motion reads as follows:

A Board of Reference will be established to implement "a voluntary code of conduct". The N.P.U. believe that "the continuance of a free press can best be assured by the acceptance by proprietors, editors, and journalists of the highest standards of conduct . . .". This refers to the Code published in our last issue.

One of the objects of the Board of Reference is to "consider alleged infringements of the Code, and to take or to recommend action in accordance with the Board's rules. . . . The Board will consist of between three and five members plus two retired judges who will act as chairman and alternative to the chairman respectively. . . . Complainants must deposit a fee of R10 (£5) together with a written complaint, fully documented. . . . Where a complaint regarding any report pub-

lished overseas about South Africa is made the Board may . . . consider such a case if in its opinion a *prima facie* case has been made of violation of the Code."

The Board may "reprimand or severely reprimand" any proprietor, editor, or journalist who infringes the Code, cause its findings, together with the reprimand, to be published in such publication as may be determined by the Board, and cause a correction to be published where necessary in such publications as may be determined by the Board."

Provision is then made for the members of the Board to be paid honoraria and travelling expenses.

An interesting provision is that "if it appears to the members (of the Board) that the voluntary nature and independence of the Board are

threatened" the Board may be dissolved by a two-thirds majority of its members.

COMMENT: If the press were using this Code to save the government's face while at the same time remaining determined to maintain the sturdy independence that the English press has on the whole shown since 1948, then the N.P.U. would deserve the support of all democrats.

Unfortunately there are signs that the forthcoming publication of the Press Commission Report, the appeal of the new Minister of Information for "a moratorium on criticism", and now this Code have had a considerable intimidatory effect on the press. There are signs that the press is now ready to surrender, for instance the foolish adulation which much of the English press showed on the absurd homecoming of Mr. Eric Louw from his "triumphs" at the United Nations.

There are other signs that the press is maintaining its courage. But there is still no clear lead from the world of the press tycoons calling for the maintenance of courageous press opposition, and the signs are that the English press will soon knuckle under to Nationalist thinking.

If this is so, then the servile and self-accusatory Code would have to be condemned.

Placards Outs



Maritzburg P Stopped b

From "Contact"

PIETERMARITZBURG: The M has been sharply criticized by citizens of all races stood silently in hour on the morning of 9th December decision to withdraw permission for March.

Placards and banners attacking the Group Areas Act, were supplemented by others reading: "Maritzburg needs courageous Council" — "For or against Group Areas? Council must decide NOW." — "Why ban peaceful protest?" — "Forbid peaceful protest—what then?" — "Our Mayor—for or against us?"

A mass protest march had been planned for the 9th December by the multi-racial Group Areas Resistance Committee. At the end of the march a petition was to be presented to the Mayor. Permission for this march had originally been granted by the Mayor who had agreed to receive the petition at the City Hall.

On Thursday evening, the Mayor withdrew this permission, stating that he had been led to believe that there would be no more than 150 people participating and that indications were that more would be present, thus disrupting the traffic. Representations were immediately made to the Mayor who refused to allow the march, but stated that he would be prepared to receive the petition.

The organisers of the march made last-minute arrangements and over 300

Debut of "New African"

A LONG-PLANNED venture comes to life in mid-January, with the first issue of a new monthly magazine, "The New African". To be published by Insight Publications (Pty.) Ltd., P.O. Box 4232, Cape Town, this magazine aims to deal in constructive ideas facing the new Africa and to provide an organ for South African radicals who are interested in such ideas, rather than in propaganda. The new company is also to publish its first book in January, a paperback called "The Dominee and the Dompas" by Mary Ann Wall, which tells the story of Zeerust in 1958.

"The New African's" first issue will range from a penetrating, anonymous review of Athol Fugard's sensational play, "The Bloodknot", seen from the Black side of the colour line, to a review of "South Africa's year" at the U.N., by Jolyon Nuttall, a young South African journalist who is about to return to South Africa. In it also, fresh light shed on Verwoerd's "Jewish letter" is likely to arouse controversy.

Other writers in the first issue are Leslie Rubin, the Rev. Trevor Bush, Anthony Delius, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole (chairman of the Zambesi African People's Union, which has replaced the banned N.D.P.), and Dennis Brutus. An almost equally new contemporary, "Spearhead", Dar es Salaam, published an article by Dr. Julius Nyerere on "One Party Democracy" in its first (November) issue. This is ably analyzed by T. R. V. Beard of Rhodes University, who was lecturer in Politics at Fort Hare University until his dismissal by the government in 1959. The 16 pages are completed with comment, light features, book reviews. "The New African's" joint editors are Neville Rubin and Randolph Vigne.

