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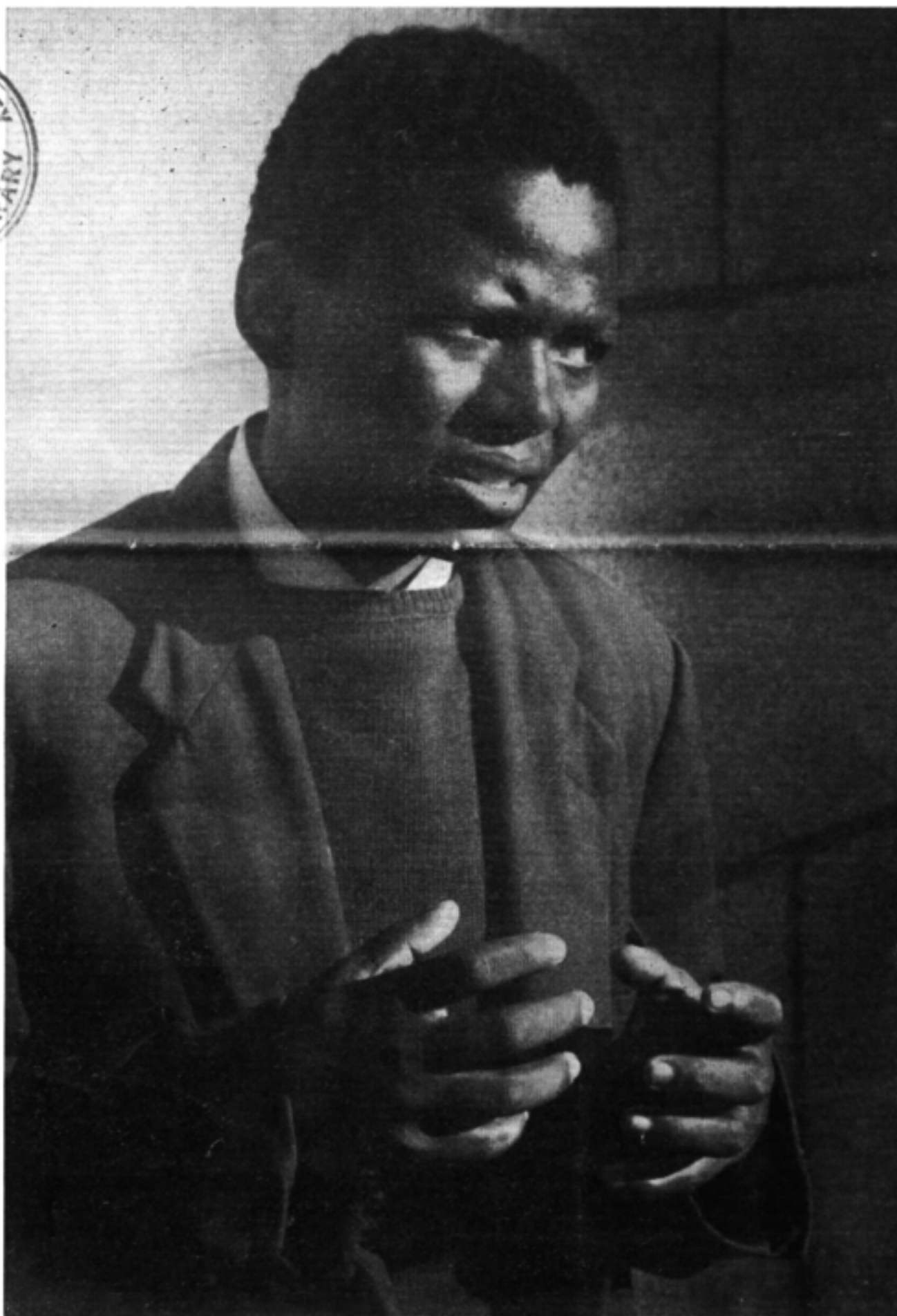
FORTNIGHT ENDING 18th JUNE 1960

Vol. 3 No. 12

**PEOPLE DISAPPEAR
AND LEAVE NO TRACE**

**Have they been sent to
secret labour camps?**

—see page 2



Mr. Philip Kgosana, leader and spokesman of the Pan-Africanist Congress at Cape Town, who is now on trial.

—see page 2

Country-wide Trials Survey

P.A.C. LEADERS ON TRIAL

CAPE TOWN: It looks as if the trial of Mr. Philip Kgosana and thirty others under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953 will be the biggest trial of the Pan-Africanist Congress leaders. Mr. Kgosana and the other men are appearing in the Cape Town Regional Court. Among the accused are several well-known P.A.C. men including Messrs. E. Magwa, N. Shuba, L. Mgwebu, Manelise Ndibongo, A. Mampe, Christopher Mlokoti, A. Matros and Bam Siboto. These are not being represented and their spokesmen are Mr. Kgosana and Mr. Mgwebu.

Adv. A. L. Sachs is appearing for Messrs. Elliott Magwentshu, Gasson Ndlovo (who are already serving 18 month sentences on another political count), Wilton Ntwana, K. Noboza and nine others.

On 9th June, Mr. Kgosana, addressing the court, said that the general feeling of the accused was that they were not going to have a fair trial, because the government which appointed the officers of the court was not representative of the disenfranchised Africans; he did not reflect upon the honesty and competence of the officers of the court. He said Africans had not taken part in the making of the laws under which the accused were being tried, and they felt that they therefore could not be tried fairly under the law.

Earlier, the Magistrate, Mr. A. E. Burger, had said that even if the accused were acquitted, they could still be detained under the emergency regulations.

This trial follows the trials of many P.A.C. leaders in Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg.

The first to be brought to court were the P.A.C. leaders in Durban, where they were charged under the pass laws. Messrs. Abednego Ngcobo, Hughes Hlatshwayo, Temba Mbele, and Daniel Blose refused to plead, saying that the law which they were alleged to have broken was made without their consent or consultation. They were sentenced to a fine of £5 (or 21 days) and took the 21 days.

It was in Johannesburg that the big trials took place, and as dictated by P.A.C. policy, none of the accused would plead to the charges laid against them.

In the Regional Court, Johannesburg, Mr. Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, National President of the now banned P.A.C., appeared with 20 leaders, among them Messrs. Potlako Leballo and Josiah Madzunya. They were charged with "inciting to commit an offence as a protest or in support of a campaign against the pass laws".

They were found guilty and sentenced: Mr. Sobukwe to three years' imprisonment, Mr. Leballo to two years and Mr. Madzunya to 18 months.

In the Johannesburg Bantu Commissioner's Court, 142 men, whose spokesman was Mr. Matthew Nkoana of Orlando, also refused to plead, and were found guilty and sentenced to three years' compulsory labour (or £300).

Mr. Nkoana addressed the court for three hours, and as he led the accused in they chanted, "Forward to Freedom. Independence now, to-morrow the united states of Africa".

In Pretoria six men are appearing on charges of incitement. They are Messrs. Elliott Ntloediba, the writer, S. Mongale, D. Modiba S. Sello, Jimmy Mokgoatsane, local Secretary of the P.A.C., and Philip Mashike, a student at Lady Selborne High School.

Taken to Secret Labour Camps?

Men vanish, Leave no trace

THE police have begun to arrest people in South Africa, unpolitical people, without warrants. These people have disappeared leaving no trace. Their distracted relations make enquiries at all the offices which might know where they are, and are told nothing. No letters come from those that have vanished.

Reminiscent of the worst days of the Hitler and Stalin regimes, these things are happening now in our country.

Actual cases have been carefully investigated by Mrs. Kathleen Matthews of the Cape Town Race Relations office. She holds confirming affidavits.

It is thought by several of the mothers whose sons have been taken away that they have been sent to somewhere near East London. It is possible that they are at the Bekruip Kop youth camp, which is near Mt. Coke Mission, ten miles south-east of Kingwilliamstown in Mkumbi's Location.

This would tie up with the announcement from the B.A.D. Department that work camps were to be established for Africans: two near Kingwilliamstown, one near Lichtenburg, one near Groblersdal and one near Eshowe.

We know certainly of six cases in which people have "vanished" from Cape Town.

Mr. Caswell Mpatsoe was wounded during the police raids on Langa. He disappeared, and although his cousin has made repeated attempts to trace him, he has had no success.

Herby, the nineteen-year-old son of Mrs. A. Ntsuku of Nyanga was arrested while on his way to the Registration Office in Langa. After enquiring at all the police stations, and several times at Roeland Street prison, she was told that her son was "far away".

