



contact

FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

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• Price Slashed

- "Contact" Now 6 Pages

• The Odendaal

Report Examined

- See Page 4

Bid to Unite Non-White Opposition in S.W.A.

NATIONAL CONVENTION SOON

CAPE TOWN: Following their total rejection of the Odendaal Report, non-White leaders from all over South West Africa will shortly be invited to attend a National Convention - the first in the history of the Territory.

The object of the Convention will be to dissolve all existing political parties which are formed on a tribal basis and to replace them by a single party united in its opposition to the apartheid policies of the South African Government.

The Convention, which is scheduled to take place in two months time is being organised by the Chief's Council of the Herero people under their venerable 95-year old Chief Hosea Kutako.

Support for the Convention has already been pledged by Chief Samuel Witbooi, leader of the 35,000 strong Nama tribe, and by the 12,000 Basters of the Rhenoboth Gebiet.

Opposition, on the other hand, to the National Convention has been expressed by a recently formed and radical organization calling itself the South West African National Liberation Front which comprises the leaders of the two existing non-White political parties, SWAPO and SWANU.

The Liberation Front is opposed to



The non-White turn-out for Verwoerd's Windhoek speech

the dissolution of political parties - its leaders believing that if this happens they will be out of a job.

They favour a federation of leaders with the retention of SWAPO as a predominantly Ovambo party and SWANU as predominantly Herero.

Regarded as more serious than this is the difference in attitude of the two rival organizations. Supporters of the National Convention are moderate, non-racial and non-violent in outlook whereas the Liberation Front is more outspoken and, politically speaking, further to the left.

Political observers in Windhoek doubt that any reconciliation between the organizations is possible and anyway consider it unlikely that the authorities will allow the National Convention to take place. They point out that the Government recently turned down an application by Chief Kutako and his Councillors for permission to travel round South West Africa with the object of gaining support for the idea of a Convention.

Kapuu Warns of Revolution

ODENDAAL WILL FAIL

CAPE TOWN: Mr. Clement Kapuu, the Chief-designate of the Herero tribe in South West Africa, has warned that there will be a "revolution" if the South African Government attempts to implement any of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission.

The Report recommends that more than 10,000 Hereros be "persuaded to move" from the tribal lands in three reserves which they have occupied for many generations. The move is to be made in the interests of tidying up South West Africa's apartheid map.

Mr. Kapuu pointed out that for the past seven years the Government has failed to "persuade" 2,000 Hereros in Windhoek's tin-shanty Old Location to move to the new Katutura township five miles outside. As a consequence of this refusal, Katutura now is a ghost town with nearly 800 brand-new houses standing empty.

Mr. Kapuu said that in the same way that the Government has failed to apply the apartheid principle of group areas in Windhoek, so it will fail all over South West Africa - in spite of the Odendaal report.

Black Spots Tenants Threatened

From "Contact" Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG: The Government seems determined to press on with its Black-spot removals plans in spite of the opposition of African free-holders and tenants living in these areas.

Recently Government Gazettes and an advertisement in the Zulu-language "Ilanga Lase Natal" have called on African free-holders in the Ixopo District and from the Longlands area of the Dundee District to present their title-deeds for inspection by a specially-appointed official at their local Bantu Commissioner's office. The initial inspection is innocent enough. It is to enable the Department to ascertain who the legal owners of property in Blackspots are. It is invariably followed, however, by moves to uproot landowners and tenants from their long-established homes and move them to the nearest Bantustan.

From Charlestown comes news of prosecutions in terms of the Native Urban Areas Act.

The Act is being used to force out from the area tenants who have lived in the Charlestown area for years but who are not employed there.

Many Charlestown people have been legal tenants of the Local Authority for 30 or more years. They have built their homes on Local Authority land. They are now being prosecuted and threatened with ejection, no doubt in order to reduce numbers in the area and so make it easier to remove free-holders in the future.

The End of Rights for 11 Million

CAPE TOWN: The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill represents the conclusion of the tortuous logic of Nationalist Party policy.

Its introduction and passage have been inevitable since 1948. So has the political climate of this country - in which a few isolated public protest meetings, a day or two's debate in Parliament, are all that mark the final end of the political, economic and social rights of 11,000,000 South Africans in their own country.

The frustration and growing bitterness of the democratically-minded in South Africa, show clearly in the cliches of the language of protest. Indeed, what else is there to say: removal of human rights, dignity, freedom of the individual this is a nightmarish reality now. With every repetition of the phrases, hope diminishes. Hatred does not.

From now on no African in an urban area - in fact, no African outside the "Bantu homelands", is secure. (This irrespective of whether the said "homelands" are his home, or whether he has never been there in his life.) Neither are his wife or children. He is no

longer a human being. He is part of the labour force. And without a cheap, plentiful labour force, where would white South Africa be? Even the Nationalists have to admit that Africans are a vital part of South Africa's life. They have, however, made this bitter fact more palatable by making quite sure that the African does not for one moment feel secure, or comfortable, or happy or contented or human, outside the Bantustans.

Once inside the Bantustans, his feelings don't matter. Has not the Government decreed that he shall be free to starve in his own separate way, in his own separate corner of this, the most prosperous country in Africa?

In 1963, 3,3103 Africans were endorsed out of the Cape Town municipal area.

660 were endorsed out of the Cape Divisional area.

19,650 were endorsed out of Johannesburg.

In Cape Town and Johannesburg alone, more than 22,000 individuals lost their chance of a livelihood. Their families suffered with them.

How many more this year? And next?