White Domination is Main Enemy—

KGOSANA

ON 5th October *Contact* published an interview with Mr. Philip A. Kgosana and Mr. Lawrence Mgweba during a visit that they made to Dar es Salaam.

The interview was severely criticized in *Contact's* correspondence columns. We have now received a statement from Mr. Kgosana referring to this interview,

and we have pleasure in affording him the space necessary for his explanation. The statement runs:

Early in September this year I met a correspondent of *Contact* in Dar es Salaam. Mr. Mgweba and I gave him an interview which was later published in *Contact*. I have seen the report and

there are two points mentioned which I wish to refer to.

The report makes mention of a criticism of the A.N.C. and also states that we are planning to visit the eastern countries. I never enjoy press exchanges but this is one time when I feel driven to do so.

In all my speeches, I have never criticized other organizations because I believe it is not necessary. I have stated the P.A.C. line in uncompromising terms. There is so much material available on the P.A.C. that there is no time for us to criticize other political organizations. At least while our standing enemy is White domination there is no need for us to poke fingers at each other.

The report that we intend to visit eastern countries is just nonsense, a fabrication and an illusion of the imagination. I want to be properly understood: if the necessity arises that I should go to communist countries I will do so without hesitation, but I will not countenance words placed into my mouth, whatever their nature.

BECHUANALAND NEWS MAGAZINE

Based on Bechuanaland Information Service

MAFEKING: New activity is being shown by the Information Branch of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government. It has begun to keep in touch with the press by issuing informative messages. And it is to produce a monthly illustrated news magazine for circulation primarily within the Protectorate.

The magazine will be called *Kutlwano*, Tswana word that can be construed as

'mutual understanding', and will sell at two-and-a-half cents.

The first issue of 24 pages will appear on 2nd January 1962. It will include features on plans for the proposed transfer to Gaborone from Mafeking of the government headquarters, the British Government's policy for dependent territories, the 'lost city of the Kalahari', and the Veterinary Laboratory services at Ramathlabama.

The main news content will be two pages of news in English and two in Tswana.

Ovambo Chiefs]

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Attempts to lay the foundations for South West Africa's first "Bantustan" in Ovamboland have failed because three senior Ovambo chiefs have refused to cooperate.

It is learned here that the Bantu Commissioner for Ovamboland summoned a meeting of chiefs and headmen at Ombalantu in September. Every government-appointed headman was there, but three important chiefs did not attend. They are Chief Martin Ashikoto, the most senior chief in Ovamboland, Chief

ide City Hall



Protest March by Mayor

Correspondent

Mayor, Councillor G. J. R. Bulman, and members of the Natal capital. Over 300 people gathered in front of the City Hall for half an hour to protest against his last minute withdrawal of a planned Group Areas Protest.

Citizens gathered in silent protest outside the City Hall on Saturday morning. The picketers included doctors, lawyers, university lecturers, clergymen, women and young people of all races. Posters read: "Group Areas—Man's Inhumanity to Man"; "Group Areas—Legalised Robbery". "Leave our homes alone"; and one small girl carried a placard reading: "You're dealing with human beings, not animals".

Security Branch detectives took note of the posters and those present, aided by a police photographer.

In a statement Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, referred to the Mayor's action:

"At the last minute he withdrew his permission. He said traffic would be disrupted. Of course it would have been disrupted and the attention of everyone in the streets would have been drawn, at this Christmas season, to the fact that a large part of the population of the city has hanging over its head the loss of its homes, institutions and businesses.

"It is a Mayor's duty to receive and hear the representations of his burgesses and to support them in the peaceful and democratic protection of their rights. If he is not prepared to do that, the sooner he resigns the better."

Reject Bantustan

Ushona Shimi of the Ongandjera, and the successor to Mualua gwa Nashilongo of the Uukualudhi.

The meeting was called off because without these chiefs nothing could be done.

The Bantu Commissioner has summoned another meeting, and has ordered the three chiefs to attend. So far nothing has happened.

It is known that the chiefs in Ovamboland are not keen on the "Bantustan" idea. Some refuse to co-operate with the government and have refused to punish political leaders in accordance with government instructions.

Governor General Criticised

Row in Tanganyika Over Remarks to Frenchman

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: A row has broken out here between the T.A.N.U. Secretary General, Mr. Oscar Kambona, and the British Governor General, Sir Richard Turnbull, over remarks made by the latter to the French Ambassador to Tanganyika, M. Henri Chassaing de Bourdeille, that France and Great Britain "are joined not only by a thousand years of shared victory, but by similar policies and common aims in Africa".

