FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

Elections instranskei Copyright See page 3

Background to

o Chaos Without Freedom

\$66 page 2

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The Transkei voted in

CONFUSION

By a Reporter

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CAPE TOWN: In town and country Transkeian voters turned out to vote in heavy num bers on 20th November. The rural pattern was one of coercion by chiefs and headmen, acting on Government instructions, largely blank ignorance both of the election issues and of the candidates, and tense police watchfulness, with two-way radio contact kept up.

Near Libode, Western Pondoland,
"Contact" representative photographed a
polling queue, and had to argue hard with
the policeman on duty to save his camera
from confiscation. Back on the road, a
van was waiting, and a polite police captain who asked questions about the incident. Nothing developed, but here was
evidence that the slightest altercation
brought a high-up to the scene.

Another Liberal Banned

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: "It is clear that the Government does not intend to ban the Party but means to weaken it by banning its leading members", said Mr. Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party, in a public statement on the banning of Mr. Hyacinth Bhengu, the Party's National Vice-President.

Mr. Paton goes on to point out that though Mr. Bhengu is a staunch Catholic, he was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The following statement on Mr. Bhengu's banning was issued by Dr. Hans Meidner, Chairman of the Natal Division of the Liberal Party:

STATEMENT

The bannings of Messrs. E.V. Mahomed, D.L. Evans and H.J. Bhengu during the past three weeks are a provocative action designed to stifle opposition to the immoral policies of apartheid.

The bannings were ordered because, as the names so aptly show, these men stand for racial co-operation, whereas such detestable laws as the Group Areas Act and Job Reservation foster race hatred. These men were banned because they advocated non-violent means for achieving national unity, as opposed to the Government's steadily increasing call for more and more armaments, military trained policemen, police reservists and women's pistol clubs, as if preparing for civil war.

We accuse the Government of provoking unrest by attempting to intimidate, and of being entirely deceitful by banning true patriots under the cloak of anti-communism.

These shabby acts will deceive no-one and confirm our view that the Government, in the most reckless and irresponsiblemanner, leads South Africa to shame and disaster. In Cape Town, an officially-appointed agent for four pro-Poto candidates, touring the polling booths in a car, was held for questioning by three African special branch men, and "advised" not to "cause any trouble".

From St Marks and Xalanga districts of Emigrant Tembuland, disquieting news of "chicanery", "irregularities" have come from anti-Matanzima candidates. The complaints are being investigated.

"Contact's" impression was of voters in the country who came to vote almost without any personal involvement but because they were told to, and voters in the town who grasped the basic issues, but had no way of deciding whom to vote for, to promote their views.

SIMPLER AND CHEAPER

In Western Pondoland (Chief Poto's area) and Tembuland (Chief Sabata's area), many voters had slips bearing the names of four and seven candidates respectively. In Eastern Pondoland, there appeared to be absolutely no way in which a voter could choose his candidates. A policeman would read the 33 names, and the voter would choose eight names - any eight names - in order to be able to get to the polling booth and go home. In East Pondoland at least, it might have been simpler and cheaper for a sample of voters in each location to have drawn names out of a hat. But as the election was patently a Government propaganda move, this would have defeated the purpose.

Candidates "Contact" spoke to felt that they had had no time to cover their vast constituencies - a Fingeland candidate said he had 94 locations to canvass in 42 days. Lack of funds, and transport, illiteracy, absence of political organisers, and, at bottom, a total lack of commitment to the idea of "self-government" among the 880,000 voters, to whom Proclamation 400 and Influx Control represent a truer picture of the laws they live under than does the new Constitution - all these factors turned the election into the mockery of a democratic process that most observers found it to be.



POTO OR MATANZIMA P

CAPE TOWN: The election of the Transkei's Chief Minister on 6th December will be a key stage in the development of the news Bantustan.

