

MASS OPPOSITION DEVELOPS

contact



IN TRANSKEI

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— see page 4

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



REMEMBER SHARPEVILLE!

During the coming fortnight, on the 21st March, falls the second anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville. That day, more than any other in our recent history, has changed the course of South African history, and things will never again be as they were before that day, the 21st March, 1960. This photograph shows part of the scene at Sharpeville. Lying on the ground is one of the sixty-nine dead, one of those who gave their lives that day for African freedom. (See page two for another photograph taken on that day.) On 21st March this year let us remember our dead. Let us also remember leaders such as Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe of the Pan Africanist Congress and also all other people who are in prison for African freedom.

Photo: Berry.

contact

South Africa's non-racial
fortnightly

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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.

COMMENT

Appeal to Progressives to Re-think

AFTER the general election of 1961, when the Progressive Party won only one seat out of the 160 seats in Parliament, their propagandists told the world: "There is a wave of support flowing towards us."

If that had been true the Progressive Party would have won the recent by-elections in Park Town and Johannesburg North, and would have improved its showing in Green Point, Cape Town.

But it did not. The United Party emerged slightly stronger than it had been six months ago.

We can learn several lessons from these results. Firstly it is clear that there is no tidal wave of support among Whites flowing towards the Progressive Party. On the contrary, it seems as though the brave showing made by the Progressive Party in October, 1961, was a mere flash in the pan. As a result of the setback in these recent by-elections it now seems unlikely that the Progressive Party will ever displace the United Party as the main opposition party in Parliament, let alone win a majority of the seats.

This being so, how do Progressives hope to achieve their ends? Some hope that extra-parliamentary pressures will re-educate the voters, who will thereafter vote Progressive. But through its leader the Progressive Party has specifically renounced all extra-parliamentary activities. Are the Progressives then prepared to abandon all initiative to other movements, and to assume a merely passive role? But to do so is surely to give up any idea of ever gaining power.

Such is the dilemma of the Progressives in purely White politics. Greater difficulties await them in the field of non-White politics where two years have shown that their qualified franchise, which in practice discriminates in favour of the White group, is a guarantee of failure.

Contact earnestly urges the Progressive Party to study the way that thinking has developed in the Liberal Party over the last nine years. Nine years ago the Liberals stood where the Progressives are trying to stand today. Quite simply the logic of events and of South African reality have taught them that on that particular platform there is no abiding

home. The time has passed for "clever" solutions. There is now no time for anything but simplicity and the statement of elemental truths. As a result of nine years' travail the Liberal Party has won its way through to an ideal of tremendous grandeur and strength, the ideal that South Africa can, must and WILL be ruled non-racially, and that in the near future. In addition, the party has worked out concrete plans for implementing its programme: non-violent pressures. These pressures can be internal or they can be external. They are here; they are increasing; and they may well succeed.

And when through such agencies the experiment of apartheid has been brought down, when the first free elec-

tions are brought to all the people of South Africa, can there be much doubt that the Liberal Party platform, of equality, non-racialism, democracy, adult suffrage and economic pragmatism, will win? However imperfectly practised, these are the ideals that have triumphed in all the liberated colonial world, and they are likely to triumph here too. Thus this platform, though seemingly over-idealistic today, is in the near future likely to prove the greatest realism of all.

These are the ideas that Contact commends to the Progressives. Surely through some path such as this the growing number of democrats among the White group will be better able to realize their ideals.

DO YOU REMEMBER?



AT BOPHELONG, near Sharpeville, on the morning of 21st March, 1960, saracens and armed police met peaceful demonstrators against the pass laws. A young man was shot dead for "throwing stones". At Sharpeville 69 died.

Photo: Berry.

Blueprint for the Future

THE LIBERAL PARTY believes that the present South African constitution suffers from two main faults:

1. It grants full political rights only to White South Africans.
2. It does not protect citizens from laws which attack their individual rights.

In order to correct the first of these faults the Liberal Party aims to give the right to vote on the common roll to all adult South Africans. The Party will work to have the idea of democratic government, based on universal suffrage, accepted by the people of South Africa, and to introduce it speedily and peacefully.

To remedy the second fault the Liberal Party will introduce a constitution in which a Bill of Rights, based on the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, will be entrenched.

The Liberal Party supports a policy

1. Liberal Party says 'One Man One Vote'

of universal suffrage for a number of reasons. In the first place it believes that every person has a right to a voice in the election of his government. If a man has no vote the people who make the laws in parliament do not have to worry about how those laws will affect him. If he has a vote they do have to worry, in case they should lose that vote in the next election.

The usual alternative to universal

BLUEPRINTS

Blueprint for the Future outlines officially Liberal Party policy. The first Blueprint discusses constitutional policy. Future Blueprints will deal with other aspects of policy.

suffrage put forward in South Africa is a qualified franchise of one kind or another. It is said that this would ensure that only responsible people voted. The Liberal Party knows from its experience with its own members that there is no way of judging a man's responsibility through any qualification.

Many people in South Africa are both illiterate and poor, through no fault of their own, but are anxious to play their full part in the development of South Africa. Deny such people the vote, and, unless you are prepared to try to suppress them by force, they will soon find other means of making their voice heard. The difference between universal franchise and a qualified franchise in the second half of the 20th century is that universal franchise is what all Africa aspires to, while the qualified franchise can only look back in South Africa on a long history of continuous retreat where the qualifications have been raised every time the White group thought the vote of non-White people was beginning to become effective.

Vote Won't Solve all Problems

But while the Liberal Party supports universal suffrage, it does not believe that merely to give the vote to everyone will solve all South Africa's political

problems. In our country a government elected by a minority of the people has used its powers to attack the rights of those who oppose it. Experience shows that a government elected by a majority of the people can do the same thing. Liberalism regards the rights of every individual as of the greatest importance. It does not recognise the right of any government, whether it represents a majority or a minority, to attack those rights. Therefore the rights which affect a person most closely, such as that to marry whom he pleases, to do the work of his choice, to live where he likes, to educate his children and so on, will be contained in a Bill of Rights. No government will be able to interfere with these rights. They will be protected by the courts which will have to see that no law passed by parliament affects them. If any law is found to do so the courts will immediately declare it unlawful. Independence of the courts from government interference will be guaranteed, so that they may carry out this duty without fear.