The occasion for these "unfortunate" remarks was the presentation by the newly-appointed French Ambassador of his Letters of Credence to the Governor General of Tanganyika. Apparently it did not occur to the Governor General that his remarks contained dynamite which Tanganyika nationalists would set fire to.

Mr. Oscar Kambona, who is also Minister for Education, but spoke as Secretary General of TANU, called a press conference and said he would never have believed that the Governor General would have taken the occasion to say something about the friendship between Britain and France.

He then attacked French policy in Africa. "France's relations with Africa," he said, "have been those of a colonial power—that of exploitation. Tanganyika has not the same aims and policies as France. Tanganyika denounces France's action in Algeria. France has been waging a war against the Algerian people over six years. France has killed thousands of Algerians

whose only sins have been that they are demanding independence. France has been experimenting with atomic bombs in Africa in spite of the protests of the African people all over the continent. France and Britain are trying to sabotage the action of the United Nations in the Congo and therefore Tanganyika has no common aims or policies with France, and I do not want it to be believed that the Governor General would have used the occasion of the French Ambassador's presentation of credentials to an independent country to embarrass the government."

Mr. Kambona said TANU was a nationalist organization committed to the task of liberating the whole African continent: "We are committed that no foreign flag should fly from Dakar to Dar es Salaam and from Cairo to Cape Town. I hope that perhaps in the future the Governor General will begin to adjust himself to a country which is independent and which is not a province of the United Kingdom in Africa," Mr. Kambona said.

Natal Game Reserve Land to be Given to White Farmers

PIETERMARITZBURG: The Mkuzi Game Reserve in Zululand, Natal, is to be abolished, and the land given to, among others, White farmers.

As, if the government were serious about establishing any "Bantustan" in Zululand, this land would be needed for African occupation, and should form part of an African self-governed territory, Mr. Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party, issued the following statement:

At a time when Africa to the north of us is giving increasing attention to the preservation of its wild life, the South African Government is to abolish the Mkuzi game reserve.

In my view this is in itself an extraordinarily short-sighted action.

But what I find most interesting in the announcement, is the minister's statement that part of the reserve is to be thrown open to White farmers. Once again we have apartheid revealed in all its shabbiness, for the mockery it is.

The government claims that it is working towards the establishment of independent Bantustans where African interests will predominate. If the Zulu Bantustans meant anything at all then Mkuzi would be part of it. It is not to be. Instead, a whole new settlement of White farmers is to be inserted into the middle of a predominantly African area.

The Liberal Party objects to the whole philosophy of apartheid and Bantustans. It finds particularly objectionable the hypocritical application of the policy which allows a Government which advocates separation, to allocate, in a predominantly African area, land to White farmers, which is sorely needed by African farmers.

Since assuming office in 1948, the Government has deliberately allocated large tracts of land, on the Makathini flats and in other parts of Zululand, to White farmers—chiefly its own supporters. Mkuzi is only the latest and most discreditable of such Government actions.

The truth is, of course, that apartheid has never yet asked any sacrifice of its supporters. The people who made the sacrifices are apartheid's opponents. The Mkuzi announcement simply means that this process is to continue in the future as it has done in the past.

Transkei

"HOME GUARD" TERROR

From "Contact" Correspondent

BAZIYA MISSION: Since he was restored to his headmanship at Baziya Mission, Waqu Location, Umtata district, Headman A. J. Yengwa has worked hard to enforce the Government's Bantustan policy. The result has been deep division among the people of Baziya Mission.

The chief offenders are Headman Yengwa's "home guard", authorized and paid for by the B.A.D. Department ever since he returned from a secret refuge last year, after his home had been burnt down and his life threatened during Tembuland unrest last year.

These "home guards" have taken vigorous steps to assault numbers of young men who have refused to enroll for duty in guarding this unpopular headman.

Recent instances of their activities have been:

- The destruction of the home of Mr. Liba Mbana, because he refused to guard the headman.
- Threats of deportation to all young men friendly with the people of nearby Mputi Location, whose men are alleged to have been behind the attack on Headman Yengwa last year. (Mputi Location is the home of the Joyi family, the head of which Chief Bangilizwe Joyi, is with his brother, Mr. Twalimfene Joyi, in exile in Basutoland, having escaped from banishment.)
- Victimization, such as the fining of one sheep of Mr. Manjati, on the pretext of his donkeys' having strayed on to the Headman's fields. He, too, had refused to be one of the Headman's guards.

There is an atmosphere of fear and tension among the people of Waqu Location.

