

VORSTER REFUGEES' GRIM PLIGHT

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The escape of Mr. Joe Slovo, ex-treason trialist and Mr. John ("J.B.") Marks, former Transvaal president of the Banned African National Congress here last week, has given rise to speculation about the number of South African political refugees now in the territory.

Bechuanaland authorities claim that the number of refugees there is small but unofficial estimates in Lobatsi two weeks ago put the number at about fifty. This means that there should now be about seventy refugees in the protectorate with new arrivals almost each day. It is also believed that during the Slovo - Marks safety bid a further twenty Africans left here at the same time.

Refugees in Bechuanaland who have been there for some weeks are reported to be for the most part without any financial resources and unable to support themselves in any way—living from hand to mouth and depending on charity from friends and relations. At the moment, a committee is being formed by the Rev. Mr. Small of the London Missionary Society and recent escapee Mrs. Rica Hodgson; to set up some kind of refugee camp where food and shelter will be provided.

The Rev. Mr. Small was formerly a missionary in China and has had vast experience of refugee problems, having helped to feed and clothe thousands of refugees from Communist China in Hong Kong.

The Rev. Mr. Small and Mrs. Hodgson and other African helpers are trying at first to conduct a sur-

vey of the number of refugees in the area around Lobatsi and Francistown where most of them appear to be.

However, the greater number of political refugees are in Basutoland—estimated at about 300. There too, the problem is shortage of funds and

lack of co-ordination between different bodies giving aid.

Thus is the existence of persons who have been forced to leave the country since the rise to power of Minister of Justice Vorster.

Furthermore, since the escape of Mr. Marks, who was under twelve-hour house arrest, only three people out of thirteen in Johannesburg who were originally placed under house arrest are still in the city.

They are, Mr. Lionel Bernstein, Mrs. Helen Joseph and Mr. Alfred Nzo.



MARKS



CAPE TOWN: The South African Railways and Harbours Workers' Union, in a statement to Contact, state that railway workers are experiencing many hardships in their employment. Several workers, it states, are dismissed for no reason at all and frequently intimidated from belonging to unregistered unions. Many have been dismissed over the past year [see story page 2] without leave pay or pension gratuities. In this category is the

Cape Town worker seen standing in the picture above. He, it is said, was sacked for "being cheeky" after having been in the employ of the S.A.R. and H. for eighteen years.

The officials, seated, are from left to right: Mrs. M. Lessiea (secretary, Brick, Cement and Quarry Workers' Union), Miss Z. Meholomakulu, (secretary, Distributive Workers' Union) and Mr. C. Tinto (secretary, S.A. Railways and Harbour Workers' Union).

GAOLINGS, JOB TRANSFERS IN NEW W. CAPE REMOVALS PHASE

CAPE TOWN: The removal of Africans from the Western Cape has taken on a new phase. Men and women are no longer being escorted in large batches to the Transkei and Pondoland as was seen at Bellville station until about two months ago.

Suddenly, with all the heated debate in Parliament on the "Bantu Laws Amendment Bill" and powerful insistence of its acceptance, this human traffic seems to have stopped.

Of more than 200 men and women who appeared in the Bantu Commissioner's court here during the first half of the month, not one was ordered to leave the Western Cape at State expense. Several had already been endorsed out of the area at the Labour Registration offices at Langa and Nyanga. Instead they were each ordered to pay a fine of R5 (or 15 days) and R10 (or 30 days). Coupled with the sentences to some were warnings that they leave as soon as sentence is served. (During this month at least, six men have been sentenced to gaol for the second time shortly after having completed prison terms under the same offence — contravening the Pass Laws). Thus are people forced out by the certainty of ceaseless fines or imprisonment.

INSIDIOUS METHODS

Other methods used for getting Africans to leave the Western Cape are effected in State departments. Local trade union offices have had several reports of married men employed with the Railways and Harbours, complaining of insidious methods being used to get them out of Cape Town.

contact

an independent fortnightly working for non-racial democracy through united action against apartheid and all forms of totalitarianism and imperialism.