In order further to limit the powers of the central government the present provincial system will be retained. If there is good reason, necessary towards the protection of liberal principles, additional powers will be extended to the provinces.

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

British High Commission gives permit but

Federal S.B. Arrest Pondo Refugee

THE recent dramatic adventures of a former Cape Town article clerk, Mr. Bransby Jordan, indicate that the Security Police in the Federation are closely tied up with the South African Security Branch, while the British, in Bechuanaland and elsewhere, stand aloof. Welensky's men seem prepared to return a political refugee to South Africa in defiance of civilized usages and the right to asylum, in the knowledge that he is returning to indefinite imprisonment in a Pondoland gaol (where he can be kept indefinitely incommunicado and without being charged). But the British are prepared to receive the same man in Bechuanaland and to give him a Residence Permit.

Mr. Jordan, a Pondo, is a nephew of Dr. A. C. Jordan who, it will be remembered, in order to take up an appointment in America recently, had to leave South Africa without a passport, the government having refused to give him one.

Mr. Bransby Jordan left Cape Town about a year ago for Bechuanaland after being active in Pondoland and being threatened by the South African Police. After suffering many hardships and much poverty Mr. Jordan managed to get himself a job with the Salisbury Secondary School in Southern Rhodesia. Let us hear him tell his own story in his own words.

Mr. Jordan's Story

I LEFT SEROWE on 4th December for Southern Rhodesia. I had been offered a post at the Salisbury African Secondary School, Salisbury. I took my letter of appointment to the (Southern Rhodesian) Immigration Office on 3rd January and after answering a few questions as to where I was born I was told to return on 19th January for a Temporary Residential Permit.

At 9.30 a.m. on 19th January I called at the Immigration Office and was told to wait till about 10 o'clock. At 10 the Deputy Immigration Officer and another

person told me they had had information from Pretoria that I was wanted in South Africa. I insisted that, if I was to be deported, they send me back to the B.P., but they said that the South African government had told them through its ambassador in Salisbury that they wanted me back in South Africa in connection with my political doings.

I was immediately arrested and detained pending my deportation to South Africa. I was kept in the cells till 1.30 p.m. The Security Police showed me a 4-page file from Pretoria in which, among other things, it was alleged that I had agitated against Bantu Education in the Transkei, that I had associated myself with the activities of "the Liberal Party — an anti-White multi-racial organization", etc., etc.

FROM THE SALISBURY Police Station I was driven in handcuffs by the Immigration Officers and a policeman to the Salisbury Airport. I was not allowed a second to see anybody or to collect my personal belongings at Highfields where I was staying with George Silundika of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu). No amount of pleading with them would convince them that I needed at least one other shirt and a pullover for the trip to Pondoland where I was to be taken. At 3 p.m. the Viscount aeroplane left Salisbury for Jan Smuts Airport. Verwoerd had paid £21 for a first-class single ticket for me. (I still have it in my possession!) At Jan Smuts the pilot handed me over to the Immigration Officer at 5 p.m. the same day. The Immigration Officer told me that the Security Branch had been expecting me to arrive only on the 6.25 from Nairobi. I would therefore have to be looked after by the airport Security men. After a chat I told them I was hungry and had had nothing to eat the whole day. Would they be kind enough to get me some food? They were very nice to me and I was very

nice to them. The two of them left me to go and buy some food for me. Their departure was a godsend.

Bid for Freedom

I thought fast and made a bid for freedom. I jumped into a train at Isando (the nearest station to the airport) and went to Park Station (the central station in Johannesburg). There I met a former Fort Hare colleague who chucked me into a taxi. In a minute we were off to a suburb where I hid till Wednesday (7th February). I then boarded a train.

[Mr. Jordan describes how he reached safety in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. He is now in Lobatsi.]

It was a dramatic escape, boy. They'll never get me as long as I live having missed me this time. I am once again a free man. I have been granted a year's Residential Permit by the Assistant District Commissioner whom I knew at Cape Town University. How wonderful!

COMMENT

SOME INTERESTING facts emerge from the above narrative.

(1) Welensky's police, despite all civilized usage to the contrary, pitilessly forced a political refugee from apartheid to return in handcuffs to the country from which he had fled.

(2) The refugee was being sent to Pondoland, where the rule of law has been abrogated by Proclamation R 400.



WELENSKY

That means that he could have been held indefinitely in gaol without being charged and without seeing friends and lawyers. It was to this that Welensky's police were returning him.

(3) There is no indication that Mr. Jordan was extradited in accordance with the law for a specified crime. Rather it appears that he was deported as being "undesirable" from the Federation. A civilized government would have deported him (if deportation had been necessary) to the country from which he had come, i.e. the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Welensky's police acted otherwise.

(4) The British-controlled Bechuanaland Protectorate emerges with honour from this sordid story of collusion. Not only did the Protectorate receive Mr. Jordan a year ago, despite the fact that he had fled from a powerful neighbour, but it again received him during February and gave him a year's permit to stay.

(5) The South African Police, in order no doubt to enlist Federal co-operation, defamed the non-racial Liberal Party by describing it as "anti-White".

Transkei Regulations Hinder Liberal Party Branches

From "Contact" Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG: Government officials in Kokstad and Matatiele have made it impossible for the Liberal Party branches in these two towns to function normally. The annual general meeting of the members of the Matatiele branch was to be on Friday, 16th February, that of the Kokstad branch on Thursday, 22nd February.

Permission for these meetings has been withdrawn or refused by the respective magistrates.

In a statement to *Contact*, Dr. Hans Meidner, Natal Provincial Chairman of the party said: "The Natal Division of the Liberal Party wishes it to be known that the normal and legal functioning of its branches in Kokstad and Matatiele have been made impossible by the refusal of the magistrates in these towns to grant permission for the annual general meetings to take place.

"This permission has to be sought in terms of regulations in force in the Transkei which apply to all meetings where there are more than ten African present.

Bantustans, Security Police

"It is interesting to note that in Matatiele the permission was at first granted, subject to the conditions that Bantustans were not to be discussed and that the Security Police should be allowed to attend this membership meeting."

Dr. Meidner said that the Liberal Party had accepted these conditions, but that the permission for this meeting was later revoked.