POET HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR SHOWING THIS PHOTOGRAPH



THIS picture shows the severed head of an Angolan patriot held up by a Portuguese soldier. It has been widely circulated and recently appeared on the cover of "Jeune Afrique". For showing it to others, Dr. Agostinho Neto, gifted poet and medical man, and Angolan nationalist, was arrested by the Governor of the Cape Verde Islands on 26th September and sent to Lisbon, where he is

in the Aljube Prison. A group of British writers, including C. Day Lewis, Basil Davidson, and John Wain, have appealed publicly to the President of Portugal for his release. They surmise that Dr. Neto's presence in Lisbon will make it easier for a "trial" to give him a long sentence to crush him, or for the P.I.D.E., the dreaded Portuguese secret police, to do so by swifter methods.

Oldest African Kingdoms

RACE AGAINST TIME TO EXPLORE NUBIAN RUINS

WHEN Egypt's huge Aswan High Dam is finished, a whole country—the ancient land of Nubia—will be flooded. This country is full of historical monuments, some of the greatest importance. In this

excavated in this area, and probably three times that number of secondary sites. Of the important sites, only ten have been explored so far, and these only partially.

Assuming that the construction of the dam will be carried out on schedule,

was not possible to complete work on any of the four sites at Buhen, Argin, Aksha and Faras, and only 70 square miles were explored, hastily at that.

It is clear that if the number of missions is not multiplied by at least five in the near future, Sudanese Nubia will disappear for ever beneath the waters of the Nile without having been explored satisfactorily.

This part of Nubia straddles one of

the north coast and the centre of the continent, as it does today.

But it became a desert again—probably in the Mesolithic Age (8000-7000 B.C.)—and thereafter the Nile became the only safe route—where one was sure of not dying of thirst—between the Mediterranean and the great steppes of tropical Africa. The expert who studied the engravings at Abka considers that the rock drawing they resemble most closely in style are those in Spain. It is possible, therefore, that the Nile Valley served to connect Europe and Africa as early as the Eighth Millennium B.C.

At any rate, there is plenty of evidence in support of this from the Fourth Millennium onwards, and the civilization known as Group A Culture, about which still very little is known, appears to have extended at least from the junction of the Blue and White Niles, that is, from present-day Khartoum-Omdurman as far as Aswan.

Africa-Mediterranean Link

From that time on, communications between Sudanese Africa and the Mediterranean were never interrupted. Each period of strong government in Egypt coincided with deeper and deeper penetration from the north into the south. The Old Kingdom (2800-2400 B.C.) reached southwards as far as the Second Cataract; the Middle Kingdom (2000-1780 B.C.), to the Third Cataract; and the New Kingdom (1580-1090 B.C.), to the Fourth Cataract, and probably farther.

Prof. Jean Vercoutter's article stresses the importance of Sudanese Nubia. Located south of the barrier formed by the Second Cataract, the area has always been more African than Egyptian. It was on its territory that the first African kingdoms, governed by Africans, were established: first the kingdom of Kerma, and later those of Napata and Meroe. The history of these ancient African empires is still practically unknown. Yet it could furnish the key to the ancient history of the whole continent. It is unthinkable, therefore, that archaeological sites so rich in possibilities should be allowed to sink beneath the waters without having been investigated thoroughly. — (Unesco).



Buhen, looking north across the ruins of the fortress to the 18th Dynasty temple.

country are many sites of old cities, graves, etc., which have never been properly explored. These sites are believed to carry records of many civilizations which would enable archaeologists to piece together the broad outline of part of Africa's history.

Professor Jean Vercoutter, former Director of Antiquities in the Sudan, has written concerning the feverish haste with which the expeditions of many nations have been working against time to discover what they can before the waves of the world's greatest dam swallow up all evidence forever. Here are a few extracts from his article.

From November, 1960 to March, 1961, five archaeological missions have been carrying out excavations in the Sudan. From north to south, on the west bank, they are: a Polish mission at Faras, where important frescoes of the Byzantine period were discovered; a Franco-Argentinian mission at Aksha, where the Ramessid temple provided inscriptions and fine bas-relief; a Spanish party at Argin; a British mission at Buhen, where a remarkable fortress built in the Second Millennium B.C. is being uncovered. On the east bank, a Scandinavian party (comprising Danes, Finns, Norwegians and Swedes) has explored the area extending from Faras east to the outskirts of Wadi Halfa. Two epigraphists sent by Belgium have recorded the inscriptions of the temples at Semna.