Mrs. Mary Tsubela, of Langa, reports that her nineteen-year-old son George accompanied a friend to the bus stop on the night of 13th May. He was arrested. The following day he was brought home in his mother's absence to collect his clothes and blankets. He was under police escort.

Mrs. Tsubela, who is a widow, does not know what has happened to her son or where he is. George was her sole support.

Mrs. Miriam Mfobo reports that on 5th May the police came to her house and asked her son Jacob, who is nineteen, to accompany them. They said they wanted him for questioning, and that they would release him when they were satisfied with their findings. On 12th May he was brought home in a police van. He collected his belongings and said he was being sent to East London.

Solomon Tshaka, son of Mr. and Mrs. Tshaka of Langa, was arrested on his way to work on 14th May. His parents have not been allowed to see him, and he is thought to be in Roeland Street

prison. But his parents were told that he was one of those to be sent out of Cape Town.

Mrs. Agnes Ngcongca reports that her son Welcome was arrested while on his way to get a new reference book. He has not been seen or heard of since. He is the sole support of his widowed mother.

Simon Kokwana, who is sixteen, was arrested while looking for work on 6th May. A week later he was brought home to collect his clothes and blankets and was sent to East London with other boys the same night. His mother is a widow, and suffers from T.B.

Mrs. Nowase Mawu's seventeen-year-old son MacDonald was arrested on 8th May. He and many other youths appeared before a Special Court in the Caledon Square police station and were told that they were being sent to East London. After he had collected his clothes and blankets from home on the following Thursday, his mother, and other mothers, went to the station to see them off. The police would not allow them to approach their sons who were standing handcuffed in pairs. They left on the train.

Mrs. Mathews has made enquiries as to the whereabouts of the missing people with no success. Neither the Police, Roeland Street Prison, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, the Chief Bantu Commissioner Western Cape, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Secretary for Justice nor the Special Court have been able to give any information.

It is known that on Thursday 12th May, three coaches full of young people under heavy police escort left Cape Town for the Eastern Province.

[Continued from col. 5]

rights of all individuals, and which shall be enforceable by an independent judiciary. (vide "Constitutional Policy".)

"The Liberal Party feels that it is not possible at this stage to foresee the precise circumstances under which the change will occur, but aims to have the idea of a universal franchise and a Bill of Rights accepted by the people of South Africa, and to bring about the change with the minimum possible dislocation."

MARCH FOR HUMANITY



On 31st May, 1960, about 8,000 men, women and children marched through the heart of Cape Town in solemn dedication to the true ideals of Union.

Led by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Rt. Reverend Joost de Blank, the Rt. Hon. A. van de Sandt Centlivres, Mr. M. A. Gierdien, Rev. Senjane, Mr. Joseph Nkatlo and the Rev. R. Joost, silence and sobriety surrounded the progress of so many of the city's most courageous and thoughtful people.

As the Cape Times said: "The fact that so many did march, and such numbers of others came to watch in silent sympathy, was in itself a sign that the national recovery from hysterical sectionalism might still be brought about . . . The march from the Foreshore to the old Drill Hall will become the best remembered event of the 1960 Jubilee Celebrations . . . It seems a little miracle of human steadfastness that so many citizens of Cape Town should be found willing to march shoulder to shoulder, irrespective of skin colour or race label."

Sixth Liberal Congress

CAPE TOWN: The sixth national congress of the Liberal Party of South Africa was held in Temple Israel, Green Point, Cape Town, on 28th-30th May.

A public opening in the Sea Point Town Hall, on 27th May, preceded the actual congress. Some 400 people came to hear speeches by Mr. Alan Paton, Mr. J. Unterhalter, Transvaal chairman, Mr. J. Lewsen of the

Particular attention was given during the Congress deliberations to the situation in which the Party and the country find themselves, and to the future direction which the Party will have to take. An inspiring lead was given by the National President in his keynote address. This is reproduced in full on pages 5 and 8 of this issue.

The keynote address was accepted by the chairmen of the Cape (Mr. Peter Hjul) and of Natal (Professor Leo Kuper) and delegates received it with acclamation.

The Party has for a long time accepted unanimously that it was working for non-racial democracy and that this must necessarily involve universal adult suffrage. But for some time there has been a difference over the formulation of the policy in the handbook. One view was that this formulation should clearly commit the party to an interim period with a qualified franchise: the other view was that it was enough to state the aim, and to leave the question of an interim period over until it became practical politics.

Both sides accepted a new formulation of the Party's franchise policy. In view of its importance it is here reproduced in full:

"The Liberal Party of South Africa aims to achieve the responsible participation of all South Africans in government and democratic processes of the country and, to this end, to extend the right of franchise on the common roll to all adult persons.

"The Liberal Party considers it a prerequisite of a universal franchise that there should be entrenched in a rigid constitution a Bill of Rights based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which will protect the

[Continued foot of col. 3]



Miss White

Mathebula



Tabethe

Mrs. Nolte

Transvaal, Mr. J. C. A. Daniels of Cape Town, and Mr. Jordan Ngubane.

Some 175 delegates and members were present at the opening session on Saturday 30th. That evening a welcoming party was held at the house in Retreat of Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Duncan. Music was provided by the Dollar Brand trio, and about 170 members and friends were present.

Interviewed in Ghana

MOLOTSI REVEALS P.A.C. POLICY

MR. PETER MOLOTSI of the Pan-Africanist Congress executive was interviewed in Accra recently by Gene Sharp, an American sociologist who has made a special study of non-violent resistance and totalitarianism.

A report of their two-hour conversation, which first appeared in *Peace News*, has just reached South Africa. We quote six vital points they discussed. (Passages in brackets are Mr. Sharp's summaries of Mr. Molotsi's words.)

AFRICANS ONLY

MOLOTSI: "Our P.A.C. slogan 'Africa for Africans' does not suggest race discrimination because, for us, Africa has no colour attached to it. In fact, our policy is towards a non-racial democratic society . . ."

"The only weapon we can use to unify our people is African nationalism. This is an outlook, a concept that gives the people a higher loyalty than the tribe . . ."

[Support from White South Africans and others was welcomed. Whites and others in the Liberal Party had already assisted in feeding the families of those shot or imprisoned. But as the main responsibility for their liberation rested on the Africans, it was the Africans themselves who had to take responsibility for the planning and organizing of the resistance. Furthermore, the exclusion of non-Africans from the P.A.C. simplified the problem of dealing with those who would

subordinate African liberation to other political loyalties.]

LEADERSHIP SET-UP

SHARP: "Mr. Molotsi's description of P.A.C. methods reminds me very much of the procedures followed in the campaigns of the Indian non-violent revolution. Gandhi, or another, was often given by the Indian National Congress complete power to plan, select leadership and give orders for the conduct of the struggle. He appointed the sub-leaders and made all the major decisions, and a multitude of minor ones. In the midst of the 1930-1 civil disobedience movement Gandhi was often referred to as 'general', his aides as 'lieutenants' and after their imprisonment the conduct of the campaign became decentralized, with a series of pre-selected leaders taking total responsibility for giving orders and initiating actions.

"There was a succession of Congress 'dictators', as they were called in Bombay, for example, one after another taking his place after each arrest.

"While the efficiency of a military organization was thus obtained, there was a vital difference: the organization had no vital coercive power to enforce its will. Their power came only from the people's acceptance of the rightness of the decisions and their willingness to carry them out.

"After the struggle was over there existed no concentration of power, no apparatus of military and police coercion to dominate the population. The settling of questions of leadership and policy reverted once more to the ordinary procedures of group decision.

"This, Mr. Molotsi assured me,

was essentially the same system of leadership being used in South Africa."

NON-VIOLENT MEANS

MOLOTSI: "We are a non-violent group for the very practical reason that it would be absolute folly to try to challenge the government on the military level—sheer suicide. It would be madness. Mr. Sobukwe said, 'We are ready to die for our freedom. We are not yet ready to kill for it'. That summarizes the whole campaign and commits us to non-violence. We could be shot, but not shoot."

NO BAIL, NO DEFENCE, NO FINE

MOLOTSI: "The P.A.C. motto is 'Service, suffering and sacrifice'. Our chaps are spiritually ready to suffer for a good cause because they are completely convinced that in the end right will triumph over might."

[It was this which made it possible for them to commit civil disobedience and then go to the courts, explaining their defiance but offering no bail, no legal defence, and paying no fines.]

MOLOTSI: "You can never win a national liberation movement in the courts."

[Instead the P.A.C. placed their confidence in mass non-violent demonstrations and non-co-operation.]

LONG-RANGE STRUGGLE ON THREE FRONTS

1. POLITICAL

[Internationally, the political front aimed at isolating the South African government and securing the condemnation of it by the United Nations and expulsion from

(Continued on p. 7, col. 4)

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCE

Will Macleod Grant Banda's demands?