THE LONG VIEW

Beneath Apartheid's Clean White Dress

— by Alan Paton



A DUBIOUS VIRGIN

UNDER THE INFLUENCE of sixteen years of strong-arm government, many white South Africans who formerly believed Apartheid to be unchristian and unjust, have come to see its virtues. It is now many times more difficult to see the vices of Apartheid than it was sixteen years ago.

Dr. Verwoerd on the one hand, and Mr. Vorster on the other, are largely responsible for this transformation. It is Dr. Verwoerd who has taken the trollop Apartheid, put a clean white dress over her dirty undergarments, renamed her Separate Development, and persuaded many intellectuals and churchmen (not merely Dutch Reformed churchmen either) that the girl is a virgin. It is Mr. Vorster who has made people afraid to doubt the virginity, and afraid to see the dirty undergarments. He has identified such disbelief with treason to the State.

It has suited Dr. Verwoerd to become the champion of all that is sweet and holy in Separate Development. It has equally suited Mr. Vorster to become the champion of white supremacy and almost total State power (except over certain trivial freedoms). Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster use each other skillfully. Dr. Verwoerd is the smiling and benign benefactor, Mr. Vorster is the unsmiling totalitarian who carries out the benefactions. The duality of these two men, with these two irreconcilable images, the one promising, the other foreboding, is indeed the duality of white National-

ism itself.

There could be no better example of this duality than the Odendaal Report on South West Africa, and its speedy successor the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. No sooner has this Government made this gesture to the world than it shows the cruel counterpart. It cannot help it. As in a surrealist film, the smiling face and the shining teeth turn to fangs and horror.

This is quite inevitable. One cannot combine noble unselfishness and self-centred love into one durable philosophy. No sooner has the Government promised substantial aid to South West Africa than it reveals how black men will be treated in the white areas of that country. The dubious virgin, whose white dress has been designed to charm all Western lovers, even perhaps to cause a flutter in some Eastern hearts, cannot help lifting it to show her dirty undergarments. And what is more, this slut-tish action, while repelling some, excites others, notably visiting business men.

Let me say of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill that it is evil. I can understand that white South Africans want security. But I cannot understand that they should consent to buy it at the cost of the security and family life of six or seven million African people. Douglas Mitchell, who has often reproved the Government for doing too much for Africans, is outraged at the thought that an old farm worker of 90 can be forced to

return to his "homeland" when he can work no longer. He is right to be outraged. It would be an utterly evil act.

I tell white South Africans once again that Apartheid is an evil and cruel thing, no matter how it is dressed up. It is quite contemptuous of the rights of others. It professes to benefit all impartially, and to exact the cost from all impartially, but that is a lying profession. It declares that black men have no rights in "white" areas, when those same black men have helped to build those same "white" areas. It puts restraints on black people, on their freedom of possession and movement, that white people would find intolerable. What white person would tolerate having to seek permission from some Whitesman Commissioner for his aged father and mother to come and live with him?

I am afraid some of this language is rather strong. I shall probably - after having regained a slight respectability when Peter Brown wrote the LONG VIEW - be relegated again to the ranks of the irreconcilable. But I have no wish to be reconciled with such legislation as the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, nor with those who make such laws.

I am not a good man. I am far from practising all I believe in. But I would rather be harried by Mr. Vorster and his Security Police, I would rather be hanged by them, officially or unofficially, than state any other opinion than that the Amendment Bill is an evil law, and a disgrace to any State that calls itself Christian.

Bill Spells Disrupted Lives and Demolished Families

PUTTING THE ROOF ON APARTHEID

WITH THE Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the white racials of South Africa are preparing to place the roof over the whole rotten, rambling structure of apartheid. With its 101 clauses designed to amend, consolidate and strengthen laws that go back to 1911, it is the near-ultimate stage in a process that has steadily deprived black South Africans of their country. This Bill can only be seen by those on whom its edicts will be inflicted as an act of robbery on a massive scale, sanctified by a Government that is blatant in its lack of moral concern over what it is doing and largely condoned by the silence of the rest of white South Africa.

Because of its provisions and of all the corrosion of good and fair government that has led up to it, three South Africans in every four will have nearly nine-tenths of their country taken away from them. "There are no rights for a Bantu in a white area," said one prominent Nationalist Party Member of Parliament during the debate on the Bill, "There are only those that he earns from exercising his duty as a worker, and this gives him the right to stay." For those who do not even reach the status of docile menials, as squatters on the land where they were born or have lived for almost all their lives, there is the apartheid device of "Bantu homelands". There, in 13 per cent of South Africa, they may exist, poor, cramped and in a ridiculous parody of real freedom; or they may place themselves in the hands of the labour bureaux which will assign work to them; or they may choose to move into one of the "aid centres" created by Clause 12 of the Bill.

By Nationalist Party definition, labour allocation and resort to "aid centres" are kind gestures to ensure that everything is carefully organised. When an African worker loses his job or is found to have no right to be in an area he could be sent to prison. But he may be given the choice of moving into an aid centre "managed by an officer app-

roved by the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development". This manager may ask that criminal action against his charge be withdrawn and "may make such order as may appear to him just in regard to the placing in employment of such Bantu"; he may issue him with documents, give him necessary permission, or he may "repatriate" him.

Clause 12 was slightly changed in its passage through Parliament to emphasise that no one will be held against his will in an aid centre. This, however, is a change without real meaning. When you give a man a choice of either electing to go into some form of detention camp or of enduring the rigours of a South Africa prison because he does not carry a piece of paper with the right dates and the right rubber stamp, he no longer has free choice. And Bantu Laws Amendment Bill will place tens of thousands of Africans in this dilemma.