CONTACT believes that Chief Poto will gain large support among the 54 chiefs than is generally expected. In his 45 years as a Government-recognised Chief, he has done much for the chieftainship, inside and outside the Bunga. His years, wisdom and seniority as a Paramount Chief all give him a lead over Matanzima.

The role of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau has been over-rated. Though East Pondoland is to return 23 members to the TLA, Chief Botha will probably have little control over their votes when the time comes. His power lies in the opportunities he can create for Chief Poto or Chief Mantanzima to meet the elected men and appointed chiefs and to try to win their votes for 6th December. Chief Botha may in any event come down for Poto.

Chief Mantanzima will quickly adopt strong measures which will make opposition activity difficult. "Umthunywa", Umtata, has reported Chief Mantanzima as saying at a meeting under the Chairmanship of Dr.W.Mbekeni that he looked upon all those who believe in multi-racialism as his greatest enemies. Matanzima went on to say that educationalists or intellectuals who had left the country would only be allowed back after "a thorough process of screening to see that they are devoid of all communist germs".

He added that he would always regard them with suspicion, even if they went through the screening successfully. Those who had left the country unlawfully or for other purposes than to study, would not be allowed back.

U.S. AND U.K. ACCUSED

Sabotage of Freedom in S.W.A.

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: "The United Kingdom and the United States of America have repeatedly refused to go along with sanctions proposals", said Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, a representative of the South West African Peoples Organization. He was giving evidence on South West Africa before a special United Nations Commission.

"We place the blame for the continuing power of the white supremacists directly at the door of those who make policy decisions for the U.S. and the U.K.", he added. "The inaction of the U.S. and the U.K. is nothing more than the sabotage of freedom". Mr.Kuhangua went on to urge the Commission to remove South African presence in South West Africa by force. "Military action" he said, "is long overdue".

Giving evidence before the same Commission, Mr.Brian Bassingthwaighte said, "We have reached a stage where the relationship between the Government and those who are governed is such that a final showdown is imminent". Mr.Bassingthwaighte went on to speak of a "large military build-up in South Africa" and insisted that the "military conquest" of South West Africa must be prevented by United Nations intervention".

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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Unless otherwise stated, headlines, sub-editing and political comment in this issue by J. R. Clare of 47 Parliament

A HOLLOW ELECTION

"EMANCIPATION WITHOUT CHAOS" is how the Nationalists have described the granting of "self-government" to the Transkei. It is our conviction that "chaos without emancipation" would be a more apt description of this utterly hollow election.

We cannot believe that the Government_innocently devised the most complex and sophisticated voting procedure the African continent has known for an electorate that according to official estimates is 75% illiterate.

At no stage in the whole wretched business was the electorate ever presented with a simple clear-cut choice between non-racialism and apartheid. Instead illiterate and unsophisticated voters were confronted with a long list of candidates - 33 in one area - who had in most cases been afraid to reveal their political allegiance.

It is our contention that the confusion which undoubtedly existed in the minds of the vast majority of voters was not accidental but quite deliberately planned.

Had the electorate been presented with the same clear choice to which the White voter in this country is accustomed, there could then have been no doubt about the outcome of this election.

Should Paramount Chief Poto's bid for the Chief Ministership be successful, it will be due in no small measure to the courage and independence of the nominated chiefs.

Should the majority of elected candidates support Poto this will only incidentally reflect the wishes of an electorate which everywhere demonstrated a quiet determination to vote but which was everywhere thwarted in its attempt to understand either the real political issues involved or indeed who stood for what.

Should Poto be elected Chief
Minister and the shop-window of apartheid reject apartheid (the Government
has said this cannot happen) it will be

THE LONG VIEW

-by Peter Brown

Indefinite Detention – Who are the Losers?

I MAKE NO AFOLOGY for again having something to say about the indefinite detention provision of Section 17 of the General Laws Amendment Act of 1963. The more often the world and South Africa are reminded of this iniquitous blot on our statute-book, the better.