From "Contact" Correspondent

MLANJE: As was to be expected, Mr. Macleod's announcement of the composition of the delegations to be present at the Nyasaland constitutional conference on 25th July in London has failed to please all parties. Both the Malawi Congress Party and the United Federal Party are annoyed that they should be allowed the same number of delegates—four each. The Whites are trying

The Whites are trying desperately to ignore Dr. Banda—his wildly popular tour of the country has been totally ignored by all the Federal news services—and it is a rude shock that the British Government should treat him on equal terms with the Federation's ruling party.

There has not yet been any official reaction from the Malawi Congress Party at the time of writing, since Dr. Banda and the other leaders are away in the north. However there are indications that they are not going to be pleased when they hear that their five hundred thousand supporters are going to receive the same number of representatives as the five thousand U.F.P. supporters.

In fact the number of representatives of each party will probably not be of any very great importance, and Dr. Banda is unlikely to make more than a

formal protest about it. Mr. Macleod well knows the strength of Dr. Banda's support and he will no doubt act accordingly. However, Dr. Banda has said several times that he will not attend the conference if any of his followers—and particularly Messrs. Chipembere and Chisiza—are still in detention. If the government does not release them there is a chance that Malawi might boycott the conference, but this is unlikely as Dr. Banda is very keen to get a new constitution before the review of the federal constitution in October, so that he may be in a strong position there to fight for Nyasaland's secession from the Federation.

Whether his demands will be met in July is another matter. When Mr. Macleod left Nyasaland in April both Whites and Africans seemed confident that he was sympathetic to their respective and contradictory aspirations.

Optimists feel that Mr. Macleod's record over the Tanganyika and Kenya constitutions shows that he is likely to grant Dr. Banda's demands. In particular it must be remembered that the Colonial Secretary was astute enough to realise the threat to security involved in the continued detention of Dr. Banda at a time when all his advisers thought it essential to keep him in gaol. He almost certainly realises now that to adopt the traditional Colonial Office delaying tactics in the face of the powerful and dynamic Nyasaland nationalist movement may once again cause a very serious threat to the security of Nyasaland.

"SOUTH AFRICA IS ON TRIAL FOR TREASON" —Michael Scott

LONDON: In an exclusive statement to *Contact*, the Rev. Michael Scott commented on recent steps taken to end the mandate over South West Africa. He welcomed these steps, and said that in his view South Africa would now be put on trial for treason against international law. He compared South African racism with Hitler's, and said: "It may well be that South Africa is on trial for her life as truly as was Germany under Hitler. Only, this trial for treason under international law and order is perhaps coming in time to save South Africa and all her peoples from the debacle which was the fate of Germany under the hooked cross of National Socialism."

Mr. Scott remembered that it was because of the brutal inhumanity of German colonial policy that the allied powers at the end of the First World War set up the mandate system of the League of Nations. Annual reports had to be submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission and the inhabitants enjoyed the right of petition to the League of Nations through the Commission. Article 2 of the Mandate provided that "... the Mandatory (meaning South Africa) shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory." It was thus not their intention that the Union government should be the sole judge of what could be considered the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants.

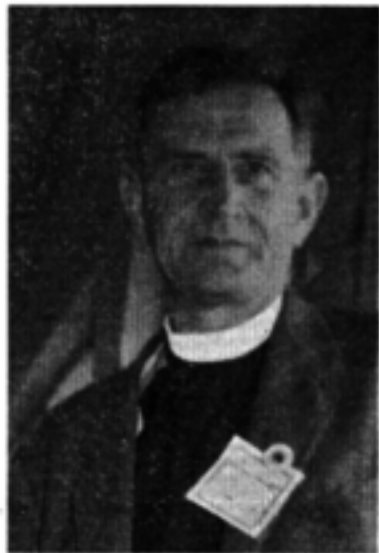
The actual record of the Union

government in South West had not been a good one.

"Under the Mandate," said Mr. Scott, "it has been pointed out by the United Nations Committee on South West Africa that South Africa has taken possession of and settled with White people more land than was ever taken and settled by Germany during and following her war of conquest in South West Africa. In some areas people have been evicted from their lands under threat of armed force. Peaceful protest demonstrations have been fired upon. The doctrine and practice of apartheid—of baasskap—and the pass laws have been applied even more rigidly in the Mandate than in the Union of South Africa itself.

"This question," said Mr. Scott, "has been the subject of debate at the United Nations for fourteen years now. The United

Nations, recognizing that there may have been no legal obligations on South Africa to place South West Africa under the trusteeship system, has gone out



The Rev. Michael Scott, photographed at the first All African Peoples' Conference, Accra, 1958.

of its way to satisfy South Africa's objections by setting up a special Committee on South West Africa to examine annual reports and petitions which the International Court advised should be now sent to the U.N. instead of the League. Every year

petitions have been received by the United Nations asking for its protection of the lands and people of South West Africa. I myself have made petitions orally to the Committee on behalf of Chief Hosea Kutako of the Hereros, David Witbooi of the Namas, and other have done the same.

"Many states," continued Mr. Scott, "have pointed out to South Africa that her only right to administer the territory derives from the Mandate, from the sacred trust which she administers for and on behalf of the British crown. The United Nations and the International Court are agreed in insisting that the Mandate remains in force. (If it had lapsed, as South Africa has claimed, then her own rights to administer the territory have also lapsed.) It now seems probable after the All-African Peoples' Conference and the forthcoming African States Conference at Addis Ababa that the independent African states will insist on a judgment of the International Court which could result in the revocation of the Mandate and in the imposition of international 'collective measures' (i.e., sanctions) provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. I think it is true to say that there is not a single nation that does not feel frustrated and ashamed of the conduct of the Union government over the question of South

West Africa. And that includes both the United States and the United Kingdom, though the U.K. has voted with South Africa against the U.S."

Mr. Scott continued by quoting from paragraph 175 of the Committee's report: "The Committee feels compelled once more to express its grave concern over the unwarranted restrictions, based on race or colour, placed on the freedom of movement of the 'Native' population of South West Africa, who form the overwhelming majority of the total population, as a flagrant disregard of the principles and purposes of the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

Referring to the United Nations Secretary-General's visit to South Africa next month, Mr. Scott said that it might mark a turning point in this tragic history. "The eyes of all Africa," he said, "will be on the results of Mr. Hammarskjöld's negotiations in Pretoria. The United Nations cannot afford to be made any longer a dupe of the perfidy of South Africa."

Mr. Scott concluded by saying: "The United Nations is itself facing what is in the eyes of Africa a vital test of its integrity and the strength of international law as an instrument of justice."

(See also page 6)

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For a Miners' Union

WHY is there so little trade union activity in the gold mines? In some ways mines are ideally suited to the growth of strong trade unions. One has only to think of the coal mines of the world, or the Rhodesian copper mines, where trade unions have strengthened the workers politically, and won higher wages.

Contact issues a call to workers on the gold mines who are not yet unionized—and this means African workers—to get busy and organize quickly a big and strong and aggressive trade union.

Two Hammer-blows

TWO hammer-blows from outside have hit the rickety economic machine of apartheid during the fortnight: the return to South Africa of the *African Lightning*, still carrying its £200,000 cargo of South African goods which the Trinidad dockers would not touch; and the forthright declaration by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Premier of Malaya, that Malaya would not, in future, receive South African exports.

In the West Indies the Jamaican boycott is continuing. It has been going on for a year. In Grenada and St. Lucia the dockers' unions have decided not to handle goods of South African origin. The Barbados Workers' Union is to join, and it is reported that the Barbados government will ban South African imports.

It has been reported on the S.A.B.C. that a mission, including a person who can only be Mr. George Gibbs of Cape Town, is to visit the West Indies to attempt to have the boycott called off. Although Mr. Gibbs did have some success when he visited Ghana last year for the same purpose he and his wealthy backers must realize that Sharpeville has happened since then, and that the money for the proposed journey would be far better spent on the freedom movement inside South Africa. For its success is the pre-condition for the calling-off of any of the boycotts. As Mr. Schoeman correctly said, the boycotts will not end until equality has come to our land.

Mr. Louw's tactless meeting with Tunku Abdul Rahman may turn out to be the most expensive hour in South African history, for, not content with blocking South African imports into his own country, the Tunku is to organize in addition an all-Asian boycott.

If such a movement gains strength—and we prophesy that it will—the great nations of the West will not be able to stand aside, and their dockers and statesmen will also join.



"If only the press would be quiet nobody would know about you!"