When the Bill ends its inexorable journey through South Africa's all-white Parliament, we shall then see what it really means in terms of disrupted lives and demolished families. It will then fall to the administrative level of the clerks in location offices scattered in their hundreds through 87 per cent of the area of South Africa. A labour bureau will be no slick reception depot finding jobs quickly and efficiently. It will have its inevitable dreary lines of waiting men and harassed junior officials striving to keep some crude balance between the supply and the demand for cheap labour. This will be a world dominated by the rubber stamp which will mean all the difference between starvation and precarious existence. It will be a world controlled more than ever before by the policemen demanding documents.

On paper, the aid centres will be models of aseptic order. A benign manager will watch anxiously over his charges, keeping them out of prison and seeking jobs for them. There will be

food, a clean bed and good companionship in the time of waiting. Don't you believe it. We can see them now; fences probably of barbed wire, surrounding rows of low, uniform buildings; one gate with a watchman; a kitchen slopping out what may just pass as food; a curfew and strict control.

The Government is already seeking desperately for white men to run its system of white domination. In finding enough aid centre managers, labour bureaux officers and all the other operators of the apartheid machine, it will steadily debase already poor standards of administration. Not only will black South Africans lose the last of what little rights they have left, but they will be placed increasingly in the hands of the worst type of petty bureaucrat, a man haunted by fear of the anger he sees developing around him, treading anxiously through a maze of regulations and venting all his frustration and mounting feeling of inadequacy on the unfortunate people he controls.

This then is the roof that is now going to lie heavily over creaking apartheid. It will leak, it will sag and one day it could bring the whole structure crashing down under its weight. For, in all their laborious drafting, the architects of apartheid have forgotten that they are legislating for men, women and children and not for cards in a filing system or for mindless blocks on a vast board. To coerce millions of black South Africans through the rough valleys and down the slopes to their extinction as free and independent human beings will require more herdsmen than can ever be found in the ranks of white racialism.

While resistance to tyranny is confined to the few, monstrous and complex schemes may be inflicted on a suffering nation. But such schemes goad to the limit the people who have to endure them; and they consume to weakness those who apply them. Then they fail and fall apart, leaving only the stain and the bitter memory of a time of evil and wrong.

"Anti-Apartheid News" Launched

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: A new newspaper, a broadsheet called 'Anti-Apartheid News', has just been published in London by the 'World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners' and the 'Anti-Apartheid Movement.'

'Anti-apartheid News' replaces the duplicated 'Report from Prison' that was published by the Movement after the World Campaign was launched at the end of last year.

The lead story entitled 'Let these people go' deals with the Rivonia Trial and touches briefly on the political background of the accused.

The lead story is supplemented by an item detailing the signatories of a declaration calling for international support for the campaign for the release of South African political prisoners and an end to the Rivonia trial. Among the signatories are those of three Prime Ministers, many cabinet Ministers of Foreign Governments, judges, clergymen, artists, writers, painters, architects and philosophers.

Another article calls for an end to torture in South Africa.

There is also an account of film actor Marlon Brando's decision to launch a film boycott of South Africa.

The Looksmart Solwandle case is also featured in an article while a cartoon by 'Harold' depicts a uniformed policeman collecting his sten-gun from his sergeant with the question 'And sergeant, can you kill ideas with it?'

'Anti-Apartheid News' will appear monthly 'provided only that our friends and sympathisers are able to secure wide enough distribution to make it economically feasible.'

The aim of the paper will be 'to reach a wider public in Britain and other countries where the campaign is active, and to convey something of the horrors that political opposition in South Africa now involves. 'We are convinced that if once the international public fully realises the predicament of the thousands of political prisoners, the methods of interrogation used, the intimidation of witnesses in the political trials and the enormity of the laws under which the trials are taking place, they will act, and insist that their governments act, to bring the situation to an end'.

The address of 'World Campaign' is 15, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



Is this subversive?

SACTU Victimised

THE ILLUSTRATION printed above is taken from the cover of a pamphlet issued recently by the South African Congress of Trade Unions giving an account of the organization's campaign over the last seven years for a R2 a day minimum wage.

Thousands of copies of the pamphlet were seized by the Special Branch in a series of raids on SACTU's offices in Cape Town and Johannesburg during the last two months.

Particularly now that the R2 a day demand has been given such an air of respectability by Dr. Rupert, one finds it difficult to imagine why it should apparently be considered by the Special Branch to be subversive.

But as the pamphlet points out: "SACTU has suffered many, many casualties. SACTU has borne the yoke of police action and all the misery and uncertainty such a burden creates. Since the world-condemned 90-day clause came into being early this year no fewer than 35 SACTU officials have lain in solitary confinement in prisons throughout South Africa. Their crime? fighting for the rights of workers, your rights and a future for your children."

ZULUSTAN SETBACK FOR THE GOVERNMENT

JURBAN: Strenuous efforts are being made by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to force a Tribal Authority on the 45,000 strong tribe of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, popular and unofficial leader of the Zulu people.

After several unsuccessful attempts to persuade the chief and his tribe to accept tribal authorities voluntarily, the government appears to have decided to resort to pressure and strong arm methods - even if it will not then be able to tell the world that the Zulus accepted tribal authorities.

At a mass meeting of tribesmen held near Mhlabatini last month, Chief Buthelezi disclosed the contents of a letter he had received from the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development which bitterly criticized the tribe for its entirely erroneous concept of tribal authorities and for thinking it had the power to accept or reject tribal authorities.

The letter states that the tribe has no power to accept or reject tribal authorities and suggests by innuendo that the tribe is going to get a tribal authority whether it likes it or not.

Although Chief Buthelezi has never openly opposed tribal authorities, his and his tribe's wait-and-see attitude has been a stumbling block in the way of Government plans for a Zulu bantustan.

