

# contact

FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

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## TEMPORARY CHANGE

In the eventful 5½ years since its first issue, CONTACT has appeared in different shapes and has been produced often in circumstances that would appal publishers outside and even in South Africa.

Since 1960 this newspaper has endured most of the penalties heaped on those who speak out openly and in clear opposition in a police state. It has suffered the disruption of police searches and of several prosecutions; it has had two editors and other members of its staff banned, its selling agents have been repeatedly harassed; and three or four times it has had to change its printers. The last change was made, unfortunately, with very little notice and came too late for suitable alternative printing arrangements to bring the newspaper out before the end of August.

For this reason CONTACT comes to you in its present temporary form. But the essential has been achieved. Once again we have faced a crisis and the newspaper has been published.

## C O N T A C T

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

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Despite the darkening days of continuing and increasing oppression of all radical opposition, we shall continue to publish as long as we have one person with one typewriter and one machine left to print or duplicate what we believe must be said from inside South Africa.

We ask readers to accept and understand that the shape in which we appear in August 1964 is in itself a reflection of what has been happening to the radical press as it struggles to survive, short of almost everything but the ~~deannation~~ ~~de~~ ~~termination~~ to speak out against what it believes to be wrong in our country and to say what it thinks should be done to end this wrong.

If CONTACT does eventually go the way of other radical newspapers the silencing will have to be forced on it by a Government which fears what it says and what it stands for.

## TOMORROW AND TOMORROW AND TOMORROW...

It is now nearly two months since the knock on the door in the early morning introduced a new batch of South Africans to the techniques of government by fear and intimidation.

Since those massive and still largely unexplained police raids, dozens of men and women have been arrested on a warrant signed by a police officer and have been detained without trial, kept in solitary confinement and brought out only for what seems to be terrifying sessions under interrogation.

All this has, of course, happened before. From the middle of 1963, when Parliament gave the police the right to take opponents of the Government into prolonged detention, until this month, about 800 people have gone through experiences which

take us back to the worst days of the Nazi regime in Germany. What they have suffered and what detention has done to several of them, is a mark of shame on all who support or condone the system under which South Africa is governed. And yet "90-days" has slipped easily into the South African vocabulary, sure to raise a laugh as a quip in an after dinner speech or to be used (by at least one shop in Cape Town) as a gimmick in an advertisement. In this way this further descent to barbarism to maintain a system too primitive to survive except under force has had its cruel edges and its horrifying implications softened and obscured.

But there have been indications during the past few weeks that "90-days" has only been partly assimilated and that too much of it has been included in the diet of apartheid, bannings and house arrests. "Release those detained or bring them to trial" is becoming an echoing call throughout South Africa. Even newspapers and others once prepared to accept "90-days" as an unpleasant but necessary antidote to sabotage have been taking up the call. Clearly, vague hints and vaguer promises by the Minister of Justice are becoming less and less convincing. Early in July the Minister indicated that the dawn invasion of South African homes had disclosed some new conspiracy to change the government by violence. Early trials were promised. By the third week of August trials were still being promised "but investigations had not yet been completed".

In the meantime students, lecturers, lawyers and journalists have been whisked away. The Liberal Party has been subjected to a concerted attack by the banning of its National Chairman, by the detention of some 20 of its members, and by police raids on its offices and by the searching of members' homes.

To an organisation less experienced and less aware of what is done in South Africa by political police in the name of "security", this attack could have been lethal. But the Liberal Party has quite obviously been neither broken nor badly disrupted and the Government has failed to destroy by threats and by sniping tactics a movement it fears to stifle by the more direct method of banning.

## THE LONG VIEW

By Alan Paton

### PETER BROWN

I once said, at a meeting held in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall during the emergency of 1960, that in another country Peter Brown would be sitting, not in prison, but in a seat of high authority.

One can say in 1964 that in another country Brown's influence would not be restricted, but would be growing and expanding, to the benefit of his country and its people.

Was Brown planning violence? Was he preaching violence? Was he condoning the preaching of violence by others? He was not banned for any of these things.

Brown was banned - in my view - not only because he was our National Chairman, but also because of his close links with moderate African opinion. He exercised a great influence over it, not because he is white, but because he is trusted and respected, and I might add, loved. Many of our members are not rich in this world's goods: I shall always think that one of the finest tributes that can be paid to Peter Brown, and to his wife Phoebe, is that these members felt no constraint in that big house on the hill, because they knew they were welcome and wanted. One cannot say that for many places in white South Africa.