During the past few weeks two things have happened. The first is that at least two men have commenced their third session of ninety days in solitary confinement. The second is that the Ninister of Justice has made a public press statement on how the Act has so far been applied. He has told us that 543 people have been held in terms of Section 17. Of these, 275 have been charged, 5 have escaped, one (Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle) has died in detention, 151 have been released and 51 remain in custody and under questioning.

in spite of, rather than because of, this election.

Should Natanzima be elected, it will be due to the confusion the Nationalists planned under the guise of a democratic election.

THIS SENSELESS MURDER

WITH the people of the United States, those struggling for human rights in South Africa will mourn the passing and deplore the senseless murder of President Kennedy.

Assassination is the ugliest and often the least effective of all political instruments. It has now been used for the fourth time against a President of the United States and, also for the fourth time, the killer appears to be an obscure, unbalanced individual whose one desperate act will place him under the bright spotlight of world interest.

It will also focus hostile attention, probably quite unreasonably, on all with whom he has been associated or whose ideas he might have erratically embraced. For the single desperate act of political assassination unleashes a flood of frustrated emotions which seek their relief in recrimination, aimless witch-hunts and blind passion that can convulse the life of a nation. Some of this turmoil was experienced in South Africa in 1960 when an attempt was made on the life of the Prime Minister.

A popular, if controversial, Chief Executive, President Kennedy has been murdered towards the close of a crisisridden year. After decades of almost passively accepting the humiliation of discrimination against their race, American Negroes are now demanding their full rights as U.S. Citizens. President Kennedy and his Democratic Party Administration had recognised the justice of their demands and the strength of their call and, despite the ponderous machinery through which change is brought about in a democratic government, a Civil Rights programme had been launched. The pace may have been slow, but the late President did seem to be moving steadily ahead with his controversial Civil Rights Bill. And it is perhaps symptomatic of world interest in this great issue, that most people when they heard the President had been shot assumed - wrongly it seems - that the man behind the trigger was some disgruntled racialist or a member of some crackpot ultra-conservative group.



Mational Chairman of the Liberal Farty of South Africa.

When and whether these 51 people will be released will depend, in the Minister's words, "on whether they cooperate or whether they refuse to do so".

Indefinite detention without trial in solitary confinement strikes at everything that is good in Western legal tradition. South Africa claims to be ruled under a system which is part of that legal tradition. The claim becomes flimsier each time Parliament meets. Indefinite detention in the Vorster mode is not physical torture in the manner of Hitler or Stalin. It does not set out to break the body but to break the spirit. Is it worse to break the body, or is it worse to break the spirit?

The South African powers-that-be justify Section 17 of the 1963 General Laws Amendment Act on the grounds that the security of the state is threatened and that this law produces results which help to ensure that security.

We should not be surprised at this argument. It is a cardinal principle among the agents of apartheid that almost any means are justified to attain their ends. But neither should we bluff our selves that such a law as this will bring any long-range benefits to our country.

Himmler and Stalin were able to extract information from their victims, but it didn't do them any good. Neither will coercive methods do South Africa any good.

Indefinite detention in solitary confinement may cause people to break down and to compromise themselves and to give away their friends. Is this a good thing? Was it a good thing for Germany when theGestapo extracted information, necessary to ensure the security of Hitler's state, from one of their victims; or was their willingness to use coercive methods not the first step down the slippery slope to the moral bankruptcy which was the ultimate undoing of the Third Reich?

GESTAPO METHODS

If Hitler's Germany has a lesson to teach us it is that the real victims of Gestapo methods were not the people who broke down under them, but the German people. The real victims of coercion are the people who ask the questions, the ones who frame the laws which allow them to do so and, in the final analysis, the ones who allow such laws to be framed and such practices to be carried out in their name.

White South Africa has much to ponder over if it is not to eng its days in the same moral bankrupt's court in which Hitler ended his.