At a meeting held at Nongoma last year Chief Buthelezi moved a resolution that the acceptance of tribal authorities was a matter that should be put to the Zulu people as a whole in a referendum. Government plans to use this gathering to gain mass acceptance for its policy suffered a grave setback and, for reasons which are quite obvious, the Government then refused to hold such a referendum and it is said that Buthelezi was informed that if he wanted his referendum he could pay for it himself.

In his latest move the Government has in effect ~~said that~~ **opposed** and delay in accepting tribal authorities is entirely uncalled for as it is merely the "Bantus" own essentially democratic system of self-government given legal recognition. The implication is that they have no power at all to accept or refuse their own essentially democratic system - they are going to get the apartheid version of "self-government" whether they like it or not.

Informed sources see this new strong line as an admission that government propaganda has failed and that the Government will shortly attempt to browbeat Chief Buthelezi into giving them the names of his tribal councillors - the so-called "consultation enjoined in the Bantu Authorities Act - and that it will then go ahead and impose a tribal authority in the area.

However the tribe is solidly behind their Chief - who has recently been requested to surrender his passport - and have refused tempting offers of Government aid for agricultural development. They have undertaken, poverty stricken as they are, to raise the money themselves rather than to be under any obligation.

PRESSURE ON TRANSKEIAN COLOUREDS

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The Transkei's 14,000 "coloured" people are paying dearly for their century-old tradition of keeping out of politics. Their failure to protest at their lot under Transkei "self-government" enabled the Government to push them around like pawns with lasting ill-effects on this once settled Transkei community.

Thousands have been moved to coastal towns in the Republic, to replace African labour due to be forced back to the Transkei.

Those now working in the towns are finding the adjustment a problem, and many, through loss of work, face a decline in living standards even below their meagre share of the cake in the Transkei.

Those left behind live in fear of the attentions of Chief Matanzima's Government and of changed local attitudes to them.

In Cape Town more than 300 ex-Transkei Coloured "dock labourers, who had been engaged to displace satisfactory and experienced African stevedores, have proved not robust enough for the work and recruiting agents are busy in the Transkei collecting fresh African contract labour, for the South African Railways and Harbours, and for private stevedoring firms.

Meanwhile in the Transkei, the Umtata newspaper *Umtshunywa* has reported mob victimisation of "coloured" residents of the mixed Kroza location at Qumbu. Of the twenty "coloured" families there, thirteen were recruited for work in Cape Town. The rest are under pressure from hooligans, who appear to be trying to drive them off the land that is legally

theirs.

Qumbu residents confirm that this is an entirely unknown attitude in the area - something apparently engineered by self-government.

Well-disposed Africans in the area, and there are many, deeply deplore such incidents as an attack on a well-known resident, Mr. Haman, who was jeered at by a mob: "Go-away Haman! other malawu have left already!" (malawu being an insulting term for "coloureds"). A Mr. McKay was also mobbed in his home, his garden trampled and his orchards stripped. All the "coloureds" in the area fear the attentions of the hooligans.

Tragically, the people concerned are adopting their usual non-political attitude; they fear that protest might accelerate their enforced removal from the Transkei, and they hope that the pressure on them will subside as a result of the influence of well-disposed Africans.

It is recalled that in 1962 a noted "coloured" resident of the Qumbu district, visited Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo known beyond Tembuland as an enemy of racialism, and obtained assurances from him that he would stand up for the "Coloureds" rights. *Contact* has also received a report of the regret of African inhabitants of the Pondoland coast, formerly quite thickly populated with "Coloureds", at the absence of hundreds of their former friends and workmates, whose families had been interwoven with those of the Africans for many generations. The Pondos say that they never asked for the "Coloureds" to be removed, that no one consulted the "Coloureds" and that such racialism is foreign to them, and to be deplored.

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The Murky Workings of the Apartheid Mind

IN THE BY-WAYS OF ODENDAAL

By the Editor

BY VIRTUE of its bulk alone the report of the "Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs" merits a more detailed examination than it has hitherto received - quite apart from which it does present some interesting and instructive sidelights on the rather murky workings of the apartheid mind.

It should be remembered that the report not only makes recommendations for the future but also gives an account of what has been done in the past. According to Article 2 of the original mandate, the "Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well being and social progress of the inhabitants of the territory". South Africa, of course, has been doing this now for more than 40 years.

Take the "material well being" first. Ovamboland, population 240,000, has four medical practitioners. This gives a ratio, per head of population, of one doctor to 60,000 which is the worst in Africa. But is the Commission perturbed? ... "The Commission recommends that efforts be made gradually to raise the number of available medical practitioners to as close as possible to 1 to 10,000." There is a nice sense of urgency there, but why 1 to 10,000? The ratio for Whites in the territory is 1 to 1,000 ...

Well then, take "social progress" - education for example. In the three years 1960 - 62, 740 Whites matriculated but only six Africans. The reason is fairly obvious. There is only one secondary school for Africans in the territory. "The problem in this connection," says the Commission stoutly (at least recognising that there is a problem) "is not lack of encouragement or failure to provide opportunities or any unwillingness on the part of the authorities to expand the facilities, but rather the still existing lack of perseverance in attending school." Two hundred pages later the Commission loses the thread of the argument and we find: "A striking feature is the value attached to school attendance, education and scholastic achievement" - which at least has the ring of truth. Turn back 200 pages and we find the admission that in 1960, 68 per cent. of the Africans were illiterate. But we are assured, "Compulsory education is not feasible owing to the established traditions amongst these groups." In this case it is not so much that the Commission is loath to tamper with established traditions, it is just that they want to be democratic. Thus: "The Commission did however receive evidence from teachers and others to the effect that compulsory education is essential, but that is not yet the opinion of the population in general." And you are not going to catch the Commission forcing anything on the people they don't want!