He added: "In view of the fact that the members of the Liberal Party in the Transkei, both Black and White, are intimately involved with the proposals by the government for the Transkei, these refusals to allow democratic political party membership meetings show just how hollow the government's proposals for political freedom for the Transkei are."

URBAN BANTU COUNCILS NOT FOR PRETORIA

from "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Advisory board members in Pretoria are being asked by their followers what their attitude is to the establishment of Urban Bantu Councils. This follows the acceptance of the U.B.C. by Mr. James Mpanza, Advisory Board leader in Orlando, Johannesburg.

Although the Pretoria City Council has been trying to persuade boardmen in the Pretoria townships to accept the new scheme they have not had much success.

Boardmen in Vlakfontein, for example, are not interested in the scheme, which would turn the Advisory Board into a council of tribal representatives.

In an interview, Atteridgeville Board leader, Mr. B. H. Mngadi, told me that his Board does not want the U.B.C., nor will it ask for it.

The authorities have presented the Urban Bantu Councils to the

people as "improved Advisory Boards" through which the people should voice their grievances. But the Councils will not have powers to prevent prosecutions for non-payment of rent, or to put a stop to pass raids and raids for permits.

"Group Areas Act must be Torn Up"

From "Contact" Correspondent
PIETERMARITZBURG: The recent announcement of the resignation from the Group Areas Board of Dr. J. F. J. van Rensburg was welcomed by the Liberal Party of South Africa.

In a statement to *Contact*, the national chairman of the party, Mr. Peter Brown said: "One of the reasons for Dr. Van Rensburg's resignation is said to be the cold-blooded implementation of the Group Areas Act.

"Since the Act was passed, the

Liberal Party has consistently maintained that such an Act cannot possibly be implemented in any other manner."

"Nothing," said Mr. Brown, "could underline the correctness of this conclusion better than this resignation.

"If one of the top officials responsible for the application of the Group Areas Act finds it impossible to administer this law justly, it is unlikely that anyone else can."

Mr. Brown said that there was only one way in which to deal with the Act, and "that is to tear it up".

MASS OPPOSITION DEVELOPS IN TRANSKEI

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Mass opposition to Dr. Verwoerd's plans for the Transkei showed itself at a big meeting held at Bumbane, the Tembu "Great Place" on 24th February. There were eight hundred men present, representing the 450,000 Tembus, the largest tribe in the territory.

As is known, the government proposes that a deputation of eleven Transkei leaders should go to Cape Town with the "Matanzima" constitution, a government-drafted plan that would entrench in power the pro-government party of

chiefs and headmen. The meeting protested against this plan, and demanded that the Tembu representatives withdraw from this deputation.

Scorn for "Self-government"

Pouring scorn on Dr. Verwoerd's offer of "self-government" to the Transkei, one speaker asked Headman M. Sangoni, the pro-government deputy to Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, the Paramount Chief of the Tembus, why the six oxen presented by the government to the people of the Transkei had been killed at the staged celebrations in Umtata. Headman Sangoni said that he had been told not to discuss that question with the people.

What angered the meeting was the way in which the new constitution had been discussed behind closed doors in the Recess Committee. One speaker demanded a report from the Tembu members of the Recess Committee on what had happened in the committee. Refusing this demand Headman Sangoni referred the questioner to the press reports of what had happened there.

"Answer the People"

At this stage the meeting became rowdy, and the people booed Sangoni and called on him to resign his position as deputy to the Chief. At this stage too the Chief ordered his deputy to answer the people and not to refer them to newspapers.

As a result of this meeting a letter was written to the Commissioner-General, Mr. Hans Abraham, calling for the whole question of the constitution to be discussed by the nation, publicly, before any draft is presented to the government.

Unless this is done, the people say, the Tembu representatives on the deputation should withdraw and have nothing to do with the new constitution.

Preparing New Basutoland Constitution

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The next phase in Basutoland's constitutional development opened in Maseru on 26th February when the Constitutional Commission set up by the Legislative Council held its first plenary meeting.

The chairman is Mr. Walter Stanford (Speaker of the Legislature) and there are eight members representing various interests and parties, and two members representing the Basutoland Government.

At this first meeting a Steering Committee was elected. It consists of the following: Messrs. B. M. Khaketla, J. T. Mapetla, Ntsu Mokhehle, and Leabua Jonathan. This steering committee met two days later to draw up a working time-table.

Observers expect that the Commission will call in experts for advice when it has completed its first task: the recommendations for the working of the present constitution.

GAME CROPPING FOR BECHUANALAND?

ONE of the most important ideas in the field of wild-life conservation is being considered by the Bechuanaland authorities.

It is the idea of "game cropping", that is to say the idea of allowing wild animals and cattle to live side by side and to use the game in an organized manner for meat.

U.N. Helps

The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization is doing what it can to launch the idea in Africa. As part of their plan an Englishman and an American have just begun an extensive African tour, which is to include the Bechuanaland Protectorate, to investigate the wild-life situation for the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

They are Mr. Peter Hill, who from 1948 to 1951 was with the Overseas Food Corporation at Urambo, in Tanganyika, and has since been working on farming projects in the Congo and in Ghana, and an American zoologist, Mr. Thane Riney.

(—B.P. Information Branch)

BASUTOLAND REFUGEES TOLD CONDITIONS



South African refugees in Basutoland listen as a police officer warns them not to take part in politics in Basutoland and to cease influencing South African politics. From left to right: Mrs. M. Seperepere, Mr. M. Seperepere, Mr. N. Molaoa, Mr. E. Ntloedibe, Mrs. E. Mafekeng, Mr. A. Masilo and Mr. J. Kumalo.

REFUGEES MAY STAY... ON CONDITIONS

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Recently the political refugees in Basutoland have had to justify before the authorities their claim to be allowed to stay in the territory. The police raided the houses of some, while others were called on to appear before the Residence Appeal Board to "show cause why they should not be declared prohibited entrants".

Among the latter were Mrs. E. Mafekeng, Mr. N. Molaoa, Mr. J. Kumalo, Mr. M. Seperepere and Chief A. Lande (from Pondoland).

In the cases of Messrs. J. Kumalo, M. Seperepere and Chief Lande their temporary permits were extended for a further two years—subject to quarterly review—depending on the behaviour of the holders.

Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng's permanent Residence Permit, however, was taken and cancelled and she may be issued with a temporary permit subject to certain conditions. She was told by the

Appeal Board that she would be advised later what her position would be in future. Mrs. Mafekeng had signed a document in which she had promised not to take an active part in politics nor work in such a way as to influence the politics of the Republic of South Africa. It was because she defied this that her permanent permit for residence was withdrawn.

The Appeal Board reserved judgment in Mr. Molaoa's case.

Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, in a statement referring to the treatment of the refugees by the police and the Basutoland Government said: "We of the B.C.P. are in duty bound to protect and to help the refugees to the best of our meagre means. Make no mistake, we, of the B.C.P. shall not associate ourselves with the imperialist British in their acts to support the apartheid Republic of South Africa against you. But you and ourselves must co-operate genuinely in the service of Africa."

To Fight an Occ



More than at any time since 1945 White South Africa is talking war and learning to fight. Mr. J. J. Fouché, Minister of Defence, said on 17th March 1961: "South Africa must prepare for internal trouble in the same way as the major powers are continually preparing for war." "Dawie", Nationalism's top columnist, writing in "Die Burger" on 3rd March, urged South Africa (meaning White supremacists) to be ready to defend the defensible parts of the country against an invading force or an army of occupation. Women and men must arm and fight with the

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FREEDOM CALL FOR MOÇAMBIQUE

"THE SONS OF MOÇAMBIQUE" has issued a leaflet in which it condemns the Portuguese government of Moçambique, deploring recent increases in taxation, and calls for democratic rights for all Moçambiquans.

The leaflet demands for the people of Moçambique:

Political rights—one man one vote
Economic equality and work for all
Social privileges and respect for all
Universal education
Equality before the law and
Justice for all.

Govt.'s "Bantustan" Money for Urban Housing

"GOVERNMENT TO SPEND R114 MILLION ON BANTU HOMELANDS IN FIVE YEARS": thus runs a banner headline in the official *Fortnightly Digest* (19th February). It introduces an article praising De Wet Nel's development plans for his "Bantustans".

Like much else in the Bantustan scheme this development plan is a

swindle. For, *Contact* has discovered, most of the R114 million is not to be spent on the Bantu homelands at all. It is, on the contrary, to be spent on urban housing for Africans. By a propaganda subterfuge this housing is to be placed on reserves that happen to be somewhere near the cities, and can therefore technically be called "housing in the reserves", while in truth it is housing for city dwellers.

New townships for Durban are being built on the Umlazi Mission Reserve;

for East London at Potsdam; for Pietermaritzburg at Edendale in the Swartkops Reserve; at Kingwilliamstown in the Ciskei; for Pretoria at Uitvalgrond, in a reserve twenty miles out of Pretoria.

Too Little to Raise Living Standards

Out of the total R114 million no less than R77 million is to be spent on housing, leaving a miserable R37 million for all other forms of investment combined, for all the reserves, for five years. And, when soil and water conservation schemes are put on one side, very little is left for investment that will actually raise anyone's standard of living.

Belong to Cities

The Nationalist government shouts out aloud that the purpose of its Bantustan policy is to move Africans out of the cities (which are supposed on their crazy theories to be "White") back into the reserves. Yet most of the money voted for this five-year Bantustan plan is to be used on building houses for Africans who belong to the cities.

If a private business man floating a new company were to try to mislead investors the way Nel has tried to mislead the public, he would soon be in the dock, charged with fraud. Fortunately for Nel he does not yet have to fear this fate.

BRITAIN REJECTS SWAZILAND CONSTITUTIONAL REPORT

Maudling Says "Think Again"

By "Contact" Staff

THE British government has rejected the proposals for a new constitution which the "Constitutional Committee" in Swaziland put forward last year.

This is the real meaning of the "Special Dispatch" dated 14th February from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Reginald Maudling, which forms an appendix to a booklet* just published by the Swaziland government. An important section of the South African press misunderstood the dispatch, and headlined the proposals as if they were likely to be accepted.

But Mr. Maudling's rejection, which is written in the tentative style of British understatement, is unmistakable.

The Constitutional Committee was formed as a result of the initiative of the Ngwenyama, Paramount Chief Sobhuza, and was chaired by the Resident Commissioner, Mr. B. A. Marwick.

At an early stage the Swaziland Progressive Party left the Committee, as its president, Mr. J. J. Nquku, was suspended and his two supporters left in sympathy with him. The Progressive Party, though it showed a willingness to compromise, stood out for common-roll elections, and opposed the proposals of the Paramount Chief and Mr. Todd

(leader of the settlers) for "traditional" Swazi elections for the Swazi half of the Legislative Council, and adult suffrage for the other, White half.

Let us look at the more important recommendations of the Committee, and at Mr. Maudling's reaction to them.

Maudling's Reactions

(1) The Report recommends that the Resident Commissioner should be changed into a governor, responsible to London instead of at present to the High Commissioner in Pretoria. Mr. Maudling says: "At present I consider the existing arrangements are the most suitable for the efficient discharge of public business."

(2) The Report recommended that official (civil service) members of the new Legislative Council should not have a vote. But Mr. Maudling says: "The arguments adduced in the Committee's report are ill founded . . . In the circumstances I do not feel able to accept this recommendation."

(3) The Report recommended that matters affecting Swazi law and custom, Swazi land and minerals, and institutions, should be the responsibility solely of the Paramount Chief. But Mr. Maudling says: "I do not want

the Swazi to regard the proposed Legislative Council as a body in some way alien to . . . their own traditions. (To separate the subjects mentioned from the new Legislative Council) would be to introduce a dyarchical element . . . whereas in my view it is in the interest of Swaziland that it should develop a unitary system of government . . ."

(4) About the key question of elections Mr. Maudling was very reserved, and asked for further details.

When the right moment comes it is hoped that new recommendations, allowing for a more democratic constitution, will be drawn up.

* Proposals for a Swaziland Constitution, Swaziland Government, Mbabane, 50c, 1962.

Ganyile Case: Explanation

February 23, 1962.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 27th January 1962 addressed to Dr. A. E. Ellis Medico-Legal Department of this Institute has been handed to me for reply.

The following are the facts of the matter:

1. A parcel was despatched to the Institute by an official of the Basutoland Police on 21st September 1961. This parcel was received at the Institute on 25th September 1961.