Thus, relentlessly, the boycott movement, started only a few months ago in London by Mr. Patrick van Rensburg of the Liberal Party and Mr. Tennyson Makiwane of the A.N.C., rolls on. Thus, rapidly, we see growing an irresistible movement to isolate apartheid from the rest of the world, and to cut off all the roots that have, up to now, nourished that ugly weed.

Certain Triumph?

ON another page we report an interesting prophecy by a Czech communist engineer engaged on development work in Africa. He considers that the aid which Africa is receiving from the communist world makes the triumph of communism in Africa certain.

We do not share his belief. Firstly, the aid actually received by Africa (as opposed to rosy propaganda promises) from the communist world is very small indeed, when it is compared with the massive aid which has come, and which is planned, from the West.

Secondly, the West has no plans to use the Africans for anything, because the West believes in freedom. Western aid is thus not in conflict with African

nationalism. Communist aid, planning as it does to transform Africans in a preconceived mould, is in conflict with African nationalism, the only aim of which is to develop an African culture with its roots in the soil of Africa.

Thirdly, the very categories of the engineer's thought show that he is out-of-date. Scientific progress has made us all workers to-day, from manual labourers through to investors and factory directors. And economic and political progress has made the word "bourgeois" (which used to mean middle-class) meaningless. Africa intends to move forward into the twenty-first century; not backwards into the irrelevant nineteenth century.

True progress will come to Africa when the whole population of Africa learns to increase the fruitfulness and beauty of our continent, and when outmoded, outlandish theories of class-hatred are forgotten.

Contact is independent. It works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. It is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism and communism.

Fair Comment --- by Patrick Duncan

A FURTHER issue of *Spark* (see *Contact* of 4th June) has reached here. It is No. 3 (June). It continues the anti-capitalist line of No. 2. This time the style is childishly oversimplified: "The Socialist League of Africa proclaims that it is true that only White men sit in the government, and that our bosses (note the "our"!) are nearly all White. But our real enemy is the boss—the factory owner the mine owner . . ."

For those who have still not understood the thesis, it is repeated, in still simpler language: "A boss—or a capitalist as he is usually known—is a person who oppresses the workers so that he can make more money." And in case the last word is not understood, the words "or profits" are added.

I can only suggest one improvement: that the few words of two syllables which are used

should have a hyphen. Then there should be even less danger of Marx's message being misunderstood. A good opening would be: "Once upon a time there was a good man and a bad man. The good man was called a work-er. The bad man was called a ca-pit-al-ist. The good man had to give too much mon-ey to the bad man. Then a very cle-ver man cal-led Mar-x told the good man to kill the bad man. He said that if he did this he would live hap-pi-ly ever after." Come on, *Spark*. Try and beat this for simplicity next time!

AFTER the most impressive procession through the streets of Cape Town on Union Day, three or four young roughs tried to interrupt the proceedings and heckled the Archbishop.

They waved a small Union flag. They tried to sing *Die Stem*, in Afrikaans, raucously. Their whole

hooligan-like attempt to mar the solemnity of the moment failed.

Everyone thought that they were members of some Nationalist youth movement. Then the leader was recognized.

He was a local chairman of the United Party Youth.

MAJOR G. MARK HUSSEY, International Commissioner for Scouts in South Africa, has been defending himself against an attack on apartheid's scouts which appeared in *Peace News*. (Incidentally *Contact* is proud to have run the original article which *Peace News* took over.)

Justifying the system of separate racial compartments in the scouting movement, Major Hussey sang the old, old tune: "The system," he says, "was not introduced because of racial discrimination but because of differences of culture, education and opportunity, among others."

If he were telling the truth the scouting movement should have at least invited children of English-speaking professional people, irrespective of colour, to join the "big brother" section (now all-White). The movement does not do this.

If he were telling the truth why does the South African movement not segregate Afrikaner scouts who are culturally different?

Readers may draw what conclusions they wish about the truthfulness of Major Hussey's statement.

Apartheid scouting cannot dismiss the righteous anger of the world's scouts as easily as this. Major Hussey will learn that South African scouting can have apartheid; or it can have international recognition. But it cannot have both.

The way things are going means that apartheid scouting will have

to make its choice in the very near future.

Otherwise it will be sent to Coventry.

THE other day I received another expensive, absurd propaganda handout, "The Progress of the Bantu peoples towards nationhood—No. 4, land and agriculture".

Gems which combine linguistic and historical inaccuracies the way only Piet Meiring and his boys can do it: "The Bantu's land rights were respected ever since the early White pioneers moved inland." And: "Of all the numerous Bantu individuals and groups who were interviewed by the . . . Tomlinson Commission, not one has recommended the abolition of the Bantu areas."

In all the 42 slick pages I can find not one word which speaks of the progress of anyone towards nationhood.

But one small bouquet must be handed out: in the frontispiece Mr. Charlie D. Mhlamkomo is called "Mr."

Paton calls for Non-violent 'Third Force' in Keynote Speech

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I intervene at this point because I know that a wide range of personal problems confront people like ourselves at the present time. Our rulers have declared a state of emergency, and this has brought suffering, and in many cases material hardship, to many of those who opposed openly and forthrightly the policies of apartheid. One always expected to pay some kind of price for one's opposition to apartheid; one has seen other people paying it, and one did not expect to remain immune. But now for the first time some of our own friends, some of our closest associates, have had to pay the high price of imprisonment, and of separation from their families. We must face the fact that the price is growing higher, and we must re-examine the situation. Is it expedient to belong to a nonconformist party? Some would reply that they are concerned with matters of principle, not expediency; but others would ask whether the Party need be nonconformist in the particular way that it is. I hope as your Acting National Chairman to give you some guidance on these difficult points.

Let me first say that I as Chairman would never agree to any action on the part of the Party that would not be in accordance with the constitution and the decisions of our Congresses. I would not regard it as permissible for me to make or to allow to be made any substantial change in the nature or direction of the Party without consulting the membership at a Congress, nor would I allow any National Committee or National Executive to do such a thing. At the same time I do not regard policy as something absolutely defined, but rather as something to be adapted to meet changing situations in the spirit of our aims and principles. I do not pay lip service to democracy—I try to live it in my life; and I can therefore understand that Congress, Committee, Executive, and Chairman, have different functions, and that if these functions are exceeded, the Party as party would cease to exist.

This Party is openly and publicly committed to a policy of non-violence; this means that it will oppose when its duty is to oppose, but it will oppose by non-violent means. But it does not mean that it will cease to oppose merely because opposition has become dangerous. It means also that it will not consent to the use of violence by others, nor encourage it, nor connive at it. A Liberal Party can never aid or itself become a terrorist organisation, nor do I think it is in any danger of doing so.

I have already, at two public meetings in Cape Town, dealt with the possibility that our rulers will not depart in any significant way from their policies of apartheid, and that disturbances, panic, and flight of capital will recur, culminating finally in the necessity of intervention by the United Nations. But even if that extreme situation were to come about, I have a firm belief that Liberal South Africans would play an important part in the period of

reconstruction during which the best men and women in the country would be called in to co-operate in laying the foundations for a common society. It is clear however that we could not expect to share in this work of

"Contact" is privileged to reproduce here, in full, the presidential address given to the sixth national congress of the Liberal Party on 30th May by Mr. Alan Paton, National President and, in the absence in political imprisonment of Mr. Peter Brown, also the Acting National Chairman.

After giving this address Mr. Paton received an ovation from the 150-odd delegates.

reconstruction unless we had made ourselves important and indispensable, and it is this preliminary role which I now wish to examine.

As I see it, we are entering a phase where the struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism will be intensified. We ourselves have prophesied that the excesses of Afrikaner nationalism will provoke a strong counter nationalism, and I do not think we should ever delude ourselves into believing that this struggle at this stage could be converted into a struggle between Nationalism and Liberalism. Dr. Donges has stated that this is the real struggle in his view, but as one might expect, this is the opinion of a person who thinks of the political struggle solely in White parliamentary terms.

I fully expect violence to be a feature of this struggle. What do we do? Do we stand hopelessly by? Is our role alternately to respond to and to reject appeals for help made by other organisations? I am sure it is not. But that is what we shall be reduced to if we have no positive contribution to make.

What is that contribution to be? I am sure that there will be millions of people, of all races, who shrink from the prospect of an unnatural and violent life. Some will be resolutely violent, and what can people like ourselves oppose to resolute violence but resolute non-violence? The only other course seems to me to withdraw from the struggle, either by leaving the country, or by accenting a withdrawn role here. This latter will be one of silent non-acceptance, accompanied by apparent acquiescence, and probably inner suffering of a painful but useless kind. Now Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think I could live like that. Allow me to give my personal views on what I should do.