How often are Liberals condemned for their disloyalty to what is loosely called "South Africa"? How can one feel any loyalty to a ruling caste that does not know what to do with the honesty and sanity of a Peter Brown except to shut him up for five years? How can one feel loyalty to a clique that has decided that if a man believes in building bridges across the gulfs that separate race from race, he must at all costs be prevented? For that is the truth, is it not? Is it not true that if you are a trusted Nationalist, pledged to racial separation, you may have as many interracial contacts as you like, but that if you are a believer in racial integration, your every effort will be watched by the Security police, and, if necessary you will be banned.

Is it not true that you can speak about racial cooperation at all-white Rotary luncheons, and all-white con-

gresses, but that if you speak about it at mixed luncheons and mixed congresses, you are heading for trouble?

The Liberal Party is living through difficult times. They are likely to become more difficult if it can be shown that some of its members have engaged in activity contrary to the policies of the party. It will be said - with anger and hatred by some - that despite our protestations, we are seen to be a party of violence.

In such a time we shall greatly miss the steady hand of Peter Brown. He would have inspired confidence by that extraordinary sanity of his. He would have condemned the use of violence, not only as wrong but as senseless; but he would also, in that astonishing way of his, have made it clear and incontrovertible that ordinary decent people do not turn to violence unless they have reached some point of despair. And he would have laid a great share of the blame at the door of this country's government, who in sixteen years, by passing a series of provocative and often cruel laws, have created a situation unlike anything that was known before, where the papers are daily full of news of sabotage, detentions, refugees, torture, and allegations of torture.

How easy it is for white South Africa to blame China, the English Press, NUSAS, Communism, the Liberal Party, for all its troubles, and by so doing hide from itself its own direct and indubitable responsibility!

#### WISDOM AND SANITY

Edgar Brookes and I have already issued a statement which says that we, though not possessing Peter Brown's gifts (we have gifts of our own of course) or his advantages, will endeavour to emulate his wisdom and sanity. This we shall certainly try to do. Now I on behalf of the Party extend our heartfelt thanks to Edgar Brookes for stepping into the breach and taking on the acting national chairmanship. We are all the more grateful because he could not have done it at a more difficult time, and because he is what is called a 'retired man'!

If I may repeat yet another clever saying of my own, let me remind our acting National Chairman that I once

said of him at a public meeting (he had spoken for some time, I must admit), 'men may come and men may go, but Brookes goes on for ever'

#### WHITES ONLY IN UMTATA

From CONTACT Correspondent

UMTATA: Africans unable to hear Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., address a public meeting in the Umtata town hall recently, had to stand out in the cold to listen to her speech through the open windows of the hall.

Mr. R.H.A. Bruce, a prominent member of the Progressive Party in Umtata asked about a dozen Africans waiting outside the hall to "please go home". He told them that if they demanded entrance they would put the party, which had been refused permission for a multi-racial gathering, in a "very embarrassing position".

"There will be a change one day," he concluded.

#### INFLUX CONTROL CAUSES CRIME SAY CHIEFS

By a Reporter

Despite the considerable publicity given to Government intentions to remove Africans from the Western Cape, it has become clear that little progress in terms of overall numbers has been made. Many, however, have been the complaints of increased individual hardships and arbitrary action against political "undesirables". Those who lost their jobs through imprisonment for alleged political offences, although many were found not guilty in the end, soon discovered that they had very little, if any, time to find work and avoid endoreseent out. And the general sense of insecurity has not been confined to politicians.

#### SERIOUS CRIME

Now, from Natal, comes a report of concern expressed by 15 chiefs in the Ndwedwe District as to the effects of Influx Control regulations, particularly on young people unable to find legitimate employment because of the severe restrictions imposed on them. The chiefs state that these restrictions are the direct cause of serious crime, such as robbery, theft and assault.

An example of the hardship caused to Africans by the implementation even outside the Cape of the policy of replacement of African labour by non-Africans is the change in employment policy reported to have occurred at the Fort Napier and Town Hill Mental Hospitals in Pietermaritzburg. African laundry women have been employed in these hospitals for more than 30 years. They are now gradually to be replaced by Indian and Coloured people, and one more avenue of urban employment is thus to be closed to Africans.