PEACE NEWS

the international weekly for non-violent action against war and tyranny, carries articles and news about the struggle for freedom in Africa, and has carried exclusive information about Britain's arms deals with the South African Government. In addition, Peace News reports on the non-violent movements for racial integration and for peace in all parts of the world.

Contributors include Lewis Nkosi, Michael Scott, Lionel Morrison, Jariretundu Kozonguizi, Bertrand Russell and A. J. Muste.

> Airmail edition R4.60 (postal orders please) or 3 months' trial for R1.

"PEACE NEWS"
5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1

L.P. Statement on the Transkei Elections

BACKGROUND TO A TRAVESTY

ON THE EVE of the Transkei election the Liberal Party issued the following <u>aidememoire</u> which was widely distributed among those diplomatic, Press and political observers who were in Umtata to study the election. "Contact" reprints the document here in full in the belief that it represents a valuable account of the various steps which led to this "travesty of democracy".

OF DEMOCRACY

UNTIL 1936 African men in the Transkei, if qualified, had the vote on a common roll with whites and coloureds. Tembuland, for instance, was a constituency of the House of Assembly in Cape Town, with a predominantly black roll. For generations it returned members of the highest calibre to Parliament, notably the late Sir Walter Stanford, the only delegate to the National Convention of 1909 to oppose every colourbar clause in the South Africa Act. The Smuts Government built up the Council system, which gave the now voteless Transkeians the right to elect representatives to a General Council, with limited advisory powers.

3. The Nationalists did away with this system on the grounds that it was in conflict with the Africans' own way of doing things. Dr. Verwoerd, as Minister of Native Affairs, sought to re-store tribalism and with it indirect rule, through the Bantu Authorities sys-The Western democratic elective system was said to be totally unsuited to the African mind and tradition, and the District Councils and General Council valueless usurpers of the power of the chiefs. (It was nevertheless the General Council which in 1955 voted to accept the Bantu Authorities system.)

LIBERATORY STRUGGLE

The cream of the educated and politically enlightened Transkeians, then as now, took almost no part in the Council system, being engaged in the "liberatory struggle" as members of the Congresses The intellectuals of and other groups. the Transkei felt themselves as powerless to oppose the Government in the TTGC or TTA as they do in the new-model These bodies were firmly controlled by white officials, backed outside by tight control of political activity, mainly through proclamations forbidding entry of non-Transkeians without permits, forbidding meetings of more than ten without permits (1953), and the banishment of individual "agitators" to distant corners of the Republic, where they were and are forced to remain for years, under guard, without trial or any defence or appeal.

5. Throughout this period Dr. Verwoem's simple philosophy was that the future of white supremacy depended on keeping the Africans in "the reserves", where they must be able to survive and be happy "or they would come streaming out again". Labour supply to the Mines, cities, ports and farms would be strictly con-

trolled by the State. To make this possible, the Nationalists set on foot a land "betterment scheme" by which in due course a sufficient number of economic units would be defined to maintain one-third of the present farming population (almost 100%) as farmers, while in as yet non-existent "rural villages" "a million white-collar workers" would eventually live. The enforcement of this scheme, together with the often tyrannical rule imposed by Bantu Authorities, has caused ceaseless unrest in the Transkei which culminated in the East Pondoland risings of 1960-1. "Betterment" meant dispossession, and loss of cattle, as well as minor hardships; Bantu Authorities meant Government-backed tyranny. In addition, Bantu Education lowered the standards of the mission schools and imposed economic burdens, and Influx Control outside the Transkei drastically cut down chances of bettering wages and conditions.

WHITE DEFEAT

7. Emergency Regulations for all 26 districts of the Transkei had been proclaimed by December 1961, to prevent the spread of the East Pondoland risings. The Government fears that if these are removed, there may be another Pondoland, another Ngquza Hill where, on 6 June 1960 400 Pondos under a white flag were fired

on by SA Police and an unknown number killed (Police figure, 6 dead; Pondo figure, 30 dead) - even a white defeat. In Pondoland the tribesmen rose against their chiefs, the instruments of the new policy. Nothing has since been done to ameliorate that policy, rather the reverse.