In other respects of course the Commission is loath to tamper with established traditions because, as it carefully explains in a short pseudo-philosophical section, "The individual cannot be

separated from his own ethnic relationship since he is linked to his social heritage." (?) But having committed itself, the Commission is forced to indulge in a rather uncomfortable piece of soul searching. They are talking now about the Bushmen, a subject on which they are invariably fascinating. "The challenging problem is the survival of this nomadic group of people, and the question is whether the Bushmen should continue to follow their traditional way of life or whether it is essential that their mode of living should become more established." Of course the answer would be obvious were it not that the traditional way of life is a concept



I.W.A. Commissioner-General, Bruwer

Odendaal

enshrined in the philosophy of apartheid.

Sometimes tradition is convenient. In the section of the report entitled "Social Development and Welfare Services" we learn that the Commission has made no recommendations for the establishment of welfare services for Africans (though they have, extensively, for the Whites) because "institutional care is foreign to their traditional approach". You see, I'm all right, Jack - but you've got to develop along your own lines.

There are times when the Commission gives evidence of an extraordinary sort of blindness. It is not a unique phenomenon but is frequently encountered amongst intellectual apologists for apartheid. "Human beings; the Commission says, "tend to settle in the environment in which they earn a living" - surely a truism. Yet without batting an eyelid they can state quite flatly that at any one time there are more than 28,000 Africans away from their homes and their families working as migrant labourers for periods varying from one to two and a half years. But the anomaly does not seem to strike them - much less worry them.

In a curiously moving section on - of all things - the transition from a subsistence economy to a money economy, the Commission, after explaining how "wood-carving and grasswork etc. are gradually displaced by the technological inventions produced by the White man's ingenuity,

which oust the technology of a less developed culture", then moves on to this apocalyptic conclusion: "A new type of man emerges: a Westernised non-White side by side with the Western White" ! We have been saying it for years ! Breathlessly we read on: "The moral and economic principles of a modern economic system are different from those of traditional groups. Consequently there has to be a differentiated policy." The eyes glaze over, the sun vanishes and at least we know again where we are. Or do we ?

But nobody is going to convict the Commission of deviating from the party line: "A policy of integration is unrealistic, unsound and undesirable" says the Commission dutifully. Then it goes on to list all the evil results of such a policy giving in the process, curiously enough, an accurate picture of precisely the conditions at present obtaining in segregated South Africa: "continual social discrimination, discontent and frustration, friction and violence". But they have got proof: "Integration in the U.S.A. is to the detriment economically and otherwise of the Negro group" ... thereby ensuring a favourable reception for the whole report overseas.

Let us return for a moment to the Bushmen. The Commission decides in desperation to fly in the face of tradition ... and recommends that these people be "established". Whatever else the Commission may lack, it's not ingenuity. Boreholes must be sunk, they say, and "such water sources would then be equipped with a simple but sturdy hand pump which would at the same time serve as a means of familiarising the Bushmen with the use of a simple mechanical device." And lest we get the wrong idea, "the Bushman," the Commission hastily adds, "is not a peculiar primitive creature." Then plaintively, as an afterthought, "It is a well-known fact that the Bushmen are inordinately fond of tobacco." But by now there is a general feeling that the Commission has overplayed its hand and in an attempt to redress the balance we are told, quite firmly, "It is not to be expected that the first Bushman doctor will make his appearance within the next generation or two."

There are other similar dramatizations of the Great Fulf fixed between Them and Us. "As regards sport, several ethnic groups are beginning to take to football and netball." One can almost sense the Commission's disbelief that anything so outlandish as an ethnic group should be indulging in such solidly Western pastimes as these.

It is hardly surprising that Africans in the territory have rejected the report without reading it. But it would be surprising if they failed to reject it having read it.

DISCONTENT IN SWAZILAND

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: A commission of inquiry into wages in the territory has been appointed by the Swaziland Government following a series of strikes on three mines.

The following is an extract from a memorandum presented to the Commission by the Swaziland Usutu Pulp and Timber Workers' Union demanding a minimum wage of R3 a day.

"We want to emphasise that the position of our people is desperate and the question of a living wage is therefore urgent.

"In the first instance you will notice that the bulk of the Black people of Swaziland are poor, ill-clad, poorly educated and disgracefully paid. On the other hand the White people of this Territory are well clad, well fed, properly housed and are well-off economically.

"Swaziland is a British Protectorate and as such is still the responsibility of Great Britain. Yet it is our belief that the bulk of the British people do not know of conditions prevailing here and we hope that our memorandum will help to inform the people of the U.K. and will lead to

improvement in this Territory.

"We recommend that the British Government should be urged to invest money here on a big scale. We propose that the United Nations should be urged to help in this development. The lack of industry in Swaziland is no doubt one of the main causes of unemployment of our people."

"We must state here very emphatically that our workers have all the desire in the world to enjoy the best which the Whites enjoy and that therefore every effort must be made in every direction to see to it that our people are raised from starvation wage levels as quickly as possible to that of the Whites so that we will in fact be able to enjoy the better things in life."

"The skilled worker earns approximately 60c to 80c per hour while the labourer earns about 5c to 10c per hour. This is against civilized practice as for example in the U.K. where the labourer is paid much more of a living wage and such differences do not exist. We ask the question, are we not being used to subsidise the very high standard of living of the White workers?"

"With regard to the training on the job, we suggest that the Whites who are permitted into the Territory should be more carefully screened by the Swaziland authorities, since many of them who hold superior positions in the factories and who are in a position to train our people are not sympathetically inclined to the aspirations of the Black Swazi. Far too many White South Africans, who hold ideas of race superiority are in a position to stem the tide of our progress."