More than 380 square miles of practically unknown and rather inaccessible terrain in the Sudan will be covered by the waters of the new Aswan High Dam. Land surveys and aerial photographs have established that there are at least 100 important sites to be

only three years remain to finish exploration work and digging. In that short period, 90 sites should be excavated—30 sites a year—and 380 square miles of territory must be explored—about 125 square miles a year. Compare these figures with work carried out during the 1960-61 season when it

the main passages of the great north-south route which, throughout history, seems to have connected the Mediterranean coast of Africa with tropical and equatorial Africa. It is true that in remote prehistoric times the Sahara had a more humid climate, and did not form an obstacle to direct contacts between



Meroe pyramid field, in Northern Sudan.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Long live Malawi!

SIR,—Please may I have place in your famous paper known as *Contact* to view my words to all readers.

I am here in the Transvaal of South Africa in which I simply understand people writing in different papers that we must thank Dr. Hastings Banda who brought the new government in Nyasaland. Of course we must praise him for doing such. But we forget to praise Our Lord Jesus Christ who also brought him from overseas to Nyasaland in order to fight for the new government.

What surprises me is that I still find some controversies in the news of different kinds. This controversy is against his party which is known as the



JOHN HASTINGS BANDA,
Mbabane.

Malawi Congress Party. Does it mean that they still do not comprehend who won the vote?

As from today onwards, Malawi Congress Party is the mother and father of all people staying in Nyasaland. And we must pay most attention to the leaders of the party.

Even when you sleep remember Dr. Hastings and trust in him.

What, no vote!

SIR,—The Nationalist government ~~once more tried to use a stratagem~~ to sow the seeds of apartheid at Munsieville, but found the people too clever and ready.

It was in the night of 5th November when a meeting was called at the Coronation Hall, Krugersdorp. It was all about the displacement of Advisory Board men by an Urban Bantu Council. The Native Commissioner, together with the local superintendent, was there.

A board man took the chair. The Commissioner, after the chairman had introduced the topic "Urban Bantu Council to displace the present Advisory Board", explained to the people the ghost of apartheid. He allowed the people to ask some questions.

The first speaker wanted to know why the Advisory Board members were replaced by an Urban Bantu Council, and if they would have direct representation in parliament if this council were introduced.

The Commissioner replied thus: "... the Urban Bantu Council was a step towards independence. Petty cases will be dealt with by this council. Minor civil cases will be judged and executed by this council."

The Commissioner declined to answer the latter question. He regretted that he was there as a "representative of the government", and that he could not alter the aims of the government.

It was clear that the people had long discovered the apartheid wolf in a sheep's skin. The longer the meeting stayed the more tense it became.

Everybody wanted to fire the Commissioner with questions. The Commissioner was aware of the emotionally-moved audience. He immediately apologized that he would not stay longer than five minutes more.

As far as the questions were concerned, the Commissioner succeeded in answering one question out of the whole basket of them.

The meeting was a flop.

"KRUGERSDORP
CORRESPONDENT",
Munsieville.

No Tshombes for S.W.A.

SIR,—We do not want stooges here in South West Africa like Tshombe. Mr. Lucas Nepela* has been deposed from Swapo because he worked for imperialists and colonialists. The dirty work he did can never be allowed in Africa.

We demand the end of South African rule in our territory and an election this year, the return of our petitioners from U.N.O. and independence in 1962. We also invite the new Secretary General of U.N.O., Mr. Thant, to come here to see for himself the way we Africans live.

We appeal to the whole world to work for peace. Freedom must be given to all the following states: Angola, Algeria, Kenya, Rhodesia, South and South West Africa and all the others under colonial domination. Our beloved brother Mr. Patrice Lumumba gave his life to Africa.

Away with imperialism and its stooges in Africa as a whole!

E. E. MBUMBA,
Secretary, Swapo Branch,
Luderitz, S.W.A.

* Mr. Nepela was an employee of the Windhoek municipality who claimed to be President of the South West Africa People's Organization.

Africans can stand alone

SIR,—I am a reader of *Contact*. I feel compelled to say a word concerning our Africa and its approaching freedom. I have been worried for more than a week by a question, "What on earth should be done to make our persecutors realize that Africa cannot manage to be itself without the Africans, nor can Africans lead a pure life without Africa?"

With my little mind I believe that we belong to Africa and not to ourselves, and Africa belongs to us. And whoever thinks he can change that is just playing hide and seek.

"Can Africans stand for themselves?" is a topic liked by students in their debating societies. Fortunately I once came across it in our school. There is nothing to be discussed on this topic except to give the answer "Yes", and I did so. When I was asked to expand

PRIZE LETTER

THE WHITE GOD?