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This, the officials state, is normally done under the pretext of having the men transferred hundreds of miles away from their families and homes. But, on arrival at these places, the men find their services no longer required and are subsequently ordered to return, not to Cape Town, but to their places of birth. This means returning to the Transkei and Pondoland.

S.A.R. TRANSFERS

Two railway workers, officials of the S.A. Railways and Harbours Workers' Union, were last month dismissed from their jobs after refusing to accept transfer to De Aar and Vereeniging. Together, they had a total of at least 16 years' service with the railways here in Cape Town.

Mr. C. Tinto (see page 1), secretary of the Railways and Harbours Workers' Union, who made representations early last month for both these cases to the Resident Engineer, Woodstock, and the Mechanical Engineer, Salt River, has as yet received no reply.

VIEWPOINT

Why S.A. is Hated at U.N.

DEBATING in Parliament what diplomatic mission is to be sent to the next session at United Nations this year, Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has said among other things:

- He would hate to see Prime Minister Verwoerd urged to lead a mission to the world body of freedom, justice and peace.
- The mere presence of "a South African" at U.N. was sufficient to set off a train of insults and invective against the Republic.

The reason for this being that, with perhaps the exception of Portugal, not one member of the world body has found it possible to condone apartheid policies. South Africa's crimes, particularly over the past 15 years, are the following; all enforced without the consent of the majority:

Sabotage Act (1962), which has already indicted nearly 3,000 people, coupled with the **No-trial Act** (1963), which has literally driven all demo-

90-DAY VICTIMS



AMONG the most hard hit organizations by 90-day arrest has been Sactu — at least five top officials are at present detained under Vorster's powerful new Act. They include Messrs. S. Zwane and Leon Levy, both of Johannesburg (above). In Cape Town, the family of Sactu secretary Mr. Elijah Loza were unable to trace his whereabouts for eight days after his arrest until his name appeared in the newspapers with that of other detainees. Mr. Loza had been approached by Security Branch detectives at the offices of the Labour Department, where he was dealing with a worker's complaint, on 9th May and asked whether he was still "active". He replied that he was and the next day he was arrested.

cratic opposition from any positive politics; the current **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, which seeks to further de-humanize the African people; the **Criminal Laws Amendment Act** (1953) which was used to crush passive resistance; **Public Safety Act** (1953), which gives power to maintain rigid and un-called for authority; the **Group Areas Act**, which forcibly removes people from their homes; the **Population Registration Act**, which decides on any person's "racial" identity; the **Pass Laws**, which virtually controls the very existence of the African people; **Bantu Education Act** (1953), which has deprived the African people of equal education; **Extension of Universities Act** (1959), which has killed academic freedom.

These are the causes of the train of insults and invective before which the Government quails. These are the sins of a beloved country.

Vorster Garbles Quotations

HJUL BAN REASONS EVADED

By a Reporter

NEARLY four months after the banning of Mr. Peter Hjul, former Cape Chairman of the Liberal Party and Director of *Contact*, Minister of Justice Vorster has given his "reasons". He has also, however, refused to allow publication of the alleged statements by Mr. Hjul which make up a large part of the document.

The Minister has further safeguarded himself from adverse comment by stating that not all the relevant information can be disclosed "without detriment to public policy".

Two quotations are taken from speeches made at Liberal Party members' gatherings when no policemen were openly present. Most of

the quotations made are quite clearly garbled and inaccurate versions of what was in fact said.

The Minister's caution in not allowing publication of his reasons is seen to be well-justified, when these fragments are read. They are quite clearly insufficient grounds for a banning order.

A further point made is the fact that Mr. Hjul addressed a meeting held under the chairmanship of a listed Communist — who was, in fact, Mr. Joseph Nkatlo, a man who resigned from the Communist Party after a very brief membership and later became an office-bearer in the Liberal Party, which is opposed to Communism as to all forms of totalitarianism.

Mr. Hjul's conviction in his capacity as director of *Contact* for contravening Proclamation R400 in the Transkei is also cited by the Minister, despite the fact that at the time of the ban the case was still on appeal and also that due punishment had already been exacted for this offence by the court.

Several of the reasons given for Mrs. Helen Joseph's house arrest also referred to offences for which she had already been heavily penalised.