I should like to acquaint myself more closely with the instruments of non-violence. If I decided to use any of them, I should not do so in the name of the Party unless of course the Party wished me to do so. I am sure that there are many many thousands of people in South Africa who hate and fear violence, and who do not wish to play a purely passive role in its presence, but would like if they could to present a spiritual and good and active alternative to what is evil, violent, and destructive. In a clash of opposing

nationalisms, both of them always trembling on the brink of violence, we might call this alternative **THE THIRD FORCE**. It would in my opinion be this third force which, if it were not able to prevent the clash of irreconcilable forces, would be there always present as a factor to be reckoned with, and an alternative to them both.

We must not yield ourselves to that pessimistic theory which maintains that the history of the impending future will be that of one violent force ranged against another, and that all peaceful people will be crushed between them. Such a third force must expect to be bruised, but its survival will depend on its strength and power, and by its strength and power the future of our country will no doubt be determined.

We have all heard of the non-violent march of African people to Caledon Square, and of how a young man marshalled them, led them, spoke for them, and counselled them to return. A similar



Mr. Alan Paton addressing the sixth national congress of the Liberal Party of South Africa. On the left: Mr. Jordan Ngubane, Vice-President of the Party. On the right: Mrs. Sue Spence, secretary of the national office in Natal.

thing happened in Durban soon after, when the African people of Cato Manor marched into Durban, and gathered in great numbers in front of the Durban gaol. This was one of those demonstrations that trembled on the brink of violence; and when the police ordered the people to disperse, they would not. Eventually the police, after some demur, allowed a young Indian man to address the crowd; he told the people that their cause was just, but he urged them to lay down their sticks and to disperse, such weapons being useless against saracens, and out of place in such a peaceful march. He told them that the eyes of the world were on them, and that their cause would be all the more powerful without these instruments of violence. Thereupon the people laid down their sticks and returned to their homes.

This young man came to see me, and to tell me that his life was to be dedicated to this goal, namely to bring justice to South Africa by the use of non-violent strength, and to offer this alternative to a country that might feel compelled to choose between two forces of violence, though they feared them both, and expected good from neither.

At much about the same time another young man, a White one, wrote to me and told me that he was intending to give up his job,

and to break some unjust law; but I persuaded him rather to study the philosophy and methods of non-violence than to incur a heavy sentence for some trivial offence. Here were these three, all young, one African, one Indian, one White, all devoted to their country, all convinced that change could be brought about by the use of non-violent power.

For a long time I had been thinking as to what could be done to exercise the right which I believe all men to possess, namely the right to resist oppression. I was thinking of that law known as the Group Areas Act, which is one of the most wicked of all the apartheid laws. And I was thinking how wonderful it would be, if when the first Indian citizen of Durban was to be moved from his home, 100,000 of the people of that city would gather at the place, to watch in silence the authorities perform this wicked act, or to pray, on their knees or not on their knees, to stand there or kneel there, to represent there in the presence of that tyrannical act, the forces of goodness and justice, and the moral disapproval of the world. This is a demonstration of course, and I have no horror of demonstrations, provided they are directed towards

favourable to the prosecution, while another army of people must collect money and organise a defence so that the trial may reach a contrary conclusion. I am a true admirer of all those who spend so much time and energy and talent on opposing the evil policies of apartheid, but I would like to see this opposition become a moral power that would win a victory every time it was employed, and would I believe slowly sap the confidence of the apartheiders, not so much in the workability as in the moral soundness of their policy.

I say all this to you because I know that some of you would fear such a development if it came, so to speak, too close to the Party. But I want to say something about the nature of the Party, also. We all want a Party that will do something, achieve something; all members of all parties do. But at the same time what we wish the Party to achieve is—and we should face it—noble and ideal. This we cannot avoid, it is our nature, but it makes conventional party work more difficult for us than for others. The Party has a special nature, and it gets this special nature from us, and we cannot do anything about it. I would venture to say that all, or nearly all (whichever you personally prefer) of the members of the Party joined it because of their idealism, religious or humanistic. Every member, White or non-White, joined the Party because of his or her belief in a non-racial society, a common society.

Our nature cannot be altered, I believe. One has to keep the Party as sensible and practical as possible, but that is to make idealism workable, not to make it amenable. Some of us may sometimes look at the Progressive Party with envy, and think how very reasonable their idealism sounds. But although they have good materialistic commonsense business motives, they have, like ourselves, a noble and idealistic motive. And I hereby predict that the presence of this second motive will soon involve them in problems of exactly the same nature as our own. Indeed, something that we foresaw from the beginning is now becoming clearer, that good business and non-racialism have more in common than was generally supposed, and that good business and apartheid have less.

This conflict between political practicality and political idealism cannot be avoided. We try to be sensible and practical, and we try to be true to certain ideals and principles at the same time. But we must squarely face the fact that this government does not like these ideals and principles, that it does not like people who hold them, that this dislike turns and will always turn into hostility when the people who hold the ideals and principles are active and successful in propagating them, and that such people may then lose their freedom of movement, be arrested and detained without trial, be arrested and charged and kept on trial for long periods, or be allowed to go free on conditions that they do not propagate these ideals any longer. I say this fact must be squarely faced, for it is the most obdurate fact of our immediate future: we have reached a point when if we stick to our principles, we shall face something more stern than

(Continued on page 8)

HOUSES BULLDOZED— PEOPLE FREEZE

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The removal of Africans for racial reasons continues here, although it involves the forceful bulldozing of their houses in the presence of armed police, and although, as a result, many people are forced to live in the open in the bitter highveld winter cold.

I recently visited the forgotten and unwanted people of the demolished shanty-town of Mooiplaats on the outskirts of Pretoria, where "Indian" housing under the Group Areas scheme is to be built.

When I entered Mooiplaats on the 26th May I found it very different from the township I once knew. Officially this former squatters camp is "dead". After repeatedly warning the squatters to move from Mooiplaats, the Pretoria City Council ordered the final demolition on 8th February.

In the early hours of that morning, the people had their furniture dragged from their houses and shanties, and a bulldozer brought mud houses and zinc homes to the ground. Armed police were there.

Those residents who qualified for municipal houses in adjacent Atteridgeville township went there. Those who didn't slept with friends. Then the authorities began a raid for permits aimed at finding illegal residents in the location. These raids are still continuing.

A mother who gave birth a few hours before the demolition of Mooiplaats, Mrs. Elizabeth Mokgobo, has been housed in Atteridgeville.

Some of the people who could not qualify for housing have since returned to the only home they know, Mooiplaats. These are the people I met. They live in a place that looks like a bombed city or a ghost town. Everywhere are traces of the work of the bulldozer: broken mud-homes and hacked down corrugated-iron houses. Here I found about forty people who live in fear of prying visitors. These people use old motor car bodies, broken petrol drums and corrugated-iron huts as homes. Some sleep in holes and use tree branches as covers over their heads. They live an unbelievable life of hide-and-seek.

A grey-haired man who thought I was a police spy said to his two daughters: "Be ready with your passes. I told you we would be taken at any time."

One of the daughters asked: "But where will we go, father?" So live the people of Mooiplaats. They are exposed to the bitter winter cold, they live in fear of arrest as trespassers and "foreign natives". They cannot seek work in Pretoria. Neither can they get houses. Some of them have not the rail-fare to go back to the reserves from which they came. Some are also starving.

I learnt from these people that some of the breadwinners wake up early in the morning, remove traces of their "homes", and go in search of work and food. Those that do not return in the evening are assumed to have been arrested. Those that return do so after dark, erect their homes and pass the night.

Under the Native Urban Areas Act, the City Council says it cannot house them. Council says they are the responsibility of the government. On the other hand the government says the Council must house them. In the mean-

time these people must live. Their bus service has been withdrawn. They have to travel miles to get water which costs them 3d. for a four-gallon tin.

Even the Africans in Pretoria have forgotten them.

NYERERE ACTS AGAINST W.N.L.A.

DAR ES SALAAM: The world's anti-apartheid feelings showed themselves in a new field at the beginning of June, when Mr. Julius K. Nyerere of Tanganyika denounced as "shameful" an agreement to supply 10,000 labourers a year to the W.N.L.A., chief suppliers of migrant labour to the South African gold mines.

Mr. Nyerere is leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, and leader of the elected members of the Tanganyika Legislative Council. His criticism was made during a debate in that council. He was supported by other members, and Mr. W. Wenban-Smith, Minister of Labour in Tanganyika, replying for the Government, said that in view of the "strong feelings" expressed against the agreement, "there is a case for the government to reconsider the agreement".