#### CHIEFS "INTIMIDATED" IN TRANSKEI

From CONTACT Correspondent.

DURBAN: At a meeting held in Lamontville township, Durban, this month, Chief Sigwebo Mhlanga announced that he had resigned from the Transkei National Independence Party to join the Democratic Party of Chief Victor Poto.

Chief Mhlanga said that he, like most of the chiefs who appeared to support Chief Kaizer Matanzima had been intimidated into joining the Transkei National Independence Party. He had been threatened with the loss of his chieftanship. He had now, however, decided openly to support the multi-racial policy of Chief Victor Poto.

Chief Mhlanga claimed that the TNIP was trying to remove from the Legislative Assembly all those who hold progressive views. He accused the South African Government of trying to "drive away all the Whites who sympathise with the cause of the Africans in the Transkei".

#### TRULY REPRESENTATIVE

Prophesying that within a couple of years the Transkei National Independence Party would have been rejected by the country as a whole, Chief Mhlanga said that the Democratic Party was "truly representative of the peoples of the Transkei".

Following this meeting, a committee of five has been appointed by the Transkeian Democratic Party to represent it in the Durban district.

The committee members, Messrs. R. Simana, E. Mali, J. Sithutha, E. Dumisa, and Shobonga, will represent the five townships of Lamont-

ville, Kwa Mashu, Umlass, S.J. Smith and Merebank.

#### INTENSIVE SECURITY BRANCH RAIDS IN P.E.

From CONTACT Correspondent.

PORT ELIZABETH: At least 260 African men and women are now awaiting trial in Port Elizabeth's North End gaol on charges of belonging to and/or furthering the aims of a banned organization. A further 74 have been on trial at Graaf Reinet.

Typical of the recent waves of arrests was one which occurred during an early morning Security Police raid at Kwazakhele location. Forty one men and women were dragged from their beds and hustled into waiting police vans. In most cases they were not allowed time to get dressed.

Thirty-eight year old Mr. Wertitjie Kaya of 10870 Kwazakhele was thrown into a police van wearing only his underpants. An African member of the Security Police came back for a pair of trousers but refused to accept either shoes or a shirt.

#### LEGAL DEFENCE

The Defence and Aid Fund in Port Elizabeth is arranging for the legal defence of all those charged and has more than 300 cases on its books at the moment.

Most of the families have lost their only breadwinners and are now destitute. Defence and Aid working in conjunction with the Black Sash, is providing financial assistance for as many of the dependants of the gaoled men as possible but funds are limited. The organisations have appealed to the public for gifts of warm clothing and food.

Observers in Port Elizabeth expect further arrests in the near future. The Security Police are going through the locations street by street arresting the remnants of the ANC's old cell-system.

It is understood that none of the Africans arrested is being held under the 90-day clause. Those arrested are charged almost immediately under the Suppression of Communism Act and then remanded in

custody. Many have been awaiting trial for over a year.

#### COUNTRY TOWNS

The cases, when they are finally heard, are transferred "for security reasons" to small country towns many hundreds of miles from Port Elizabeth thereby making it impossible for wives and relatives to be present.

Under the Urban Areas Act the wives of men sentenced to more than one year's imprisonment are required to leave the urban area and return to the place of their birth. This law is being rigorously applied to the families of men convicted on political charges and is the cause of considerable hardship and distress.

#### ZONING WILL CAUSE RACIAL FRICTION SAID RESIDENTS

From CONTACT Correspondent

UNLATA: A petition protesting against the proposed zoning of the Transkei town of Engcobo was signed by more than fifty African residents of the town at a recent meeting in Engcobo.

The petition, which will be forwarded to the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, rejects the proposed zoning of the town along ethnical lines. The zoning, it states, will deprive African residents of the right to buy property anywhere in the town and will cause friction between black and white residents who have lived together peacefully for many years.

Those attending the meeting reaffirmed their belief in multi-racialism, which they said stood for "peaceful and harmonious co-existence". A vote of no confidence in the Matanzima government was passed.

#### AFFIDAVITS REVEAL CONDITIONS OF SLAVERY

From CONTACT Correspondent.

PILTERRMARITZBURG: Affidavits collected recently by Liberal Party members in Northern Natal reveal conditions of virtual slavery amongst farm labourers, as well as

police brutality towards tenants evicted from farms.