SIR,—It was and is still unfortunate that Christianity in Africa was brought by a White man. The White man did not draw a clear line between European customs and Christianity. Everywhere where the Gospel is being preached it is mixed up with European practices and Africans are at sea. Whether that is the main reason why the Gospel is not prosperous among the African community, that is a question; or the European church leaders practise hypocrisy and preach the European God if there is one. I think the reason why all this confusion takes place is because the church practises the same colour discrimination as Verwoerd and the Swaziland government. Unless the churchmen change their minds and preach the Divine God and be sincere, truthful and precise the situation will deteriorate. Christianity has got nothing to do with various customs except good customs. The church is good but people abuse her.

Lord lighten our minds.

(Rev.) PHILEMON DLAMINI,
Ulundi, Swaziland.



TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is your page, where you can air your views on any subject, so write in.
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- A year's free subscription to your paper, *Contact*, is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

on this answer I only told them that if Africa the continent itself manages to stand erect without being supported by any other continent, why should Africans fail to do so as well, being the inhabitants of Africa?

They only laughed to make it a joke, but it's true.

M. M.,
Pondoland.

Against the Heresy Trial

SIR,—Your condemnation of heresy trials applies to the trial of a private individual for propagating religious beliefs which were unacceptable to the monarch or party in power of his day, a proceeding which was regarded as High Treason. The present heresy trial is no such thing. It rests on whether the Professor was breaking his contract by teaching matter which was contrary to the beliefs he had professed as a condition of obtaining his post. Every religious denomination is within its rights in holding such a trial or enquiry.

I, and doubtless others, take a poor view of—

(a) The withholding from the public the allegations against the Professor, and his defence.

(b) The fact that pupils were allowed to be the accusers. Such accusations should be made by persons of senior status, who might call students as witnesses. We should much like to know what kind of a show the young men put up under cross-examination by a Professor.

Further, I would like to say that the iota which expresses the difference between the Nicene Faith and Arianism marks all the difference between truth and falsehood.

A. PIERCE-JONES,
Cape Town.

Not blessed by God

SIR,—My personal view of the republican government is this: I don't think that this republic is blessed by God because it is far away from law and the will of God. This government stands to rob the Africans of their lands, this government is evil.

So many small villages in Rustenburg district are being moved away without the consent of the owners of the land; they are moved whether they like it or not.

To all our readers, good wishes and prayers.

REV. N. J. RAMOROESI,
Phokeng, Tvl.

Swapo leads to life abundant

SIR,—We of Swapo are leading our people not to division and destructiveness but to life abundant, to liberty, equality and justice. We are strong, we solidly condemn the Union Government for its apartheid policy in S.W.A. and we are strongly requesting all African states to consider separate and collective action.

SWAPO ORGANIZING
SECRETARY,
At present in B.P.

Defends "Contact"

SIR,—I could not suppress a smile when I read the letter from Mr. Raymond Thoms attacking your editorial on the grounds that it "teems with palpable fallacies". The irony of it was that his own letter also "teems with palpable fallacies", if I may be permitted to use his terms.

"A very cursory examination of the facts" should not convince a biased person let alone an unbiased one. Mr. Thoms's examination of the facts has not only been cursory but it reveals his bias!

I suggest that Mr. Thoms make a thorough examination of the facts, for if he does he will discover that "imperialism" has not got a "very nature". There is nothing mystical about imperialism even though some imperialists and critics like Mr. Thoms write as if there is. It is palpably false to say of imperialism that, "This kind of 'development' does not benefit the people of the countries themselves". Imperialism is an evil enough practice, and the number of people who oppose it is growing; and it is quite unnecessary for Mr. Thoms to propagate his utterly naive ideas to the point of palpable falsity. It does not always pay to overstate one's case.

One last point: I should be very interested to learn the sources of Mr. Thoms's information on Japan. Can he show quite conclusively that there has been no "alleviation of the basic problems of poverty and unemployment" in that country during the past fifteen years?

"AFRICAN",
Green Point, Cape Town.

Why do we fear?

SIR,—Young ladies and gentlemen, why do we fear? It's high time that we should be politically minded, for the good of us.

Our forefathers fought so many armies and never had fear. Africans, why do we fear, for what is now done is done in peace?

We have been born in this generation of light. Let us see the light in full. Let us get to the political field.

I know all people want equality so, ladies and gentlemen, it's your chance to take part in politics right now. This will be done for the good of us all.

I wonder what will become of Swaziland? Many students seem not to bother about politics, yet it is the key to their freedom. Africans, why do we fear and are so uncertain of our ability?

Let us throw that fear in dust pans.

Youth of Swaziland, be aware that we are living in the world of crisis. Let us fight till we die as Jesus Christ died to set men free, so we should also do so to set free the oppressed Swazis.