The agreement was signed last year between the British authorities in Tanganyika and the W.N.L.A. A recruiting depot has been set up at Rungwe in the Southern Tanganyika Tukuyu district.

(World News Service)

COMMUNISTS ARE OPTIMISTIC

PARIS: The Communists consider that they have an easy task in subverting the new states of Africa. An expression of this belief has come "from the horse's mouth" in the remarks of a Czech engineer engaged on development work in Africa.

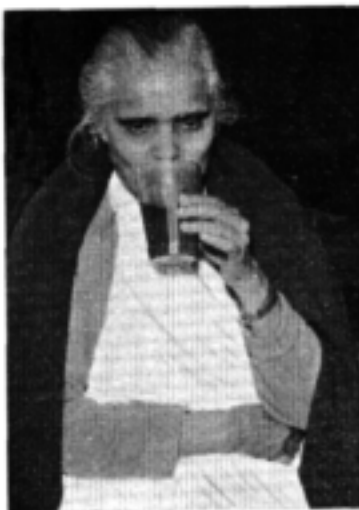
In an interview with a special correspondent of a French weekly, he said: "It's all very simple. The countries of Africa have gained their political independence, but economically they are poor and backward.

"We offer them assistance on a large scale. We send them experts, technicians and advisers, plan their economy and develop their means of transport and create their industries.

"In the new countries there is springing up on the one hand a new bourgeoisie and on the other a new proletariat.

"The new bourgeoisie is inexperienced and irregularities and corruption make their appearance. Then the proletariat, under our guidance, organizes itself. The end is evident."—*Argus*.

END OF A FAST



Mrs. Sushila Gandhi breaks her five-day fast at 6 p.m. on Union Day.

After a meeting in Durban some 700 people gathered at Mahatma Gandhi's Natal home at Phoenix to witness the simple ceremony preceding the breaking of the fast.

Hindu, Christian and Muslim prayers were said.

Several hundred people of all races had joined Mrs. Gandhi in her fast for varying periods of time, including Mr. Alan Paton and Mrs. Albert Lutuli.

NYERERE ON CIVIL SERVICE

DAR ES SALAAM: A further move towards a non-racial Tanganyika appeared in a recent speech by Mr. Julius Nyerere, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union. He used the word "localization" in place of the more racial word "Africanization" in a speech on the future of the civil service.

Mr. Nyerere was speaking on 17th May in the Legislative Council. Other points made in this speech by Tanganyika's statesman-leader were:

- **Corruption.** "There is corruption in Tanganyika and it must be treated with ruthlessness."
- **Civil Servants.** Assurances have been given to all civil servants, including expatriate civil servants, about their future. "We definitely mean to respect the contracts under which they have been employed."
- **Localization.** The need is obvious, but it must go hand-in-hand with efficiency. The new Government would continue to go outside Tanganyika to get the right men.
- **The East African High Commission.** Mr. Nyerere urged restraint in criticism. "Anything that could be done to help East African territories towards unity should be done."

BASUTO COUNCIL BANS APARTHEID

MASERU: By a majority of 54 votes to nine the Basutoland Legislative Council voted to outlaw apartheid in all its forms from Basutoland, and called for legislation to ban colour discrimination.

S.A.S.A. for Olympics

The Executive of the South African Sports Association has elected its president, Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, and secretary, Mr. D. A. Brutus to attend the meetings of the International Olympics Committee.

This follows the determination of the all-White South African sporting bodies to apply racial discrimination in the selection of teams to represent the Union at the forthcoming Olympic Games in Rome, and on the uncompromisingly racist attitude adopted by Mr. Reg Honey, representative of the I.O.C. in South Africa.

S.A.S.A. will find great difficulty in raising the funds to send its representatives to Rome, particularly since the seizure of its properties by the security police, and is therefore compelled to appeal to all sporting bodies and sympathizers for help.

Donations may be paid to S.A.S.A.'s account with Barclays Bank in Port Elizabeth, or with the London branch of the same bank.

AFRICAN STATES PLAN ACTION

NEW YORK: A week's conference of the nine independent African states in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, opened on 14th June, and is due to last a week. The most important item on the agenda is a plan, already agreed by these states, to ask the International Court of Justice at the Hague (Holland) for a ruling on how South Africa's mandate over the territory of South West Africa can be ended.

At a press conference on 2nd June here, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's chief delegate to the United Nations, declared that the time had come when South West should be administered by any country other than South Africa, under United Nations trusteeship. It is expected that concrete steps to this end will be concerted at the Addis Ababa conference.

Thus, after more than fourteen years, the Rev. Michael Scott's far-sighted plan for the territory is at last being realized.

UNDERGROUND STRUGGLE OPENS

CAPE TOWN: Evidence accumulates that the banned African National and Pan-African Congresses are beginning to function underground.

A "Message to the People" has been received here which states that it is "issued by the African National Congress, Cape Eastern Region". It fills one side of a one-sided sheet. It comments on "the terrible events in South Africa", and speaks with approval of the stay-at-home strikes which took place during March and April. It admits that "we are going through a bad time now. But we must gather our strength and prepare for united action again when the time comes".

GROUP AREAS HITS ASIANS

PORT ELIZABETH: A new anti-Asian move under the Group Areas Act is reported by the *Evening Post* in Port Elizabeth, where an area near Kempston Road, opposite the huge Firestone factory, is to be developed as an "Asian" business area, for businessmen of Chinese and Indian origin.

As yet the only official move is a proclamation in the Gazette of 13th May forbidding building in or development of this area until there has been a "racial determination" for the building by the Minister of the Interior. But, it is reported, it is common knowledge that it is the intention of the government to limit trading by these businessmen to this area.

Businessmen who are affected fear ruin. African customers are being moved from the vicinity to the new township of Kwazakale, while existing Coloured householders will have to be moved to allow the area to be developed as a business area. A spokesman of one of the largest businesses affected said: "Where will the customers for the new shops come from? At least half-a-dozen shops are already empty (because of the removal of Africans). I have two vacant shops there I can't let."

Thus, in one more area, comes proof that apartheid is another word for greed.

A.F.L.-C.I.O. ACTS AGAINST S.A.

NEW YORK: America's powerful trade union boss, Mr. Walter Reuther, on behalf of the United Automobile Workers and the Industrial Union Department of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations, has written to Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, United States delegate to the United Nations, asking for the United States delegation to join with those of other nations to:

- Withdraw diplomatic representation from the Union of South Africa until it conforms with the United Nations Charter.
- Appoint a sub-committee to investigate violations of human rights in South Africa.
- Consider steps to protect human rights "against any return to or repetition of rule by knife, claw, and jackboot".

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One species of vanity is Moral Elevation by Geographical Accident, another by Chronological Accident. The first is imputed to those in other countries who feel themselves superior to White South Africans, and the imputer is Mr. Stanley Kauffmann reviewing Rogosin's film, *Come Back, Africa in The New Republic*, New York. The second is imputed to me by me. There is nothing like a dose of the old travellers and annalists, especially about the Transkei, to make you feel real good and liberal. Where Kauffmann wrote, "It is not a proof of innate virtue to have been born in a place free of other regions' prejudices", read period/periods for place/regions. You can then read the Transkei travellers from Bain and Bishop Gray to H. V. Morton with appropriate humility.

The sad story of Pondoland is told in most contradictory fashion by the old writers. Thus gentle James Backhouse in 1839: "The Amaponda Caffers not only do not beg but they are remarkably honest", and Charles Brownlee, after fifty years and the loss of their country: "For falsehood, duplicity and mean shuffling, the Pondos bear the palm over all native tribes . . ." Father Callaway's *Pioneers in Pondoland* is the fairest and his account of Pondoland's final loss of independence in 1895 is moving. It was the last free territory in South Africa. A show of strength by Rhodes's troops and the persuasion of the other chiefs beforehand forced the paramount chief's hand. He stayed with a trader, Rock, and his wife during the talks, and after the signing "when Sigcawu returned to the trading store he was, says Mrs. Rock, very sad. 'How is it,' he said, 'that my people have thrown me away?' And he cried like a child."

This Sigcawu was the grandson of the great Faku who, says Soga, "stands alone among the other Pondo chiefs for personal weight, wisdom and understanding". Sigcawu's own grandson is the present paramount chief of Eastern Pondoland (Qaukeni)—in absentia at the moment—Chief Botha Sigcawu. The chiefs of Western Pondoland, his cousins, Chief Chief Victor Poto Ndamase and Chief Dywabasini Ndamase are good children of their father, Mr. de Wet Nel, and striking dummies in Nkosi uC. W. Prinsloo's vulgar and unconvincing Bantustan shop-window.