Informers on Poqo Thrive

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Since the Government offered R50 for information about suspected members of Poqo, many people have been arrested. There was shock at the arrest of Chief Zwelihle Silimela Mtirara, the Tembu chief second in seniority to the Tembu Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, whom he has often publicly supported



Zwelihle and praiser Mbutuma

in his stand. Taken with him on 24th May were Teacher Matiwane and 38 others in the Engcobo district.

At Qokolweni, near Umtata, Messrs. B. Petse, G. Dlali and others were arrested when, *Contact* was told, certain informers had reported to the police that a Poqo meeting was taking place at Mr. Petse's home. Qokolweni has been the scene of quarrels among Methodist church members. The people concerned had broken away from their church and had joined another. They were released after a few weeks' detention.

DUBENI: WHAT IS HE UP TO?

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Efforts made by Chief Kaizer Matanzima to canvass support for his pro-apartheid policy among influential chiefs in the Transkei do not appear to have "paid off". Visits have been made to several leading chiefs, and strong arguments put to intel-



Dubeni

lectuals in the search for supporters for Chief Matanzima.

Tembus are criticising the alleged actions of an Information Department employee, Mr.

Dubeni, who is said to be touring the Transkei in a GG car, canvassing for Chief K. D. Matanzima, at a time when many Transkeians are suffering hardships.

He is believed also to have been present at a meeting held in May at which Headman Justice Mtirara was to be installed as a chief. No other chiefs were present, and the Paramount Chief, Sabata Dalindyebo, himself did not attend. Umtata magistrate Potgieter refused to install Chief Justice Mtirara in the absence of the Paramount Chief.

"Interfered" with Headman

Contact Appeal Lost

By a Reporter

THE appeal of Mr. Peter Hjul against his conviction as director of Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., then publishers of *Contact*, for publishing in *Contact* an article intended or likely to have the effect of subverting or interfering with the authority of the State in the Transkei, was last week dismissed by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein.

Mr. Hjul was convicted and fined R200 in Umtata in September last year. He appealed, but the Supreme Court of the Eastern Cape upheld the conviction, holding that the article was likely to have the effect of interfering seriously with Headman Yengwa's authority.

The article alleged that a deep division in the Baziya Mission Location had resulted from measures taken by Yengwa, described as an "unpopular" headman. The article was headed "Home Guard Terror".

After the Umtata hearing, a second case, arising out of an article entitled "Transkei Tyranny" was postponed indefinitely, pending the outcome of this appeal. The second article dealt with the alleged activities of Chief Kaizer Matanzima, which *Contact* described as "legalized tyranny". Charged with Mr. Hjul in this second case were Messrs. Patrick Duncan, then editor, and Randolph Vigne, a regular contributor to *Contact* until his ban in February.

All-out Blockade Called for

LONDON: A pamphlet first published by the Fabian Society—an influential body of opinion within the Labour Party—describes the present British Government's policy as dishonest, and calls for the application of sanctions against South Africa.

The pamphlet, called *The Coming Struggle for South Africa*, is written by a well-known South African, but appears under the name "Sandor".

After describing present British policy as hypocritical and illogical, the booklet comes to the conclusion that "there is now no hope of a non-revolutionary transfer of power in South Africa".

"In theory," it continues, "it is still possible to envisage a non-violent revolution, using weapons like the strike and passive resistance, but in practice, with the administrative, military and economic power firmly concentrated in the hands of the Government, such an approach is now virtually impossible."

The writer believes that at present internal movements are not strong enough to challenge white supremacy successfully. "The minimum condition for effective action is unity among the African people," says the author, "and such unity does not exist at present."

The result has been occasional and basically ineffective attempts at sabotage and terrorism — by Poqo and bodies such as Umkonto we Sizwe and the National Committee of Liberation.

Recognizing that the South African arms build-up is too great to be defeated by outbursts of violence and sabotage—however heroic—the pamphlet proposes immediate action. Firstly, by stepping up the arms embargo on South Africa—and employing United Nations supervision to ensure that it succeeds, by blockading South African ports. Similarly it proposes diplomatic sanctions, and an oil boycott—also to be implemented under U.N. authority.