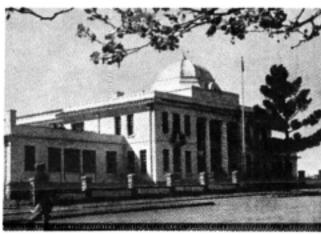
8. Partly as a response to Pondoland, an independence motion was put to the Territorial Authority on 21 April 1961. After watering it down to "self-government", the Government accepted the resolution and agreed that the Africans of the Transkei "must eventually get self-government". A Recess Committee to go into this was set up. Nine months later it had not met.

9. BAD Minister Nel's "eventually" was shortened to a few months when on 23 January, 1962 "self-government" was announced in Cape Town and Umtata. The most probable reason was a calamitous defeat at the United Nations at the end of 1961.

10. From the next two years' manipulation of the Recess Committee and Territorial Authority, in which the people were kept uninformed (only the Tembus fully discussed self-government and four times rejected it at mass tribal meetings) emerged the Transkei Constitution Act passed by the Republic parliament early this year. What Dr. Verwoerd had called in 1961 "gradual introduction of the elective system into the Bantu Authorities system" had now taken place in response to "the pressure being exerted on South Africa". "That is not what we would have liked to see", said Dr. Verwoerd. But it would have to be done, "thereby buying the white man his freedom and the right to retain domination in what is his country" (Hansard 10 April 1961, 4191, 4314-5). World pressure had intensified, and a higher price was paid than the word "gradual" implied: there was to be one-man-onevote, for 45 of the 109 members of the new Bunga.

UTTERLY SCEPTICAL

11. The price of a popular, shopwindow election could still be kept down by the Emergency Regulations, with all the old proclamations, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Sabotage Acts now thrown in. One candidate at least, Mr. L. Mdingi of Bizana, was given 90-days when he emerged as organiser of the IQumru LamaMpondo AseMpumalanga (Pondoland People's Party) putting up eight candidates. Mr. Hammington Majija, a well-known Liberal, was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act on 1st October, the eve of Nomination Day. standing local leader, Mr. N.I. Honono, was house-arrested in Umtata in 1962 and another, Mr. R.S. Canca, banned and confined to Idutywa and Willowvale this year. And all the old factors remained - the cream utterly sceptical,



The Bunga - prior to renovation.

banned, or elsewhere involved - Transkeians like Nessrs. Nelson Nandela,
Walter Sisulu and Govan Nbeki all in
gaol and Nr. Oliver Tambo in exile.

12. So came the Election, with many
leading figures knocked out in advance,
no political parties, no freedom to
hold meetings at will, freedom of speech
muzzled by the Emergency Regulations
which make even "interference with the
authority of the State, one of its
officials, a chief or headman" by
making "a verbal or written statement"
an offence punishable by up to three
years' gaol and £300 fine.

Under these circumstances every election manifesto must be read and every speech listened to as if it was written in code. No candidates dare reject what most know to be "the Bantustan fraud"; all must pretend to be bona fide aspiring Transkei legislators. Only the genuine followers of Chief Kaizer Matanzima, and they are very very few, see "Bantustan" as a goal in itself. To almost all it is a straw to clutch at, or a stepping stone to African freedom in the Republic as a whole, or a cloak for anti-Government political struggle. The candidates cannot, of course, say so, and their apparent acceptance of self-government is the consequence.

14. Do the voters understand the code? Probably very few do - the mass being quite uninformed, many confusing this new self-rule with the 1956-model "self-rule" (maziphathe) which was the label the Government then stuck on to the hated Bantu Authorities system. For the most part, they will intend to vote for the leaders they follow, for men whom they can trust. Whether, in the light of the countless deceits and distortions the Government has used to introduce "self-government", the votes of the largely illiterate electorate can have any meaning in most of the regions, it must be for the observers to decide.

they are told to by their headmen, and their crosses will reflect no choice of their own. In any event, from first to last, the Transkei elections cannot be said to be intended to produce a legislature that the people would choose in normal democratic conditions.