2. We wrote to the police on 26th September asking for further information.

3. A letter dated 30th September 1961 from the Basutoland Police was received by us on 5th October 1961 giving the relevant information.

4. The exhibit and correspondence was handed to Dr. Ellis on the 6th October 1961.

Thus when you discussed this matter with Dr. Ellis on the 5th October, she was unaware of the fact that a parcel had been received from the Basutoland Authorities and the information she gave you at the time was therefore, from her point of view, correct.

Yours faithfully,

J. H. S. GEAR,
Director.

We unreservedly accept the facts contained in this letter, without necessarily agreeing with the comment contained in its last paragraph. These facts completely clear the Basutoland authorities on the charge of untruth. We therefore unreservedly withdraw this charge and apologize to Mr. Lee and such other officers as may have been affected.

ON 19th October, 1961, *Contact* published an indictment of Britain for avoiding her responsibilities in the Ganyile case. *Contact* stands by the greater part of this indictment, but information has now become available which compels us to withdraw part of it.

On 5th October the editor visited the medico-legal department of the South African Institute of Medical Research in Johannesburg, and was told by the officer in charge of this department that no bloodstains had been received at the Institute from Basutoland for analysis during the preceding three weeks. The officer produced the books in which the receipt of articles is recorded to show that no such stains had been received at the Institute. She indicated that if such stains had been received at the Institute they would have been recorded in the books which she had.

The information conflicted with what the editor had been told by Mr. B. K. Lee, the officer in charge of investigation in Basutoland, who had said that a bloodstained blanket had been sent to the institute for analysis. As a result *Contact* said: "What Mr. Lee said was thus untrue unless it can be shown that the bloodstains had been dispatched from Basutoland, but had gone astray along the route to the Institute." Unfortunately the qualifying words above were omitted in the sub-headline which read: "On this point the British authorities have told untruths."

The editor has now received the following letter from Dr. J. H. S. Gear, Director of the South African Institute for Medical Research:

Occupying Force?



determination of the Jews in Israel so that when the time comes they will constitute a "godsonmoontlike proposisie" (a god-impossible proposition) for any enemies.

Here we see Mrs. A. C. van der Byl (left) and Mrs. B. Campbell-Grant (right) of the Rondebosch (Cape) Ladies' Pistol Club taking "Dawie's" advice.

And these two young men (centre) are seen at a bayonet practice, part of their military training at Potchefstroom (Transvaal).

Liberal Party urge

Reject Matanzima Constitution

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: About 1,000 people gathered on the Grand Parade, Cape Town, to hear Liberal Party speakers attack the Government's Transkei proposals. At the end of the meeting the vast majority of those present raised their hands in a vote calling for the end of the state of emergency in the Transkei and for the return home of all those who have been deported or gaoled under Proclamation 400 (1960).

The first speaker was Mr. Harold Head, a young member of the Liberal Party, who gave his reasons for joining it: he declared that only the Liberal Party could save South Africa from racial domination or communist authoritarianism, and allow the flourishing of a truly non-racial democracy.

The main speaker was Mr. Randolph Vigne, national deputy-chairman of the party, who was sent to the Transkei by the party during January and was there when the government announced "self-government" for the territory.

Mr. Vigne gave a detailed account of events leading up to the government's announcement and told of the way it had been received in the Transkei itself. The speech was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause when he pointed out, with many examples to illustrate his argument, that the government's plans were a "gigantic trick".

After outlining the poverty of the Transkei, Mr. Vigne declared: "What the Transkei really needs is education, money, jobs, food—which can only be got through real political rights."

Explaining the Liberal Party's attitude to the Transkei plan, he said: "The Liberal Party is not afraid of independence, provided it is a stepping stone to freedom for the whole of South Africa." But it could only become that if the Transkei got a fully democratic

constitution, and became completely independent.

"What can we do about it?" he asked. "We can do several things:

- Don't fall for the big lie
- Send word back to the Transkei and other reserves that the government's scheme is hated and rejected
- When a person goes back to the Transkei, he must take politics with him
- Bring pressure to bear on the chiefs to reject the scheme entirely or to support the demand for full independence leading to freedom for the whole of South Africa.

"We must fight for one country, with all men equal and free."

Other speakers were Messrs. Ben Cawe and A. M. Dlokweni. Chairman



DLOKWENI and VIGNE

was Mr. Peter Hjul.

The following resolution was adopted:

- "This meeting of citizens of Cape Town sends greetings to its brothers and sisters in the Transkeian Territories and urges them to oppose in every peaceful

way the Matanzima 'self-government' constitution which the government aims to foist upon them.

● "Realizing how the people of the Transkei are prevented from exercising any democratic rights whatsoever by the so-called 'Emergency Regulations' (Proclamation 400 of 1960), the meeting calls on the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, to withdraw this proclamation, to release from gaol all who are detained under it, and to return to their homes all who are deported under it.

● "Finally, this meeting reaffirms that there can be no self-government in South Africa that is not exercised non-racially by all the people of South Africa, for all the people of South Africa."

MICHAEL SCOTT TO LEAD FREEDOM MARCH INTO N. RHODESIA

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Plans are now being finalized here for a mass protest march into Northern Rhodesia. The march will be led by the Rev. Michael Scott and its purpose is to force the British government into accepting the demands made by Northern Rhodesians for freedom and independence.

The proposed march has the solid backing of the Tanganyika government and of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union (Tanu), led by former prime minister Julius Nyerere.

The decision to hold the march was announced here after the president of

the Northern Rhodesian United National Independence Party, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, had conferred with the Tanganyikan prime minister Mr. Rashidi Kawawa and with Dr. Nyerere.

A statement released to the press and signed by Mr. Kawawa and Mr. Kaunda said that in the light of the grave struggle for freedom in Africa, "we welcome and encourage the generous support offered by the World Peace Brigade in response to our appeal for co-operation from men of goodwill throughout the world.

"We are particularly heartened that a group whose members have engaged in positive action on so many countries should add their experience to our own long efforts to achieve freedom in Africa through non-violent resistance and a direct economic action.

"In particular we are convinced that such action applied now in Northern Rhodesia may yet prove to be the key to the liberation of Central and Southern Africa."