As an immediate step towards showing Britain's sincerity the writer calls for action on the High Commission Territories. He demands more financial aid, a better administration, and guaranteed defence against the Republic, by both Britain and the United Nations if necessary.

After 10 Years

LIBERALS WILL GO ON FEARLESSLY

— Writes Chairman Peter Brown

JUST OVER ten years ago the Liberal Party of South Africa was formed. It was launched in Cape Town at a meeting of representatives of inter-racial groups which existed in Cape, Transvaal and Natal, and which had sprung up spontaneously in those areas during the preceding year.

As far as I know the Liberal Party is the only political organization South Africa has known which was publicly and jointly launched by people of all races. It is certainly today the only political organization which any South African may join, and it is justifiably proud of this fact.

When the Liberal Party was formed in May, 1953, the Nationalists had just won their second election and they had done so with an increased majority. The United Party had supported the Government in introducing the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act to crush the Defiance Campaign. The Torch Commando was in decline. It was clear that conventional, "parliamentary" politics were not going to get rid of the Nationalists. A new approach was needed. *The Liberal Party thought it had it—non-racialism.*

In ten years the Liberal Party has changed a great deal. While it has continued to operate in the orthodox electoral field, more and more of its work has become "extra-parliamentary"—initiating and supporting opposition to local manifestations of apartheid, actively participating in campaigns against the imposition of Bantustans, against Blackspot removals, against Group Areas plans, against the Western Cape removals. From being a predominantly White Party it has become a predominantly African Party. From being a "reform" Party it has become a radical Party. From being a Party believing in the abolition of all colour-bars and in equal opportunities for all it has, while still believing passionately in these things, become a Party which accepts that, in post-apartheid South Africa the state is going to have an important task to perform in ironing out the racial disabilities which will be a legacy of 300 years of White privilege.

These changing attitudes and policies are the result of ten years of intensive discussion

between South Africans of all races. Not academic discussion between people of one race who occasionally meet people of another race to discuss one another's problems, but full-blooded and sometimes heated discussions between people who regard themselves as fellow-South Africans and future fellow-citizens but primarily as fellow-Liberals, subscribing to the same fundamental principles, differing only on how these principles can best be assured survival in post-apartheid South Africa.

NON-RACIAL ORGANIZATION

It is noteworthy that, in all the discussions there have been in the Liberal Party over the past ten years there has not been one in which differences have followed racial lines. There is an important lesson for White South Africa here. Take the emphasis off race and it ceases to be an important factor in debate or in policy-making. Put the emphasis on race and you get Poqo. That South Africans can forget about race the Liberal Party has shown clearly.

I also believe that the Liberal Party has been largely responsible for keeping democratic ideas alive in South Africa these past ten years. Not only has it been an example of functioning democracy but it has again and again stated fundamental democratic principles when these most needed to be stated.

As the years have passed so the pressures on the Party and on individual members have grown. No doubt they will continue to grow. Our job is to go on stating fearlessly what we believe to be true and to go on doing fearlessly what we believe to be right. Whatever the immediate future may hold the day will one day come when South Africans of all races will have to come to terms with one another. At that time the Liberal solution of a common society will offer something to all.

In the meantime we will continue to spread the influence of our ideas out from the bridgeheads of support which have already been won amongst all the communities of our country.

COWEN FROM U.S.

From "Contact" Correspondent

LONDON: Professor Denis Cowen is due in London shortly en route to Basutoland, where he will be advising on the new form of the constitution, and on aspects of law reform.

Professor Cowen left his law professorship at Cape Town University in 1961 for a senior law post at Chicago. It is now reported that he will move to London later in the year. He will continue as a Professor at Chicago University, but will spend only three months of each year there. The rest of the time will be spent travelling in Africa—for six months a year—and in London.



“The shape of things to come . . .”

FACTS BEHIND SANROC SURPRISE BID

From “Contact” Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Apartheid sport continues under heavy pressure. The latest move by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee in assigning John Harris, Vice-Chairman of SANROC, to meet top sportsmen in Rome, London and Lausanne, may well spell the end of the fight to have racialism kicked off sportsfields in South Africa.