"We suggest that the modern system of apprenticeship be introduced without delay. We need technically trained tutors and if those tutors are to be White South Africans or people from the U.K. or elsewhere, then we must be certain that they are free from racialism."

"We are regarded and treated as boys and girls and not as responsible men and women aspiring to the better things in life. If Britain wants to know why Colonial peoples are at times suspicious of their Administration then we invite them to meet us and visit the Mill and see what is being done in their name."

Powers So Limited as to be Worthless

A COLOURED "PARLIAMENT"

CAPE TOWN: The Bill to establish a Coloured "Parliament" was read for the first time on 26th February. It is regarded as the first step in the Government's 10-year plan for the creation of a Coloured state-within-a-state.

The "Parliament" will be called the Coloured Representative Council and will consist merely of the present pro-Government Council for Coloured Affairs in an expanded form.

Mr. A. Nel, Nationalist M.P. and constitutional architect of the Bill claimed that "Judging from the C.C.A.'s reaction the vast majority of the Coloured people in South Africa would find the provisions of the bill very acceptable."

It is not often that the C.C.A. is regarded as being representative of the "vast majority of the Coloured people".

The "Parliament's" powers, to say the least, will be limited. But then South Africa is renowned for the new meanings it gives to words we all thought we already understood.

Initially the Council will have no legislative powers at all. It will only be allowed to "advise" and then only when asked to do so and on matters referred to it by the Government.

It will thus have no autonomy at all and its advice will in no way be binding.

"Eventually" it will have legislative functions but only in certain specified fields. Before it may even discuss a subject it will have to receive the approval and the consent of the Minister

The State President may reject any proposal made by the Council and such proposals must in no way conflict with any law passed by the Republican parliament.

Mrs. Suzman has said its powers are so limited as to be worthless.

Sixteen of its 46 members will be appointed - by whom it is not clear - and the remaining 30 will be elected. New constituencies will be delimited 18 in the Cape, six in the Transvaal and three each in the Free State and Natal. Of the nominated members, 2 must be Malay and 2 Griqua. Each constituency will elect one man and new voters' rolls will be prepared.

The four Coloured representatives will remain but these will be elected on the existing rolls.

Among the Bill's proposals is the enfranchisement of all Coloured women over the age of 21. It will be the first time in the history of South Africa that they and Coloured males in the Transvaal, Free State and Natal have ever had the vote. After a legal and political battle lasting six years, Coloured males in the Cape were removed by the Nationalists from the Common Roll in 1956 after their voting rights had been entrenched in the 1910 Act of Union.

The first Council will be elected in 1966 and thereafter elections will be held every five years. The present CCA will continue in office until the "Parliament" is ready to take over.

It is said that its main function will be to form a bridge between the Coloured people and the Government, represented by a joint select committee of both Houses of Parliament.

Mr. M.A. Gierdien, a Malay member of the national executive of the Progressive Party, has said that the "Parliament" will merely be a "talking shop with no real powers". Mr. Graham Eben, Coloured Representative for the Karoo, described it as "window dressing for foreign consumption" designed to represent "2nd class citizens".

At present there are 10,000 registered Coloured voters in the Cape Province. Eight years ago it was calculated by the Nationalists that if all the Coloureds who were entitled to vote registered, the figure would be close to 150,000.

This is a fair indication of the attitude of the Coloured people to the Separate Representation of Voters Act in terms of which they are empowered to elect 4 white representatives to a Parliament of 160.

It seems unlikely that the reaction to the Coloured "Parliament" will be any more enthusiastic.

The fact that the Council will have power to legislate - when asked to do so - in the field of Coloured education is a good indication of the Government's confidence in where the Council's

sympathies will lie.

There are Coloured leaders who point to the Transkeian parallel and say that because the people did not boycott the election, Chief Poto's group were able to demonstrate an overwhelming popular rejection of the government's apartheid policies. They say the Coloured people should do the same.

But the influence of the Non-European Unity Movement is still strong and they will certainly campaign for a total boycott of the new rolls on the grounds that anything that is racial and sectional is inferior. Should this happen the Council will be totally unrepresentative of the Coloured people but the Government will reply that the people have got exactly the sort of representation they deserve.

The attitude of those appointed recently to the Government's Indian Council indicates that there will be Coloured people willing to serve on the new Council in the belief that many practical benefits will flow from it. Members of the Indian Council who have adopted this attitude claim that their Council is not a political body but then they fail to appreciate that the Government will nonetheless use it as such.

The ultimatum issued recently to the Cape Town City Council giving it 30 days to agree to the establishment of Coloured Management Committees in three areas is clearly another step towards

the realization of the Government's plans for the "political development" of the Coloured people. The management committees have already met with considerable opposition from the Coloureds but the attitude of the City Council, which capitulated in the face of the ultimatum, is that Management Committees will be established anyway and that one might as well make the best of a bad job. This point of view of course has been vigorously rejected by the Unity Movement who subscribe to a policy of "non-collaboration" under any circumstances.

There seems little doubt that unless Coloured politicians regard the proposed establishment of the "Parliament" as a rallying point, it will eventually go through with sufficient support for the Government to be able to say that it's what the Coloured people wanted. But Coloured disunity is traditional and in this case the field will be divided into three; those who will advocate total boycott; those who will say register and fight it from inside; and those who will give it the sort of support that has already been accorded to the C.C.A.

It is possible that many people will swallow the bait of brand new votes for all women, and for males in three of the Republic's four provinces.

But the Coloured people have been sold down the political river so often in the past that they will probably in the end merely ignore the whole thing.

Keeping Up With Matanzima

A ONE-PARTY STATE WITHIN A YEAR?