H. M. DLAMINI,
Manzini, Swaziland.

Execution is legal murder

SIR,—Eichmann has been found guilty! Still maintains that he only did what he was told to do. One single life to revenge six million lives!

A great part of the legislation is the enforcement of obedience to the state. What will happen if the hangman refuses to do his work?

Whatever one's opinion, execution is legal murder in cold blood.

Young men refusing to be taught killing in an army through using rifle, gun, tank, or hand grenade, are put in prison.

Tails a win for the state, heads you lose.

T. KLOPPENBURG,
Durban.

Attack on Liberal Platform



A tussle for the microphone at Johannesburg Liberal meeting.— See page 3.

PRETORIA DRAMATIC SOCIETY

From "Contact" Correspondent

A NEW show-promoting body has been established in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. It is named The Afro-Cultural and Dramatic Syndicate and was founded in July this year.

Mr. E. J. Mokone, the director, explained to me that the Syndicate is a non-profit making organization. The money collected from shows staged is used for buying stage equipment and musical instruments.

Also the aim of the Syndicate is to encourage local drama and culture, and to help develop the hidden talent among the African people. It has also done a

great service by keeping many youths off the streets and away from tsotsism.

Mr. Mokone also told me that his syndicate is independent. If they meet with success in the future, the syndicate hopes to establish a bursary fund to aid needy Africans.

So far they have staged three plays, the best of which is perhaps "Men and Women", the story of a girl who turned down a good offer of marriage to fall into the arms of a play-boy lover.

In Atteridgeville, where social events are so scarce, the welfare work of the Syndicate is a great blessing.

August 1961, is on in the overseas press now — with a new book by Peter Howard, a play running in London and full page ads in the press. One of these tells how Mr. Vundla, after joining M.R.A., "was elected spokesman for the 600,000 Africans in Johannesburg in their negotiations with the South African government". It reveals what must have been a well-kept secret, since M.R.A. is pledged to "absolute truth": "He is the only African leader who has ever been asked to address members of both parties in the Union Parliament in Cape Town".

THE South African ex-student librarian, Christopher Payi, caught by the Portuguese on his way to Ibadan University, Nigeria, and gaoled in Lisbon, arrived in Nigeria from Lisbon on 4th December. He is believed to have been released through Nigeria having taken up the question of his release at top-level with the Portuguese government.

A friend (and ex-employer) of Christopher Payi is Bryan Hood, already working at Ibadan University. Hood was Cape Town City Librarian until the march of apartheid in once-"liberal" Cape Town caught up with the top-class, non-racial library service Hood had quietly built up. His successor, Mr. Vermeulen, for long a loyal assistant of Dr. T. H. Friis, Nationalist head of the Cape Provincial Library service, takes over on 1st January 1962.

THE CAPE Chamber of Industries has told the Federated Chamber of Industries and the F.C.I. is to tell the new Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Trollip, of the "serious view" taken by C.C.I. of the fact that, in May this year, "for the first time Coloured workers had associated themselves with a stay-away for non-industrial reasons". The C.C.I.'s annual report states that there was an average 25% to 30% stay-away in 52 of 100 Cape industrial concerns which reported. The stay-away varied from 10% to 90%. The end-of-May stay-at-

The Message of Lutuli's Prize

By "DEMOS", a non-White South African

WHITE South Africans have reacted variously to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to ex-Chief Albert Lutuli. For many, as the Rev. Arthur Blaxall pointed out in his fine article, there has been bewilderment that an unknown Native should receive world acclaim. Others have been shocked that a Black agitator should be hailed as an outstanding fighter in the cause of peace. Some have dismissed it with denigration or described it as a political trick to embarrass South Africa's government and to insult the thousands, both pro- and anti-government, who support some form of apartheid.

But there has been an encouragingly large number whose reaction has been different. Many have welcomed this recognition of the fight for a democratic South Africa, many more have approved of it as a gesture of support for the aspirations of non-White South Africans, and an even larger number have been prepared to examine, without prejudice, and in a spirit of genuine inquiry the ideas and utterances of this South African Black man who has been honoured by the world.

These latter have had a chance to discover what Chief Lutuli stands for. His acceptance speech at Oslo is a clear exposition. It reveals him as a bitter critic of the present system of government of the organization of society in South Africa. It reveals him too as an intelligent and reasonable man who has made, and will continue to make, reasonable demands for a South Africa where there will be justice for all. Above all, it has shown him as a man who is determined to work for a change

home failed in its stated objective, but its side-effects, such as on the Coloured people, have yet to be fully felt.