Mr. Harris — who was elected Vice-Chairman of SANROC on the death of Father Bernard Sigamoney — flew out to Europe on the 31st May in order to get the ear of international bodies and ensure that the facts of South Africa's sport apartheid are authentically made known. With him, he has a full set of representations, carefully documented, which is to be presented to the Executive of the International Olympic Committee — the supreme amateur sporting body; and the heads of the International Sports Federations.

These representations were the basis of discussions between officials of SANROC and the S.A. Olympic Association two days before Mr. Harris left — it was prior to this meeting that Mr. Dennis Brutus, Advisor and former President of SANROC, was arrested and charged with being at a gathering.

During the past year there has been a spate of contradictory declarations about the policy of the South African government and the white-controlled sporting bodies. This was started with the declaration by the Minister of the Interior, Senator de Klerk, on just what would or would not be allowed in sport in so far as it affected “separate development of the races”. (The confusion engendered by this may well have been deliberate in order to allow for a face-saving climbdown at a later stage.)

However, undeterred, the non-racial bodies, headed by SASA (South African Sports Association) and SANROC have forged ahead with their battle to expose racial discrimination in sport and get the world

sporting bodies to take disciplinary action.

P.A.C. suspects' long gaol wait

Powerful Bail Arguments Refused

From “Contact” Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The plea for bail in political cases is fast becoming a main feature of lengthy argument at the trials of the hundreds of P.A.C./Poqo suspects under arrest.

Among those arguing for release on bail here early this month was Mr. Zeph Mothopeng, a former executive member of the Banned Pan Africanist Congress. Like almost all others, he was unsuccessful in securing bail.

Mr. Mothopeng, who had been detained for five weeks at the time, told the magistrate he was “a family man with three young dependents and a wife to support. I was at the time of my arrest employed in a responsible position by the Johannesburg City Council. I am a well-known person in the area I stay in, and well respected. I'm an ex-school-teacher and a man of my own integrity, a man who respects his word of honour, hence I renew my previous application for bail.”

However, this was opposed by the prosecutor, Mr. O. A. S. Maree, on the grounds that people had in the past given similar assurances that they would certainly stand trial but had absconded. In substantiation of his opposition, the prosecutor quoted,

TO TOUR S.A. DESPITE PROTESTS

OXFORD: The Oxford and Cambridge rugby side due here shortly “will be football players only”, writes a Special Correspondent. “They bring with them no friendly greetings or support from Oxford and Cambridge for their White opponents or for the upholders of apartheid in general.” The tour is being proceeded with despite strong opposition from student organisations such as JACARI and JAGUAR, the Cambridge Union, and in the face of a petition by twenty leading sports, political and religious personalities. Most team members condemn apartheid but the team needs the financial support of the four matches to be played in South Africa in order to be able to undertake the rest of the tour, which is to take place in several African countries.

among others, Mr. Selby Ngendane and Mr. John Mohapa, who he said had left the country on two occasions without travel documents.

“It is easy in cases of this nature for the accused persons to cross into one of the three protectorates, where it is almost impossible to extradite them to face trial.”

The prosecutor further maintained that such people received encouragement and financial support to proceed to the independent African states where they continued their activities. On these grounds he urged the refusal of bail.

To this, Mr. Mothopeng said that each case should be considered on its merits.

“I cannot be victimised on the defaults of others; this court should treat each case on its own, not in a mass.”

When it was claimed that, if released on bail, the suspects would interfere with crown witnesses, Mr. Mothopeng asked how could he interfere with people he did not know.

The Classic Launched

From "Contact" Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG: "As non-political as the life of a domestic servant, a D.R.C. predikant or an opulent Johannesburg businessman", is "The Classic", an impressive magazine just published here. From the same editorial, thirtyish "Drum"-man Nathaniel Nakasa calls for African writing of merit, particularly welcoming "writers with causes to fight for". Among intellectuals who battled to launch "The Classic" was Lewis Nkosi, who was instrumental in getting costs covered by an American grant. Like Nakasa he has contributed to the first issue, as have Can Themba, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Julian Beinart, Richard Rive and others.

"The Classic's" address is Box 6434, Johannesburg.