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: In its February issue the privately-circulated monthly Transkei Liberal News drew attention to the authoritarian trend among Kaizer Matanzima's supporters in the Transkei, noting especially his statement that in five years there would be no opposition party in the Transkei, as the opposition to "separate development" would have died a "natural death" by then. The mass-circulation Sunday Times, Johannesburg took this up in its 8 March issue. Already the Daily Dispatch, East London, which has a wide circulation in the Transkei, had

published a leading article deploring the one-party trend, suggested by Chief Matanzima's words. But on the 25th February, in the course of an interview with SAPA, Chief Matanzima, after making his claim that six elected and three nominated TLA members had left Chief Poto's party to join his side, added:

"It is an indication of the entire destruction of the multiracial clique. In my view, within a year there will be no opposition in the Assembly."



IT'S FUN TO BE FOLLOWED

IT IS SELDOM enough that CONTACT can claim to 'first with the news' but we like to believe that we are in the vanguard of opinion - even if it sometimes seems that we haven't any followers. However three recent developments have served in some small way to reassure us.

In our issue of 10th January we bitterly accused the "Sunday Times" of dishonesty and (apparently) deliberate deception. The accusation arose out of an article in that paper

in December headlined "90-day ill-treatment charges disproved". We pointed out that the report on which the story was based had been published before the second General Laws Amendment Act was passed and could therefore have nothing to do with 90-day detention. We demanded an apology. Two weeks later the "Sunday Times" quietly admitted the "error" and duly apologised "to all concerned for any inconvenience they may have been caused".

In an editorial on the 24th January we pointed out that James Tyitya, an African detainee, had hanged himself in a Port Elizabeth gaol and that the story had rated a mere three inches in the Argus without any comment. We said that the failure of the Press to react in this case was a horrifying indication of how

punch-drunk we had become. On the 10th February, under the headline "Another prisoner is found hanged", the Argus, for reasons best known to itself, reprinted the same four weeks old story as if it had never seen it before - only this time over six inches and prominently on the front page. At least now it is aware of the problem...

On the 14th February we ran an editorial on Mr Cyril Lord, the border industry baron. We said that an examination of Lord's gift to apartheid would show that this enterprising Englishman had been moved by things more solid than belief in the correctness of Government policy, and that rising prices in his field could be traced directly to the folly of attempting to impose that apartheid policy on the siting of industries. The following week we noted that all hell had broken loose over Mr Lord with that worthy gentleman demanding SABC time to reply to his critics.

Having patted ourselves on the back and at the risk of appearing as the mouse that roared we would now like to venture that the Odendaal plan will collapse at the point it starts trying to shunt 100,000 frankly recalcitrant Africans about the South West African scene. If this is not the spearhead of the official opposition's attack on the Bill, it will simply confirm our suspicion that some people don't know a good lead when they see it.

Government Attempts to Corral Off the Indians



Dr Meidner

DURBAN: The following statement on recent government actions in relation to the Indian people of South Africa has been issued by Dr. Hans Meidner, Natal Provincial Chairman of the Liberal Party.

"In its relentless determination to 'divide and rule' the Nationalist Government is using the 1964 parliamentary session to corral off the Indian community in the same manner as it has the Africans.

"We have now had time to see the effects of Bantu Education. Since the removal of African education from Provincial control in 1956 there has been a disastrous decline in the number of matriculated Africans available for further education at the Medical School in Durban and even at the tribal colleges. The same fate threatens the Indian people now.

"The Liberal Party protested against the shameful handing over of African education to the central Government in 1956 and warned the electorate that the same fate would befall Coloured, Indian and finally White education. We warn again that what is happening to Indian education today will happen to White education tomorrow. Already we know that provincial syllabuses are to be replaced by uniform, nationally prepared ones in the very near future; and judging by the Transvaal example, English-speaking pupils will then be taught that their forbears were unnatural, treacherous enemies of 'die-volk' etc.

"In its other move to 'deal' with the Indian community - the appointment of the Indian Council - the Government once more displays its contempt for democratic procedures. We see the appointed councillors priding themselves, in newspaper interviews, that their views coincide with those of the Government (would they ever have been appointed otherwise?) and that they have had friendly consultations with Indian Affairs officials. The Liberal Party calls on those worthy councillors to consult rather with the people whom they are supposed to represent. Then they will see how little support there is for 'separate development', racialist education and all the inferior standards which these inevitably entail."

LETTERS

Educating Africans

Sir,

May I join the sons of the soil who send their letters to Contact.

In contributing to the African struggle I contribute the following. I am sure sir, you will find some mistakes here and there.

I would ask you sir, not to reveal my box number.

The Govt. of the Republic of South Africa has tried high and low to suppress the progress of an African educationally and otherwise. One of the mottoes is "Educating an African is just like ordering a White man to cut his throat with his own knife". African ignorance ensures the perpetuation of white supremacy.

Education is free and compulsory for white children up to the Form III level. Their schools are well equipped in all spheres. But educational facilities are provided on the basis of apartheid. Wages among the Africans are so low and the cost of living is so high, so as to make it impossible for their children to receive high school or university education. Apart from that fact, even if the Africans are granted scholarships from abroad, they are refused permission by the Govt. of the Republic to travel to the places where they can avail themselves of their scholarships. Theirs is to strive and go to one of the brain washing institutions like Ngoye College in Zululand.

The Nation without enlightenment of education is deprived of its powers of ruling itself.

Thabo Nuthwa.
Swaziland.

SWANLIF'S Demands

Self-Government for S.W.A.

THE FOLLOWING is an extract from a statement issued recently by the South West African National Liberation Front, a federation of the leaders of the South West African People's Organisation and the South West African National Union.