These chiefs rule the most beautiful region of South Africa. The horseshoe of the Umzimhlava River between Lusikisiki and Tabankulu is a grander sight than anything in the Wolkberg or Cape Peninsula. The hilly country between Umtata and the sea, the sub-tropical paradise of Port St. Johns and the lower Umzimvubu certainly excel all other parts of the lovely, doomed, Transkei. I enjoyed a few nights' hospitality with a family in Western Pondoland last month. With them, my companion, who was their cousin, and I exchanged news of Cape Town and national affairs for theirs of Bantu Authorities, the rehabilitation scheme, Bantu Education, the people's growing dissatisfaction, and, always, of poverty.

One day we drove towards Lambasi, from where "new news" had been brought to us that the people were in revolt against some councillors (Chief Botha having long since sought safety in flight). On this, as on other days, my foreign car, companions and I motored about quite unbothered by B.A.D. jacks-in-office. Later I went alone to "great places" like Qamata and Bumbane and felt almost as if I was driving around the land of my birth by right, instead of as a permitless lawbreaker. (Last year a party of White students were told that they could have a permit to stay briefly at a Transkei mission to practise their

Xhosa, on condition they did not associate with any "Bantu" at the mission.)

The Transkei of the old travellers must have been like many parts to-day, except that there were still Bushmen and Hottentots about, the grass was often ten feet high, huts were beehives (missionaries introduced the straight-walled rondavel) and there were no hedges or fences. The strange ways of men are shown in a story that the missionary Joseph Warner of Clarkebury told Backhouse the Quaker, in 1839:

"Certain Tembu chiefs took precedence over others in hunting; so that in the case of large game being killed, the pre-eminent chief would take the parts deemed most precious; but should a Bushman be in the company, his right to take precedence of all the chiefs would not be disputed. In this way the Bushmen are clearly recognized as the original inhabitants of the land as far as the Umzimvubu."

The ways have changed and the whole scene is altered, yet Eastern Pondoland, where a whole generation still lives who were born in independence, might be recognized by the old travellers even to-day. There is a spark there that Minister Erasmus's mouthings can never extinguish.

REVIEWS

THE GULF BETWEEN. By Jan Burger (Howard Timmins) 16s. 6d.

A REPUBLIC within the Commonwealth, *Die Stem* as the only anthem, retention of the two official languages, "integrated" apartheid; these are some of the "concrete proposals in achieving this compromise solution in the building of the South African nation" favoured by Jan Burger. Anything else? Oh yes, a little further on—under the heading THE NON-WHITES—"Only when non-Whites have been instilled with a patriotism towards South Africa, having been taught that their fate is determined by this country alone (Oh yeah?), can the giving of the franchise to them be considered."

The Gulf Between was published just before Sharpeville and the Emergency, but Jan Burger is still peddling this line in his daily *Star* and *Cape Argus* column to-day. There is a time when myopia becomes criminal irresponsibility. Does Jan Burger need another Sharpeville before he wakes up? Because if people like him persist in this type of thinking I fear we will get many more.

This irritating, confused, morbidly fascinating and frightening book is worth reading for a Camus-like quotation from Van Wyk Louw—"One loves one's people not because they are glorious and the best on earth; one loves them for their distress"—and the light it throws, often reflected from the author, on that plight.

The Afrikaners (I refer to the self-conscious, nationalistic majority) are not the least victims of the extended nightmare that South Africa has been over the last three hundred years. To-day, after a torrid, unhappy past, they take their bow on the world stage . . . to be greeted with a chorus of prolonged cat-calls and boos. Cheated, baffled, frustrated, their struggle for survival has led to a dead-end, isolated by a hostile world, a hostile continent, with precious few signs of imminent coming to terms with either. With characteristic accuracy Alan Paton has called the Afrikaner Nationalists "the Africans who have rejected Africa". Is this to be the epitaph for a group with so many wonderful potentials?

Bedevelled by what Van Wyk Louw has called "cultural leaders without culture" (dare one add, religious leaders without religion?), pandered to by an intelligentsia largely in gilt chains and drugged by the opiate of academic honours, and duped by a motley collection of political leaders compounded of opportunism, naivety, superstition, megalomania and genuine idealism, the dice are loaded heavily against the brave, generous and virtually helpless people. And by their

conformism and susceptibility to bullying, flattery and manipulation by their "leaders" they too have a charge to answer. For who is innocent in South Africa?

Among the intelligentsia Jan Burger is a comparatively rebellious satellite. This is why his book is frightening: with all its limitations, an inventory of which would be endless, it is a shuffle in the right direction. Indeed, he remarks, rightly, that "Afrikaners . . . may be shocked by it", and claims "in the past few years to have become a more critical South African without becoming a renegade". Long live the renegades, particularly the growing band in the Liberal Party! They are showing the moral equivalent of the physical courage of the Voortrekkers.

Perhaps my words will sting a few Afrikaner intellectuals into reappraisals. Their responsibility to Afrikaners and non-Afrikaners alike is great. We could do with an up-to-date book from Van Wyk Louw. Or is the most we can expect from Afrikaner Nationalists the curiously expressed liberalism of the exasperated Platteland lady whom I recently overheard telling her black fellow-worker, "Man, jy's net so dom soos ek"?

Jan Burger has shown in his book genuine goodwill, sincerity and a willingness to mull over our situation. But these are not enough: we need sensitivity and deep, hard thinking. Otherwise the distress of the Afrikaners is doomed to turn to despair.

L. N.



A NEW DEAL IN CENTRAL AFRICA. Edited by Colin Leys and Cranford Pratt (Heinemann) 21s.

RHODESIA'S big date this year is the constitutional review late in the year of the Federation. Many Whites in the Federation, among them Sir Roy Welensky, are hoping for dominion status, or, if not, for a large addition to the powers of the Federal Government. And many Africans are hoping that the British Government will yield nothing more to the settlers than they already have, and that, instead, the rights of the Africans will be increased.

Some years ago most informed people in Britain thought highly of the Federation, and believed the fables about partnership which Sir Roy put out for their benefit. But, since the declaration of the state of emergency last year, and the internment of Dr. Banda, these favourable views have been gradually replaced by less friendly views. But there are still too many people in Britain who instinctively think well of the Federation.

One feels that the purpose of this book is to remove such misunderstandings, and to do it just before the conference, and, by thus doing, to make certain that Sir Roy does not get what he wants. In this purpose this book should succeed admirably. It demolishes the case that the Africans have any real political say in the present Federation, and denies that they have drawn from it immense economic benefits. It shows how a continuation of the Federation on its present lines can only lead to ever-worse oppression, for only by oppression can a small White minority remain in almost total control of a large, dissatisfied, Black majority.

In a brilliant last chapter the editors put forward their minimum requirements for a new deal. They propose that at the 1960 conference Africans be given at least 50% of the votes on the Federal roll. They propose that it might also be desirable to have two-member constituencies, with one African and one White member standing for each. They propose that the British connection be strengthened, and that special constitutional safeguards be made for the minorities. They propose that the powers be more fairly divided between the territories, and that the division be non-racial. They also propose

that the power to amend the constitution be more strongly entrenched than it is at present.

They have little expectation that their proposals will be accepted, but point out that the alternative is to dissolve the Federation.

The book is the work of a team of experts. They are: Dr. W. Watson, of Manchester University; Cmdr. Tommy Fox-Pitt, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society; Guy Clutton-Brock (once of St. Faith's); Dr. Bernard Chidzero, a Southern Rhodesian political scientist; William Barber, author of *The Economy of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*; Cranford Pratt, political scientist; and Colin Leys, author of *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*. The last two are the editors.

This unimpassioned, scholarly book is a mine of information on the Federation. It is also the richest armoury of anti-Federation arguments that I have ever seen, and for this reason I hope that it will be widely read, not least by those in Britain who will have to make many of the decisions at this year's conference.

P. D.

[Continued from page 3]

the Commonwealth. Internally, to end the collaboration and submission of the African people upon which the government's existence largely depended.]

2. LABOUR

MOLOTSI: "Our movement knows that when we withdraw our labour the whole structure will come falling down."

3. PSYCHOLOGICAL

[The aim was to arouse the consciousness of the African people.]

MOLOTSI: "They would discover the power they have, even without weapons, and they would never be the same again."

THE ULTIMATE AIM

SHARP: "The aim, as Mr. Molotsi said, is nothing less than to overthrow the dictatorship of the South African government by militant but peaceful means. If, with the help of world opinion, they are able to do this, they will not only have saved themselves, but will have made a major contribution to humanity as a whole."