CONTACT

PUBLIC SERVICE BUREAU

Last issue we invited readers to write us their complaints about rude, violent or neglectful behaviour towards them by members of the public service: officials in locations, B.A.D., police, post offices, buses, trains, etc. — both White and Black.

It's no good putting up with it and complaining to your friends. Complain to Contact and we'll pass it on to the authorities, without your name.

Next issue, first complaints received will be published. Replies coming in show our readers need this service. Readers, please start by sending in complaints about B.A.D. and location officials — labour bureaux, pass offices, location police. Do they push you around? Write to Contact about it.

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Pretoria Lunacy

EX-COP LIBERAL WAS POQO SUSPECT

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Bomber Mathe, an ex-police constable who left the police force because of certain incidents during the Mandela trial, joined the Liberal Party towards the end of last year. Since then he has several times been questioned by members of the Security force on the Party's activities, and at one stage he was asked to inform against the Party.

However, Bomber remained a staunch member and on 29th March was elected a delegate to the Transvaal Congress held in April. Soon after that meeting he was again visited by Security Police but he refused to answer questions. On 31st March, a Sunday, at 6 a.m. two White Security Policemen knocked quietly on the door of the Mathe home.

Bomber's mother went to the door and the policemen walked in and asked where Bomber was. The mother showed them the room where he was sleeping and the men entered, telling the mother to get out. They handcuffed Bomber whilst he was still in bed and then told him to get up. They searched the room taking some of his possessions and other objects in the room, including a J.C. certificate belonging to a friend and a copy of *Macbeth*.

Bomber's father immediately reported the arrest to the Liberal Party who started investigations at once. All police stations in the Pretoria area were telephoned but all denied having Bomber in the cells. Bomber's father saw him appear at the Magistrate's court on Monday, 1st April, but no record of his appearance could be found. The father then briefed an attorney to look for Bomber and in the meantime, hearing that he had been seen at Marabastad police station, his mother went there to enquire. The attorney also enquired at Marabastad and senior policemen, including Security Police were approached, but all denied knowledge of Bomber.

Eventually, after 3½ weeks of searching the attorney threatened a writ of *habeas corpus* if Bomber was not produced. The next day the Security officer in charge of "Poqo Suspects" telephoned to say that Bomber was in fact being held at Marabastad. Bomber was released four weeks after his arrest without being charged, having spent his entire detention at Marabastad, without change of clothes and on a diet of mealie meal three times a day.

PRETORIA LIBERAL IN COURT

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: On Sunday, 2nd June, Maritz van den Berg (local Liberal vice-chairman) was arrested in Cape Location, Pretoria, after having driven through what he thought was a free area. He was arrested in the home of Poen Ah Dong, who lives in the free Asiatic Bazaar. He appeared in court on 3rd June and was told when he asked time to get a lawyer, that he did not need a lawyer for such a case. He insisted and the Magistrate then gave him from 12 noon until 2 p.m. to find a defence lawyer. When he appeared in court at 2 p.m. defended by Mr. J. Unterhalter, briefed by Mr. G. Pitje, he was sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment. He appealed against the sentence and was allowed R30 bail.

Recruits Wanted

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: An active member of the Liberal Party and *Contact* correspondent in Pretoria was approached last month by the Political Police and offered employment as a police informer.

A Special Branch detective said that he had information that the correspondent was a member of the Liberal Party and a former member of the African National Congress.

Another detective observed that their prospective employee "looked ragged and unemployed", and suggested that if he became an informer all pass restrictions against him would be relaxed and that he would be "well paid".

The correspondent refused the police offer and the Special Branch men left saying that they would pay him another visit soon.

Fellowmen or Foreigners?

Batswana Argue Whites' Role

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: While in South Africa Whites wrangle over the future of the Black man, in neighbouring Bechuanaland the stage seems set for a head-on clash between Black political parties over the role the White man should play in the Constitutional development of the territory.

The issue is whether or not White settlers in this British Protectorate should participate in the Constitutional talks which are due in a few months. Already the public has been invited to submit proposals to be considered for a Constitutional review.