15. In 1962 the International Commission of Jurists in their report on the police kidnapping of Anderson Ganyile called the Emergency Regulations a "travesty of justice". After prolonged study and considerable participation in the politics of the area, the Liberal Party of South Africa has no hesitation

in calling the Transkei elections a

"travesty of democracy".

Nany no doubt will vote because

CANDIDATES KNOCKED-OUT IN ADVANCE

CAPE TOWN: The banning order served on Mr Timothy Mbuzo, former territorial secretary of the A.N.C. in the Transkei, is probably a delayed-action blow at organised political activity in the Transkei general election.

As CONTACT reported on 18th October, Mr Nbuzo disappeared from his home on 28th June, the eve of the Tembu tribal meeting, at which police unsuccessfully tried to arrest Mr Hammington hajija. Observers believe that like Mr Najija and Mr L.Mdingi of the Pondoland People's Party, who was given 90-days after being

nominated as a candidate, Mr Mbuzo's influence and possible participation was so feared by the Government that he was to be "knocked out" in advance.

It is believed that Mr Mbuzo has been confined to his location in the Bityi area of Umtata district.

Nr Nbuzo, a leather-worker, is a lay preacher in the Nothodist Church. He was once secretary of the Umtata General Workers' Union, and was expelled from Umtata, where he then lived and worked. Nr Mbuzo has also acted as secretary to Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo on

News in Brief

NIGERIA IS HAVING TROUBLE over its population census. In the Northern Region a problem has arisen over the counting of women. The Government has refused to allow enumerators to enter the harems and so there is no means of checking the accuracy of householders' statements. Meanwhile the three regions compete for the largest population and each queries the claims of the others because a proposed new delimitation of seats in the Federal Parliament will be based on population density.

TELEVISION IN KENYA is still having teething troubles. A recent TV advertisement for beer was accompanied by a commentary on well-known brand of petrol. But Kenyans will soon be the first to have their TV comments served up in either English or Swahili. By simply flicking a switch on their sets they will be able to receive the programme in the language of their choice.

PRETORIA CITY COUNCIL has acceded to the request of the Malemodi Advisory Board that residents who have two wives and cannot afford to buy a house for each of them should be allowed to keep them both in the same house.

GHANA'S PREVENTIVE DETENTION ACT has now been amended to enable the Government to detain a prisoner for a ten-year period - five years after he has served his initial detention period. The Act authorises the detention of anyone whom the Government feels might prejudice Ghana's security, defence, or relations with other countries.

PRITAIN AND THE U.S. are urgently conferring on the best method to end the South African Government's apartheid policy. But for the U.K. the effect of a trade embargo would be extremely serious. Her exports to this country now total R300million a year. In addition Britain's investment in South Africa exceeds R1,800 million.

A LITTLE LIMESTONE AIRSTRIP at Kasane, in northern Bechuanaland, close to the Rhodesian border, used normally mainly by a flying doctor, has suddenly become important in the apartheid struggle.

The significance of the tiny airstrip was pinpointed in October when attempts were made to sabotage it by placing spikes in the runway.

Kasane now lies squarely on the route used by refugees trickling out of South Africa. The new route entails a 30-mile drive from Francistown to the northern airstrip on roads so bad that no car can get through. Refugees are reported to be making the long, hot journey in hired trucks and flying out in small chartered aircraft to East Africa.

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A CHANCE FOR "FOOLS"

From "Contact" Correspondent

BLANTYRE: Under the headline "A Word of Warning to Everybody in Malawi", an editorial in a recent issue of the "Malawi News", published weekly in Limbe, Nyasaland, points out that the Prime Minister, Dr.Banda, has said that "if any of his people did things without his approval or contrary to his wishes, he would be sacked".