The march will be led by Rev. Michael Scott and the American sit-in leader, Bayard Rustin, both of whom have done much in the cause of freedom through non-violent action.

The march, once it has crossed the Tanganyika/Rhodesia border, will go on until the marchers are shot at, arrested or stopped.

No date has yet been announced for the march.



SCOTT

Personal Files

By Jacob Bam

MONTHS before Dr. Verwoerd's announcement of apartheid-style "self-government" for the Transkei, propaganda was being circulated overseas in preparation for it. The S.A. Information Service's glossy *South African Scope*, for instance, told American readers about the Transkei chiefs' requests for the next stage of "separate development". It now looks as if similar softening-up may be taking place for the next surprise announcement, this time perhaps Ovamboland, Kaokoveld - Ovamboland - Okavangoland are to come together as a new "Bantu Homeland" along the risky South West Africa-Angola frontier. This area has no industries, no modern towns, appallingly low educational standards. The "poor Herero" of the Kaokoveld, the Ovambo and the Okavango tribes are very diverse in language and culture ("an ethnic unit" according to Mr. J. G. van der Wath, deputy minister for South West African affairs). Most educated Ovambo are patriotic South West Africans, who find the ignorant, often simple-minded chiefs impossible to hold to promises of less slavish collaboration with the South African government. Chief Oshono Shilmi of the Onganjeri; for instance, has asked the Bantu Affairs Commis-

sioner at Ondangwa to "ask the government to arm my people so that they can do the same as Tshombe and defend themselves against U.N.O. . . . if they don't want to stay away we must shoot". Of the Government's "self-government" step to the Transkei Chief Shilmi said he believed the government would grant Ovamboland self-government, with the Republic as guardian "and nobody else". Mr. Van der Wath replied that "the government would not stand in their way if they wished to govern themselves".

THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOUNDATION has brought very few prominent people to South Africa so far. Lord Montgomery (twice), Lord Birdwood (who died shortly after returning to England), a Tory backbencher M.P., Mr. S. J. McAdden, and a trio of Greek newspapermen seem the full list. Some have praised "what is being done for the Bantu" (McAdden). Some have plugged White unity: "South Africa would be able to present a better front to the world if the Whites united", said McAdden the politician tactfully. Lord Montgomery the soldier simply thought it was necessary against the Blacks, or "in the face of the up-

surge of vocal Black opinion in Africa" as the *Natal Daily News* watered down his views in a favourable report.

The Greek visitors were handed a written invitation to meet Black and White Liberals in Cape Town, to hear "the other side". They did not accept the invitation. In Cape Town, Lord Montgomery told businessmen: "I toured thousands of miles in China and saw millions of Chinese. I did not see a single case of malnutrition". (He described Chinese men he saw in a village bath-house as "lean and fit".) In spite of a three-day tour of the Transkei, it is not expected that Lord Montgomery saw a single case of malnutrition in South Africa either.

FIRST fruits of Professor D. V. Cowen's new law post at Chicago University have been a "symposium on Federalism in the new nations with special reference to Africa", of which he was chairman. Visiting speakers from Africa were Gabriel D'Arboussier (Senegal), Adv. H. W. Chitepo (S. Rhodesia), Dr. T. O. Elias (Nigeria, attorney-general), Kwamena Bentsi-Entchill (Ghana), and Dr. J. Gikonyo Kiano (Kenya). Professor L. M. Thompson, ex-Cape Town, came from California. Among the papers were groups dealing with Federalism in Central, ex-British West, French-speaking and East, but not Southern, Africa. Other themes were the relationship of Federalism with economic growth, tax-power, international law, and with the protection of human rights.

The Strange Man from Rotary

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The Rotary Club, a businessmen's club that engages in charitable work, sent a speaker to address a meeting called by the Pretoria Coloured Welfare Organization to put forward plans to build an Old Age Home for Coloured people at Eersterus. He was Mr. A. Snyman, who stood as Nationalist candidate in the Rissik constituency in the 1959 Provincial elections.

He addressed the meeting which was held in the Eersterus Community Hall and after his talk a few questions were asked: When had the Organization's committee been elected, and by whom? What was the Organization's welfare number? What would happen to the old age home and the money if Coloured people were forced to leave Eersterus under the Group Areas Act?

Mr. Snyman, who was not chairman of the meeting, answered some questions abruptly and refused to answer others, saying, "This is not a political meeting." When a man persisted with his question about Group Areas Mr. Snyman told him "to shut up and sit down".

People are asking whether this is the sort of representative Rotary usually sends along, and whether it is common practice for such a representative to take over a meeting.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

Teacher victimized

SIR.—Our African teachers are living under a dark cloud of fear and insecurity, our children are failing their examinations.

Recently Mr. K. L. Ntlabati, a well known teacher and principal of the Newell High School was dismissed after years of faithful service.

If Mr. Ntlabati has done any wrong it is not only fair but also proper that he should be dismissed. But strangely enough, no reason was given, he has no one to appeal to.

That nobody seems to know the cause of his dismissal leaves us with the only answer—that Mr. Ntlabati was VICTIMIZED.

Am I wrong? If so let the authorities give reasons and we will all know why he was dismissed.

It is high time the Bantu Education company stopped its agitation against our African teachers.



LEO MAKANA,
Port Elizabeth.

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Have you thought of becoming an agent selling "Contact"? You spread the word of freedom and earn good commission. Write and ask for details to The Manager, P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town
- Write and give us your views on political developments in your area and
- Please keep your letters short and
- Remember that there is a prize — "Contact" free for a year — for the writer of the best letter each fortnight

after the Germans had left it, the British government handed Caprivi to a brutal tribe. These are the people calling themselves Afrikaners. The words they use of the inhabitants of Caprivi are ONSE HONDE (our dogs). The time is coming when a man will think of what he gave to his dog!

The Union government does not like to bring secondary schools, training schools and other courses to help Caprivi to develop its younger generation. They are trying to blind Caprivi with a black cloth, but it will be in vain.

H. M. LINYAMAKUTEMA,
Caprivi.

PRIZE LETTER

WHAT DO WE FEAR?

YOUNG LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, why do we fear? It's high time that we became politically minded for our own good. Our forefathers fought many armies and never had fear.