DR. VERWOERD'S letter on the Jews recalled instances of anti-semitism by many Afrikaner nationalists, such as Ds. J. D. Vorster, brother of the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster. Amidst praise of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and condemnation of liberal democracy, he told a student audience of the republic to come: "I seek a new trek — the trek of Jews, Jingoists and of all who will not accept our terms." This was in 1940.

But anti-semitism is not confined to Afrikaners. Anglican private schools, the expensive city and country clubs of the English section manage to exclude all but the few, most "accepted" Jews. Not long ago the anglicized head of an "old Cape family" was persuaded with some difficulty to stop restricting Jews from buying bits of his estate which he was selling off. From early childhood, most English-speaking children absorb a hostile attitude to Jews, which goes largely unchecked.

IN CONTRAST to the mean and stunted South African press coverage of Defence and Aid Fund work (*The Cape Times* gave three paltry inches to the local Cape Town branch's first public meeting early in December), the new British *Timelike* weekly, *Topic*, wrote up D. & A. and its Cape Town secretary, Mrs. Sally Shapiro, over three columns in its eighth issue. With her assistant, Mrs. Linda Ntloko, and a multi-racial committee, "smart brunette" Sally Shapiro is doing a unique job to lighten the heavy burden of hundreds of political victims, with legal aid and family maintenance. It is too much to expect recognition of D. & A. in the South African English press, but like the Black Sash's court and location work, its reward comes from those for whom the White press (always excluding the Port Elizabeth *Evening Post*) does not cater.

in our society — for fundamental change, but, above all, peaceful change.

This then is what Lutuli stands for. But this is not the whole truth. And unless we also understand how Lutuli expects — even demands — this change to come about, we have not got the whole truth. We have not got his message.

Chief Lutuli is determined to see South Africa changed into a democratic country. He is determined that this change should be, if possible, a peaceful change. In these demands most South Africans will be in agreement.

But we must know how he believes this change can come about. And we must ourselves be prepared to assist in working for this change.

He has clearly stated the changes that are demanded. He has also stated clearly how these changes can be brought about.

In his important message to the people of South Africa after he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, he stated it clearly: WE MUST HAVE A NEW NATIONAL CONVENTION.

We must have a national convention representative of the people of South Africa at which a new constitution will be framed for the country which will do away with the present unjust constitution. A constitution in which the laws will dispense justice for all in the framing of which the representatives of the whole population will participate.

This is the message of Lutuli. This is the objective towards which we must all, in some measure, large or small, work.

The movement for a National Convention is already a powerful factor in the political situation. The demand was made at the Convention of the African people at Maritzburg in March. The demand was repeated at the Convention of Coloured People in Malmesbury during July. The demand received support from White and non-White at the Provincial Conferences in Claremont and Port Elizabeth during October.

The movement will grow and should receive the backing of all South Africans.

There is a final consideration. When Chief Lutuli proposed a new National Convention as the peaceful solution to all the complex problems that torture our country, he added this sombre note: "This may well be the last hope for South Africa." If it is not possible to satisfy the demands of the overwhelming majority of our population by peaceful means, these demands will still have to be satisfied. And those who are frustrated may well turn to other means to achieve their goals. The fight for the freedom by indigenous peoples in other parts of Africa has been a bloody one. That it has not been so in South Africa is largely due to the influence of Chief Lutuli. But if we do not accept the peaceful solution he has offered, then the future is grim indeed.

Personal Files

DR. E. G. MALHERBE is the principal of Natal University who staged the showy National Conference on Education in Durban in June 1960. (He is said to have excitedly told a hoaxer who called to ask if it were true that Tommy Steele had been invited: "Ask our public relations man, he's handling that.") Dr. Malherbe has recently spoken out against South Africans who "run away" to self-imposed exile. He has reason to, with 30 vacant posts at Natal University in 1962. And that is not all. Although he is mounting a million-rand building fund campaign, he is going to have to face a heavy overall deficit — with under two million rand to cover 3,800 students. First, because university apartheid lost Natal University 700 students in 1960, 500 in 1961 and will lose it 300 a year — meaning R210,000 in fees and subsidies — from now on. Secondly because Natal has to duplicate facilities for the remaining non-Whites, at huge costs. Thirdly because the government has broken its promise to compensate Natal for loss of revenue over university apartheid. Revealing these figures, a special correspondent to the *London Times*, comments that the non-Whites, for whom the losses are incurred, are themselves being given inferior facilities in the new tribal institutions.

ONE OF THE SHOWPIECES of M.R.A. is Mr. P. Q. Vundla, now lost to the cause of African freedom as he parades his "changed" views to try and hook nibbling M.R.A.-ites among African nationalists. The first splurge of publicity by M.R.A. since the death of its founder, Dr. Frank Buchman, in



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