LIVELY CONTROVERSY

The first shot in what promises to be a lively controversy has been fired on behalf of the Bechuanaland People's Party by its Vice-President, Mr. P. G. Matante, who maintains that settlers, either as British or South African subjects, should not be allowed a say in the framing of the Constitution.

In a replying statement the Bechu-

analand Democratic Party has said that Whites "cannot afford, and should not remain indifferent when the destiny of Bechuanaland is being decided." The statement adds that "discrimination is immoral, no matter what the colour is of the person against whom it is practised."

The B.P.P. stand, gleaned from public speeches made by Mr. Matante and others, is that the B.D.P. attitude on this matter amounts to compromising the Batswana's natural right to their fatherland.

BRITISH SUBJECTS

Mr. Matante holds that "it is unthinkable that foreigners, which is what these British and South African subjects are, should have a voice in a matter of such fundamental importance to our future as the constitution of our country".

Whites in Bechuanaland enjoy citizenship rights by virtue of their being British subjects. This applied also to South Africans before the break with the Commonwealth, after which the Republicans were advised to take out British citizenship if they wished to continue staying in the territory and to enjoy the same rights.

FRELIMO RIFT

KAMPALA: A serious rift in the leadership of Mozambique's freedom movement, on apparent Cold War lines, is revealed in the communique issued by a new dissident group, the 'Comite Secreto da Restauracao da UDENAMO' (COSERU).

Stating that it was formed five months ago "in accordance" with the joint statement issued by Mr. Matthew Mmole and Mr. Hlomulo Gwambe, as respective national presidents of the Mozambique's African National Union (MANU) and National Democratic Union (UDENAMO), demanding the restoration of both organisations.

The communique, signed by Mr. H. J. C. Gwambe at Kampala, attacks the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) (see *Contact*, 19th April) whose members it calls "stooges of imperialists headed by the U.S.A. and those pushed on to the traitors' bandwagon unconsciously through bribes and political and physical intimidation".

Kaunda Calls for 'Free' Rail Link

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: Returning from his recent United States visit, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda (he was awarded an honorary doctorate of law at the University of Fordham) appealed to an estimated crowd of 30,000 to assist in a drive to build a railway link from Northern Rhodesia into Tanganyika.

Dr. Kaunda, who was speaking at Chingola, said he had information that the Portuguese were planning to nationalize the British-owned Benguela Railways which passed through Northern Rhodesia en route their Lobito-Congo trip. He saw this move as "an attempt to make us yield

I.L.O. Rep. in Basutoland

MASERU: Mr. R. Usakligil, a representative of the International Labour Office (I.L.O.) has arrived in Maseru for discussions with the Basutoland Government.

His visit is the result of suggestions made last year by Mr. Caustin of the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.) on assistance by Agencies of the United Nations.

His discussions embrace training in general and vocational training in particular. He will discuss the provision of instructors for the Public Works Department and an adviser on small-scale industry.

Mr. Usakligil's visit will be followed next month by that of an I.L.O. manpower expert who will assist the Basutoland Government in carrying out a preliminary assessment of manpower resources and requirements arising from economic development and the Africanisation of the Civil Service. (British Information Service)

RELUCTANT

A number of South African subjects are members of the Legislative Council here, having qualified for this because of the South African link with the Commonwealth. They have since been given time in which to decide on British citizenship.

I understand many South Africans are reluctant to give up their Republican citizenship.

to Verwoerd - Welensky - Field pressure."

Dr. Kaunda also attacked Sir Roy Welensky and Portugal's Dr. Salazar for betraying the European cause. "It was," he said, "Sir Roy, who assured all the Europeans in this country, and now it is he who has gone to Southern Rhodesia abandoning the responsibilities he claimed to champion."

During his recent tour, Dr. Kaunda received the assurance of civil engineers abroad that they would be prepared to build a railway line between Kapiri-Mposhi and Tanganyika after Northern Rhodesia's independence.

Readers MAKE CONTACT

Freedom Echo

THE only salvation to South Africa is to regard other human beings as part of the country and not as foreign elements—who by reason of their colour, should be debarred from participating in the government and other democratic processes of the country. The contribution they make towards the country through their labour, taxes, etc., entitles them to have a right to vote so as to ensure protection of their interests into the hands of the government of their own choice. Until all people have a right in electing a government the cry for freedom will echo throughout the Republic.