We have been born in this generation of light. Let us see the freedom and light in full. Let us get into the political field. I know all people want equality, so my brothers and sisters, what do we fear? South West Africa is our land! It's your chance to take part in politics right now. This will be for the good of us all. I wonder what will become of Ovamboland? Many students seem not to bother about politics, yet it is the key to their freedom. Youth of Ovamboland, be aware that we are living in a world of crisis. Let us fight till we die like our chief M. D. Ndemufajo who refused to co-operate with the Union government.

We appeal to the whole world to work for peace and freedom.

J. S. ELIAS,
South West Africa.

All equal

SIR.—We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I believe that the time has come for the rapists and thieves to leave our mother Africa in peace: I mean all the foreigners in Africa who raped or took Africa from our ancestors during the dark ages. We want it back.

A. MOFAMMERE,
Maseru.

Is Christianity religion of oppression?

SIR.—The Christian religion teaches us that in the eyes of God all men are equal, when in fact in the eyes of Christians men are not all equal. I fail to understand why it is that Christianity, the religion of equality and liberty, now tends to be the religion of oppression, exploitation and discrimination.

We are often told by our White Christian apartheidists that they were sent to this part of the continent by the "Almighty" to preach the gospel and civilize the black man.

Thinking Africans have no reason to accept a religion that is designed to keep them in chains while the bearers of that same religion enjoy untold privileges, having stolen from the black "barbarians" their land and their freedom.

C. MLOKOTHI,
P 17a, Nyanga, Cape.

"Let us not rust unburnished"

SIR.—It is my privilege to say a few words to the members of the S.P.P. as one of them.

It is strange enough that we South African people have many boundaries where we are not allowed to go yet we were born here. Foreigners have deprived us of all our lawful rights.

It is true that many of our people are working hard to raise our nation but at the same time there are those who are working hard to pull it down.

There are people who did not come to help here in Swaziland yet they pretend to be helping. I refer to the Portuguese gentlemen who are having horrible commerce with our young women.

Surely it is true that Swazis have no liberty wherever they go; but let us all work hard and pray to God who promised us that if we pray to Him, He will answer all our prayers and show us many hidden treasures.

Let us all shine in use not to rust unburnished and sit on our weapon and fight until we win the prize of peace.

BERNARD F. MAZIBUKO,
Manzini.

BANTU EDUCATION AND SLAVERY IN S.W.A.

SIR.—I would like to inform all my dear Africans that the threatening apartheid policy of Verwoerd and his boys is a false policy.

Even the Afrikaners themselves know that it is a false policy. The reason that they have put forward this policy and created Bantu Education is this:

1. They know that by means of Bantu Education they can prevent the Africans of South and South West Africa from being up-to-date
2. they think that Africans trained under Bantu Education will not be active politically because they will not know what is happening in the rest of the world
3. they want to enslave the Africans by keeping them away from knowing those things which will lead to independence.

Verwoerd is afraid that if he lets the Africans have good education and have equal rights with him, they will soon want to rule their country, South Africa.

S. S. S.,
Ovamboland.

SIR.—I am a young man under 21 years of age from South West Africa. I was born in Ovamboland. I am a member of the South West

Liberal Party fights Imperialism!

SIR.—In *Contact* (8th February), Mr. C. R. Madladeni states among other things that the Liberal Party is fighting for a non-racial democracy and that it is against all forms of totalitarianism except Imperialism. Where does he get this piece of news from? Let me state categorically that the Liberal Party is fighting ALL forms of totalitarianism, Imperialism included!

And let Mr. Madladeni not run away with the idea that the membership of the Liberal Party is composed entirely of businessmen. If he took the trouble to find out he would discover that the party is made up of members who come from all walks of life—by members who accept a non-racial democracy to be the answer to the problems facing the country.

Mr. Madladeni is also labouring under a misconception when he states that we were suffering even when the Liberals were ruling before the Nationalist Party came into power. Exactly when was the Liberal Party, as at present constituted, the government of the country?

There is no doubt that the Liberal Party is the only active political party that has the answer to most of the thorny problems that beset the country.

DR. E. CASSIM,
Edendale, Natal.

Points from Letters

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT vacillates and changes its principles over split seconds like an automatic traffic robot. Such men cannot be relied upon by the oppressed masses of Africa. They are politically immoral and will not stand the test of time ahead of us.

W. K. RANGAKA,
Moroka, Johannesburg.

LET'S DO SOMETHING, youth of Africa, to provide ourselves with social facilities which will enable us to live decently as human beings. Each and every one of us is responsible for developing a higher standard of living in our new, free, independent Africa.

FREEDOM FIGHTER,
Holy Cross, E. Pondoland.

"We hate nobody"

SIR.—Unity must be our motto so that we can get the power to break the chains of racialism, imperialism and colonialism.

We must achieve African unity, African nationality and African freedom.

We do not want rulers like Dr. Verwoerd, Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Salazar who suppress us. We will fight with our brothers in Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa until freedom is won.

We hate nobody but evil.
Long live African unity.

T. J.,
Keetmanshoop, S.W.A.

Hereroes in Bechuanaland

SIR.—We are of a clan of Hereroes who left our home in South West Africa in 1904 and arrived in Bechuanaland in 1905 due to the bondage brought by Germans to South West Africa. We were welcomed here in Bechuanaland. But now, as we see the squabbles, enmity, apartheid and gaol in Bechuanaland we want to say that we are not going to pay taxes or maintain the Bechuanaland government.

The reason for this is that we are debarred rights and not allowed to do anything in Bechuanaland.

We have been paying taxes since 1905 and our money has helped to develop this country because we have no country of our own to develop, and we hoped that the British government would help us, but we never see the help.



KAMUE TJOZONGORO,
Swanu President,
Ngamiland.

Bad rule in Caprivi strip

SIR.—May I drop down my tears on this sheet of paper on behalf of CAPRIVIANS! This is the smallest part of Africa I have experienced yet.

This island or strip I should say was under the control of Germany many years back. As things went on changing



F. H. KANIME,
P.O. Box 2603, Dar es Salaam.

DEPORTED FROM SOUTH AFRICA BUT

WELCOME IN A FREE COUNTRY

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Forty-three Tanganyikans returned to their home country last week after many years in South Africa. They had been expelled from the latter country by the government. Some brought with them South African wives. They have returned to a country which has become independent since they went away.