"It is generally agreed that human patience is not limitless and the people of South West Africa are not an exception to that rule. Petition upon petition has been sent to the United Nations without any help or response from the world body.

"We hope that the United Nations will act in accordance with its charter regarding this most important matter of South West Africa. The people of South West Africa might be forced by circumstances to look for help somewhere outside the scope and nature of the United Nations, which shall be very detrimental to the existence of the United Nations as a guardian of South West Africa and a world body which claims to maintain peace.

"The report of the Odendaal Commission is, as it was expected, a further attempt on the part of Dr Verwoerd and his government to perpetuate its criminal presence in South West Africa.

"We regard any presence of the South African regime on the South West African soil under whatever pretext as an assault on the people of South West Africa in particular, and the people of Africa and all peace loving people of the world in general.

"All the peace loving nations of the world have condemned all forms of colonialism as an act of aggression. The Nazi regime of Pretoria is continually colonising the noble people of South West Africa under the disguise of improving their standard of education, living and culture.

"The proposed Bantustans of Dr Verwoerd is a desire to continue with his illegal presence in South West Africa. We are not disputing the academic profundity of Mr Odendaal and the members of his commission, but we are sorry to

state they do not qualify for the job entrusted to them, because they stated that their Bantustans were in favour of those concerned: "because each group wants to preserve its identity for fear of domination by the stronger groups". This statement is devoid of the whole truth because Dr Verwoerd is trying to separate the people of South West Africa. He has resorted to the old and tried Nazi technique of "divide and rule".

"The people demand the immediate termination of the South African administration in South West Africa. This means the end of all South African military and police force from the South West African soil; a National Convention should be called to enable the people to draw up a constitution for the country. At the convention the people themselves shall be able to decide for themselves, through their elected representatives and not nominated representatives, the form and kind of government they want.

"In the light of the above, we would point out that any person or country who might be inclined to think of the Odendaal report as a direct response or contribution towards the upliftment of the people of South West Africa would be committing what Shakespeare said "the unkindest cut of all evil", if not a mockery of democratic concept.

"South Africa has proved that it has not reached the stage of human development to administer another country and it is therefore that we feel instead to govern ourselves rather than being administered by the Broederbond regime of Pretoria.

"We know the tribulations of our people better than Dr Verwoerd. We would like to point out that to govern ourselves is an inherent right, no matter what the South African government is saying.

"In conclusion we would point out that the implementations of the Odendaal report will come over our dead bodies..."

Africans can't keep appointments

LIBERAL PARTY SHOULD DISBAND

Sir,

I am a deeply disillusioned person. For four years I have been a very active and loyal member of the Liberal Party. Now this is what I find:

(1) African membership of the Party has dwindled terribly in the last year.

(2) It appears there are three kinds of Africans: (a) Those who are too frightened to join the Party although they agree with its principles; (b) Those who might join but are just incapable of being organized and (c) Those who have gone right over to Black Nationalism and violence or the advocacy of violence.

(3) After four years of working with Africans I want to know: How do you organize Africans to do anything? I have hardly ever succeeded in persuading an African to keep an appointment on time (most are just not kept at all) and have come to the conclusion that most are incapable of organizing a Sunday school picnic properly, let alone a political activity. Branches are formed with great enthusiasm; within a few months they disappear into thin air because the Secretary has absconded with the money or there has been a monumental quarrel over the chairmanship. Subscriptions are not collected.

I have known some exceptions to this sort of thing, particularly in matters organized by African women.

What does the Liberal Party really consist of today? A few dozen dedicated people, 80% Whites, articulate, intelligent, highly vocal - but that's about all.

I have rarely had money repaid to me which I have lent to African friends and am owed about R200 for the last three years. This is the bitter truth.

Some Africans join the Party because they are genuine humanists and non-racialists; others join so that they can boast to their pals of free drinks and fine houses where they are entertained and cars they ride in. And those that don't or won't join - do they just hate Whites?

I have many dear African friends, lovable people. My loyalty to the Party is unshaken, I would never betray these wonderful liberal friends, Black and White. But I say to my African friends: Africans need education in western ways of life which, through their oppression, they have not been able to get. And I would add this: let the small band of Liberals disband and join forces with the Progressives with their policy of gradualism. And I can assure the Progressives that if that

happened they would gain a transfusion of fine, intelligent, active and tremendously dedicated people who would help to infuse their party with a new and dynamic spirit.

After all, the Progressives aim at eventual universal franchise.

This is my feeling and if the Liberals decided to cross over, I would be the first to join them, but as things are, my loyalty to my friends in the Liberal Party stands firm and will remain so.

Only one big doubt plagues me: how do the Progressives plan to close the enormous gap between White wealth and African poverty? They are a party of big capitalists. The Liberal Party has definite plans to close this gap and more are being contemplated. We have a radical economic programme - a socialist programme.

If there are many Africans who will not join the Liberals or Progressives because they detest White arrogance and oppression and insults, I would not blame them. It would be only human. They would just have to tell me so and I'd understand (but they won't because they are too courteous, unfortunately). But if it is a case of laziness or apathy or slave mentality, then I do blame them and will not risk bannings and confinement to fight their battles. I can only continue with an uneasy conscience to "enjoy" the privileges that my skin colour bestows on me. Or I can leave the country and let the whole lot, black, white and coloured, to stew in their own juice. What else can I be expected to do?

At this stage I prefer to use a non-de-plume.

"WORRIED" Benoni

TAIL-PIECE

GUCUMATZ

Kudus, Zebras, Cobras and Owls, are the animals that will meet at the corner of Klein Windhoek and Gobabis Roads at 19.30 on Friday night.

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