"Sipho"
Herschel, C.P.

SB Intimidation

I AM very much interested in selling *Contact* but the atmosphere around here has become so tense that you cannot move a block before you are questioned. People are daily being detained—innocent or not. Being in possession of a freedom newspaper is enough to warrant provocation or intimidation from the Special Branch contingent roaming the township.

For the sake of my worried parents, please do not send me any more copies of *Contact*.

However, I will continue in the struggle and wish you all the best in continuing to expose the tyranny of the country.

Forward ever—backward never.
Krugersdorp. Agent

[*"The theme's the same, the method changes—time will plan the ending"*—Ed.]

Why Europeans?

I AM surprised and ashamed that many Whites here still wish to be known as Europeans. How can they, when the majority were actually born and brought up in Africa. In views of current political development in

Africa as a whole, one would think they would also grow up and denounce that connotation, which after all, was merely maintained to manifest the concept of being different and all the attendant privileges still being enjoyed in some parts.

Why have the British who went to Australia not remained *Europeans*? Like Australia, Africa is not an extension of Europe. The slogan, *Africa for the Africans*, is not confined to the negro race of this continent but applies to all, regardless of colour, who identifies himself with the struggle of "Mother Africa" and who contributes to the spiritual and material upliftment of the continent.

Long live Africa, the beloved country.
Boniface Sechele
Francistown, B.P.

Transkei Detainees

THE focus of attention on the 90-day detentions in the rest of the Republic causes Transkeians some surprise, since, here, people have, largely unnoticed, been subject to this summary detention since December 1960!

V.L.
Umtata.



ZEKE MPHAHLELE ON

DAN JACOBSON



"IN England, it became clear to me that, through England, I wanted to escape from the ironies, ambiguities, and humiliations of my own position as a Jew, as a white South African, as a 'colonial', as a young man who didn't know what to do with his life."

One does not simply emigrate from South Africa: one escapes from something—from the position of being black, or white, or a Jew. And as we continue to read Dan Jacobson's readable, thoughtful and penetrating essays,* we learn what it must be for one, like him, always to be giving an account of himself, to be relating experience to his position as a white South African and as a Jew. He gropes his lonely way through the social labyrinth of London, an alien wanting to become integrated. Even when things are tough, England continues to enchant him, to suck him in. And yet his sense of judgment tells him that, in spite of the "aesthetic satisfactions" England could afford and South Africa couldn't, "the

richness, the fullness and variety of England . . . did nothing and could do nothing to improve the minds or morals of individual Englishmen". And this is what is beginning to worry British progressives themselves.

Dan Jacobson's latest return to South Africa coincided with Sharpeville. In analyzing the set-up, he came to the conclusion, then (1960), that the "violent and apocalyptic Day of Reckoning" was not yet in sight. The Africans, he said, were still too weak to overthrow the state and the government viciously strong. He feels that in South Africa, unlike in the Southern states of the U.S., where the Negro is a minority, keeping the "Kaffir in his place" may well cost the white man his livelihood and his life. To keep his life, a man may forego his delusions and prejudices. The author's view is that, as every day that passes binds black and white together, and because South African whites are no longer white or European, the attainment of a non-racial society can be a reality that many

whites don't dream of today. But this will be after much bitterness, sadness, waste, and pain.

Mr. Jacobson challenges James Baldwin's pessimism as shown in *Notes of a Native Son*, about the white Liberal's fixed thinking habits. "I don't believe," says Mr. Jacobson, "that it is an impossibly difficult task to school oneself out of follies of that kind, if the opportunity is given to one, and if one really wishes to do so." Quite right. But one wishes Mr. Jacobson had explained what kind of Liberal he is. It is not enough, I think, to say that he is not talking of a Liberal in the context of party politics. Liberals in the United States and in Africa have earned themselves a bad name. At various times in the history of resistance politics, they have relied too much on the possibility of a change of heart on the part of the oppressor, who had no intention to change, and have thus done much to break or confuse resistance.

**TIME OF ARRIVAL*. By Dan Jacobson. (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London.)