They were warmly welcomed to Tanganyika by Mr. Oscar Kambona the Home Minister. He declared:

"We believe that before long the world will cripple South Africa's racial policies and that her racist tendencies will drive her to her doom. We have joined hands with the other African independent states to try helping our South African brothers to fight (against oppression)."

Mr. Kambona told the men: "You left this country when it was under colonial rule and you have now returned to a free country. There is plenty of land in Tanganyika and although you have come back penniless you should go back to the villages and make plans for the development of land."



MR. PETRUS GOWDWE (centre) back in his home country after ten years in South Africa, tells a reporter the experiences he and his wife Mary (right) had in the course of being repatriated. Mr. Gowdwe left the Southern Province of Tanganyika in 1951 for South Africa. He has been out of work for the past three years because the South African government would not give him a work permit. He met and married Mrs. Gowdwe in Cape Town.

Vote-stealing Disguised as Group Areas

SPEAKING in favour of the latest amendment to the Group Areas Act, Mr. Piet Marais, M.P., Cape provincial secretary of the Nationalist party, declared that the intention of the amendment was to prevent the possibility of Coloured people getting control of municipalities in the Cape province which to this day has a non-racial municipal franchise.

Mr. Marais was speaking in the House on Assembly on 1st March.

The Group Areas Amendment Act provides for the establishment of separate "Coloured" municipalities with "Advisory Councils".

The effect of the legislation will be to destroy any power Coloured people have by virtue of their municipal franchise.

Blueprint

(Continued from page 2)

Finally, in the view of the Liberal Party, if any constitution in any country is to be stable and lasting, and if any Bill of Rights is to be effective, it must have the support of the country as a whole. The Liberal Party believes that, in South Africa, such support can best be obtained through a National Convention at which every section of the population is represented and at which approval for the new constitution will be sought.

LUTULI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Story of the Long Struggle

THE life and opinions of Albert John Lutuli make inspiring reading. His book, *Let My People Go* (Collins, 256 pp. R4.25) reveals Chief Lutuli as a righteous man in the sense the Bible gives that word. He is just, upright, virtuous and law-abiding. His life has been one of service to his fellows, in an age of suffering for men and women of his stock. His calling has also been that of leadership, in times when walls have been built to stop most of the people of his country from following the ways of progress in which he would otherwise have helped to lead them.

Instead of this sort of leadership, instead of leading his fellow South Africans in the attack on ignorance and prejudice, he has had to lead those of his own stock only, and to lead them in resistance.

He started as a teacher and later as a Chief by trying to give the sort of leadership for which he was best equipped. But here, too, the ways of White supremacy turned him aside. Whether through Dr. Loram's well-intentioned but ruinous and blind idea that Africans should "develop along their own lines" or through the indifference and greed of the ruler and owner of his land, White rule made Lutuli a man who had to resist the stunting of the growth of his African fellows, to whom modern life had come late.

This stunting, in the days of Chief Lutuli's youth, was through the greed and materialism of the rulers. In recent times, under the Afrikaner Nationalists, it has become a repression in all the things Africans do in life, and a repres-

sion cloaked in the sickening hypocrisy of "Bantu self-development", at the records of which future generations will stand aghast, as we do at Hitler's racial theories. The stunting became a repression through the rise of a more powerful emotion in the rulers than greed, that of fear—of loss of power and privilege and, deepest of all, fear of revenge for their inhumanity to their fellow man.

This book is the story of the period of attack and the period of resistance, and of Lutuli's part in them. It is packed with stories of the long struggle, either by Lutuli with his people in the Umvoti Mission Reserve, or in Natal, or as President-General of the African National Congress. It is packed, too, with wisdom, with cool, accurate judgments on the daunting and complicated issues of South Africa's revolutionary situation. Lutuli's opinions on a diversity of subjects are of value, and one is grateful that this book has recorded them and will take them to thousands of people who have never seen Lutuli or heard him speak, and will not do so for the period that he remains confined to the Lower Tugela district of Natal. Lutuli on Black-White and White-Black feelings, on Bantu Education, on chieftainship, on riots, on cattle culling, on Christianity in South Africa, on political organization and methods, on Coloured South Africans, on non-racialism, on Liberals, on the weaknesses of African resistance, on passes, on the "huge deceit of 'Bantu self-government'", on Communists, on the Black Sash: it is better in this short article to list these subjects and thus, I hope, to persuade people to read *Let My People Go*, than

Shorts . . .

● Two new interesting books from the South African Institute of Race Relations, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg are: *South African Trade Unionism* by Muriel Horrell, which deals comprehensively with the trade union movement; and *Political Systems in Multi-Racial Societies* by Kenneth A. Heard. Both books cost R1.00 (10/-).

● "The scheme to give a government subsidy to South African manufacturers to produce F.M. (radio) sets for sale to Africans at about R18 or R20 has been shelved for political reasons and because of distribution difficulties alongside the ordinary trade." — Anton Heard, radio columnist in the *Evening Post* (24th February).

● Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, former United Nations representative in Katanga, has been appointed vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana.

● Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Congolese prime minister, has appointed two new deputy prime ministers to his cabinet. They are Mr. Christopher Ngebenye, former minister of the interior and staunch Lumumbist, and Mr. Jean Bolikango, one of the Congo's most experienced politicians. The new minister of the interior is Mr. Cleophas Kamitatu, Lumumbist and former prime minister of Leopoldville province.

Long



LUTULI

to give a small, pleasant sampling of quotations from its best passages.

As this book shows, instead of leading forward, Lutuli has had to fight back, to defend, to resist. As a man convinced of his Christian duty to witness against evil, and convinced of the rightness of the non-violent path to freedom, while the path is still open, he has been and is a wonderful example to South Africa, and, as the Nobel committee testified, to the world.

Any new leader or group that seeks to come forward with demagogic force or Napoleonic determination and energy, to lead the mass of South Africans out of their bondage, will find themselves dealing with people who have been influenced by the righteousness of Lutuli. In whatever way, and whenever change comes to South Africa, Lutuli's influence will be for good, for "the righteousness which exalteth a nation".

This influence is not entirely Lutuli's own gift to South Africa. It is also the gift to Lutuli of African tradition and of the teachings of Christ, which he has faithfully maintained together and tried to pass on. — J. R. V.



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