The editorial goes on to "resolve that any action taken by you (i.e. Dr. Banda) against settlers and their newspapers or any member of our Party, will be welcome by the Nation".

MALAWI LION

The paper's slogan is "Freedom of Expression Our Birthright". It claims to be "The Only Newspaper in East, Central and Southern Africa owned, Printed and Published by Africans themselves at a Press that is owned and Managed by Africans themselves". Dr.Banda is described in the columns of the "Malawi News" as Architect of the Malawi Nation, Liberator of Malawi, Father and Founder of the Nation, The Malawi Lion, Messiah and Protector of the Oppressed.

The paper reports that in a recent speech Dr.Banda said, "I am the boss and anyone who does not know that is a fool ... I will challenge any Minister who dares to do what I don't like and I will show him who is the boss here ... I can sack anyone".

NO OPPOSITION

Dr.Banda announced last week that a general election will be held in Nyasa-land shortly before Independence on July 6th, 1964, to increase the membership of the Legislative Assembly from 33 to 55 and to "finally show the world that there is no real opposition" to the Nalawi Congress Party of which he is the Life President.

Referring to the leaders of other political parties opposing his ewn, Dr. Banda explained, "I want to expose these fools and let the world see for itself that these fools have no following in this country whatsoever".

Released After 134 Days

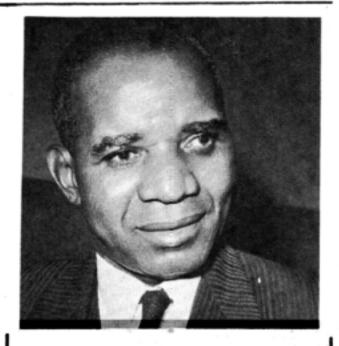
By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: A 21-year old former-Std. X pupil of the Sigcau High School in Flagstaff, has just been released after being detained for 134 days in solitary confinement. No charges were laid against

Mr. "X" who has asked Contact not to publish his name was arrested under the Transkei's Proclamation 400 under suspicion of being a member of Poqo. Wile he was detained, the police discovered that he had been present at a meeting at the Sigcau High School which had been addressed by Mr. Archie Mafeje. He was only released after Mafeje was charged with addressing an illegal gathering. Mr. "X" had previously been forced to sign a statement containing an account of Mr.

Mafeje's speech.
Mr. J. Minie, Principal of the
Sigcau High School, refused to allow "X"
to return to school, in spite of the fact
that he had not been charged with any
crime. Minie had previously confiscated
copies of CONTACT from "X", saying that
it was "communist".

During the first three weeks of his 3½ months in solitary confinement, Mr. "X" was not allowed to leave his cell. Thereafter he was permitted 10 minutes exercise a day and was interrogated for about half an hour every fortnight.



Dr. Hastings Banda.

A Family Needs R55 a Month

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Many industrialists in the Republic have been congratulating each other recently on their decision to follow the lead given by Rembrandt's Dr.Rupert to pay a minimum wage of R2 a day.

Meanwhile Dr.Oscar Wolheim, Warden of CAFDA, has pointed out that a bare subsistence figure for an average-size African family in the Western Cape would be R55 a month. Dr.Wolheim goes on to say that: "At this figure a family is still in poverty and it does not emerge from such a state until the income reaches the effective minimum wage level...which in the Western Cape would be about R78 a month".

For a person working on a daily basis, R2 a day means about R40 a month which falls far short of the bare subsistence figure of R55 a month. If on the other hand a worker is employed on a monthly basis, R2 a day means about R60 a month which tops the bare subsistence figure but falls short of the effective minimum wage. In other words such a worker's family is "still in poverty".

It might be objected that this is no cause for congratulation. Meanwhile the Coloured people who have been shunted out of the Transkei in accordance with the Government's Bantustan policy have been put to work in the docks at Cape Town where they are paid Rl.10 a day or R22 a month...40 per cent of the bare subsistence figure.

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