One farm labourer was born on a farm in 1920. Originally each labour tenant was obliged to supply six months free labour a year. However "at the request of the farm labourers the six months labour contract was varied, the labourers agreeing to work 12 months in a stretch in order to have 12 months to go out to work elsewhere.

#### NO BREAK

"Later the farmers insisted on a farm labourer working without a break unless he can find a substitute to work for 12 months or where a family can have enough labour to alternate each year.

"A farm labourer was to find other ways of having his lands ploughed and attended to. No time is allowed for him to plough his lands.

"The farm supplies porridge or mabeu as the only meal for labourers. Occasionally farm labourers are given a spoonful of black sugar."

This farm labourer was evicted from the farm on the grounds that "he had broken the terms of contract". The farmer threatened "to see to it that I did not find another place to live on". He refused to go and after considerable lapse of time was arrested by the police, summoned by the farm manager.

"I was arrested together with three other men who had visited me. We were fined R10 each by the magistrate".

Another farm labourer from the same farm as the above complainant was evicted in 1953 although his family is still on the farm.

#### SICK CHILD

"I received a message from my family to the effect that my child was sick. I asked the manager for leave to go home to attend to my sick child. He refused and said my wife could attend to the child. I again received another message reporting the death of the child. I asked the manager to allow me to go and bury the child. He refused. I then told the induna that I could not bear this and that I was going home to bury the child. I went and stayed away for three days. When I

returned to work on the third day the Manager told me that he had no longer any work for me and I should leave the farm with all my belongings"

After many pleas for clemency he consulted with his two younger brothers who then went to see the manager and offered to work on the farm. This was agreed to on the condition that he left the farm.

"My two brothers remained with my mother and wife and children while I went away to find work, coming to see them now and again provided I was not noticed. I lived this life until 1963 when one night my house was raided by the police who broke open the door, flashed torchlights on my face and assaulted me. I got up and had to strike back in self-defence and eventually I was overpowered and handcuffed. I was taken to the police station and then to court under a charge of being on the farm without authority. I was sentenced to pay a fine of R12 and go to jail for two months. I served the time".

"My one brother, the older of the two, became sick and completely disabled. My whole family became dependant on my younger brother who is still working on the farm. I am told that the manager has threatened my disabled brother with eviction.

"I am still at large, working where I can find work and stealthily visiting my family now and again when possible, risking the danger of being arrested as before."

An interviewer comments:

"Today it is nearly impossible for an African farm labour tenant to be anything other than a farm worker all his life. The tragedy is that even this intolerable life is generally looked upon as preferable to returning to the already overpopulated reserves or to 'accommodation' in a 'rural village' such as Mondhlo."

#### REFUGEES ARE CAUTIOUS

From CONTACT Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: With news of the sabotage of their Francistown refuge in July, attention was once again focussed on the South African fugitives in Bechuanaland.

Many, particularly PAC refugees, seem unable to devise ways and means of leaving the territory.

Visitors to the refugees are at present treated with extreme caution. Recently, unidentified men claiming to be South African newspaper reporters were not able to take pictures of refugees or obtain satisfactory interviews. Earlier in the year a reporter claiming to represent an Afrikaans newspaper was chased away from the premises for "provoking an incident".

A more successful visitor was Mr. Thompson, of the British Labour Party, who was able to interview several of the refugees. Many doubtless hope that, if his party comes into power at the next general election, something constructive will be done about their plight.

#### LETTERS.

##### COMMUNISTS AND THE BALLOT BOX

Sir,

From the constant advocacy by the Communist countries at the United Nations, over the wireless and in public pronouncements of the principle of ONE MAN, ONE VOTE, people in S. Africa and in other parts of the continent may be excused if they sometimes forget that this principle is not practised in any of the Communist countries themselves.

As a recent illustration of this, at the General Election for their National Assembly which took place this year in Czecho-Slovakia, the 300 seats were all filled by pre-selected candidates chosen by the National Front, which is the Government Party. No one could vote for any other persons and since 11% of the voters belonged to the National Front, the remaining 89% of the electorate at least was disfranchised. How far the 11% influenced the choice of the 300 successful "candidates" can be left to the imagination. They did not do it through the ballot box.

Unfortunately, they are also believed when they claim that they support non-discrimination between races. The experience of black students in Communist countries recently proves clearly the falsity of this claim.

R. Leather

Somerset West.