A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1958-9

The latest issue, published this month, of the Institute's comprehensive, factual year by year report on events and trends in all fields affecting race relations. Compiled by Miss M. Horrell. 356 pp. 10s.

The Cost of Living for Urban Africans Johannesburg 1959

Published at the end of January, 1960, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy's comprehensive and detailed study will give the most up-to-date figures on this vital question. Mrs. de Gruchy was commissioned to bring up to date the previous studies with which the Institute first brought the economic needs of urban Africans to the notice of the public and carried out her investigation during 1959. Price 4s. 6d. plus 3d. postage.

from the S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Mboya

SIR.—I write this letter to draw your attention to the article by Alan Rake in *Contact* of 16th April, under the title "Kenya's Struggle for Leadership". In his article, I am afraid Mr. Rake has not been correctly informed.

He alleges that I was heckled by a predominantly Kikuyu crowd. The fact is that while the crowd cheered me on my arrival, a group of ten Nairobi African Congress followers who had come all the way from Nairobi, stood in front of the conference hall with placards and shouted words at me. This incident got wide publicity which I am sorry to say magnified it beyond fact and significance.

The second inaccuracy in the article was the statement that K.A.N.U. (the Kenya African National Union) was formed by ten African members without my knowledge. The fact is that two days before the Kiambu conference, Mr. Odinga and others announced the formation of a new party by the name of Uhuru Party of Kenya. Although I knew this move was on I was not invited nor was I interested to join. It later turned out that some of the signatories to the Uhuru party declaration had been deliberately misled into believing that all African leaders would be invited to join. When Mr. Gichuru discovered I had not been invited to join he withdrew his support.

Later at the Kiambu conference the leaders refused even to discuss the Uhuru party and Odinga's appeal to explain was turned down and my suggestion, that a committee be appointed to work out a constitution for a new party and not the Uhuru party, was unanimously accepted. The meeting also agreed on the name Kenya African National Union. I do not therefore see how this could be interpreted as a victory for Odinga! A committee of ten was elected which included Messrs. Odinga, Ngala, Kiano and myself, but left out some members who had been signatories to the Uhuru party declaration. This committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Gichuru, was merely a constitutional draft committee and not a K.A.N.U. executive committee as Mr. Rake seems to imply in his article. And moreover it is absolutely untrue to say that my name was put up at the Kiambu conference for the secretaryship or another post of the K.A.N.U. committee. The fact is that Dr. Mungai Njoroge was elected secretary of the committee against Mr. Argwing-Kodhek, president of the Nairobi Congress who was the only contestant for the post. There were no other posts and my name was put up only once, when I was unanimously elected a member of the committee.

As you no doubt know the committee has since reported and at the launching conference of K.A.N.U. I was elected secretary-general against Mr. Arthur Ochwada, Dr. Mungai Njoroge and Mr. Ronald Ngala.

I am afraid therefore that not only is the article full of false statements of fact but it gave a completely false picture to the extent of suggesting K.A.N.U. had been formed by 16th April when in fact K.A.N.U. was formally

launched on 14th and 15th May.

There has been a campaign by the local European press, with the help of a few individuals, to spread malicious rumours and gossip in an attempt at character assassination of myself and I hope you will be able to recognize this deliberate trend. Apart from this I am sure you would like to see African unity in Kenya and therefore must agree that an article such as Mr. Rake's cannot help in this effort.

I thought you would not mind drawing your attention to these facts.

TOM MBOYA,
Nairobi.

Mr. Rake writes:

"Nothing in my article of 16th April was directed either against Kenya African unity or Mr. Tom Mboya. The purpose of the article was to illustrate the underhand conspiracies that had been directed by some elements in Kenya politics against Mr. Mboya's position.

"He himself admits in his third paragraph that he was heckled at the Kiambu meeting. Granted, he was not subject to much open hostility, but it is significant that he was heckled at all. This has seldom happened to him in his career.

"It is true that the Kenya African National Union was not formed by the 16th April, but the Uhuru party, which later became the K.A.N.U. party, had been established, and Mboya was not invited to join it. It was at this stage that Odinga had gained a temporary tactical advantage. A month later, Mboya had, of course, regained his position, as I hoped he would when I wrote the original article. A follow-up article entitled "Mboya Makes a Come-back", which showed how Mboya regained the initiative, was unfortunately left out of "Contact" through lack of space during South Africa's recent crisis. May I offer Mr. Mboya my best wishes for his continued good fortune in Kenya politics?"

Is christianity white?

DEAR Chuma Robin Koti,—Like so many others, you too confuse "Christianity" with "European" or "White skinned people", which is a fallacy.

The teachings of Jesus Christ are the same as of Mohammed, of Buddha, and other great world teachers. Each of them in turn has tried his level best to enlighten mankind, and show them the path of spiritual development, which will eventually lead to a practical acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind, where the principle of "love thy neighbour as thyself" is the generally accepted basic ruling force.

It might be interesting for you to consider that Jesus Christ was not a European. His skin was probably of a lovely dusky hue, and if he came to this country to-day he might not be able to get hotel accommodation. He would not mind that: he would smile his wistful smile. He taught us that the "Kingdom" is within ourselves, and that nobody can take our inner happiness away from us, no outward circumstances can destroy the peace that passes all understanding.

Don't hesitate to find out for yourself what it was that Jesus had to say to us, and don't accept

anything as true because someone else told you so. The great pity of Christianity is that the old church fathers made a dogma, a doctrine out of it and the true meaning has been obliterated. The Bible is a bulky volume and you have to search diligently to find the little bit which has been preserved of what Jesus really said, not of what others made of it.

JENNY VAN DOESBURGH,
Cape Town.

Too Painful

SIR.—While it is evident that your paper is aimed at readers living in Africa may I say that I read it with great interest; unfortunately not with pleasure since the matter therein is in general too painful. As you no doubt know there is considerable and increasing interest in African affairs here in Ireland.

D. O'R.
Stillorgan, Ireland.

A wonderful Newspaper

SIR.—I am very surprised to hear that your offices were raided by the security police. *Contact* is a newspaper which is really prepared to fight for freedom. Anyone interested in politics cannot see why its offices should be raided by the police.

All Africans should read this wonderful newspaper which is not liked by the government. Here at my school I have some friends who are really interested in politics. They have been buying newspapers in order to learn about politics. The first time that they saw me with a copy of *Contact* in my hand they were all happy to see it.

J. M. N.
Orange Free State.

Peace-lovers must help

SIR.—Bantu authorities are a menace to our people.

People are going back to barbarous methods of killing each other. For example, here at Tsolo, people are killing each other every day, burning kraals, and doing all sorts of barbarous things to each other. It is the outcome of Bantu authorities.

Government appears to be doing little about it. All that is done is to give guns to one side.

I appeal to peace-loving White people to take urgent steps to end these troubles. Deeds are better than words.

People have been talking for many years, but nothing is getting better. Instead everything is getting worse and worse.

If there are peace-loving White people they must try to help, and must do something to help. Mere words do not help.

A. B.,
Tsolo.

Prison will strengthen

SIR.—We are living in a wealthy country, although we are far behind in the field of science and invention. This is strange because our members of parliament are better educated than those in many other countries.

Despite their education they pass tyrannical laws which lead to retrogression.

Their tyrannical policies have led to the state of emergency, under which many people have been detained.

But I comfort myself with this

thought: what is happening to the detainees is teaching them to be staunch politicians. They will come out strengthened, and more able to defeat this government.

What we want is governmental powers for the majority rather than just for a minority.

C. R. S. KOTI,
Springs.

A lit light

SIR.—You have lit so many candles in the darkness that Macmillan's "Winds of Change" have sparked them into a blaze of dazzling light to dispel the shadows of unreality from our South African vision.

G. P., Springs.

THIRD FORCE

(from page 5)

the mere disapproval of the authorities.

At times like this it is natural to face the future soberly, with a mixture of courage and anxiety. But I say to you, let us not be too fearful. Great forces are on our side, not only the forces of good that take such a beating from men and yet are so invincible, but also great temporal forces, the disapproval of nations both great and small of the policies of apartheid, and the determination of some of them to exert pressures on our rulers to change their ways. This places on us a duty also, that we should not forget what we came together to do, and that we should continue to do it, to go on exercising what we believe to be inalienable rights, to speak the truth, to attempt to persuade, to oppose injustice, to build bridges between people and people, to provide leadership and guidance for those millions of South African people who do not believe in violence, or who want some working alternative for it.

Is that not what Peter Brown was doing? Is he not in prison because he was being actively true to the ideals and principles of the Party? Was he not speaking the truth, attempting to persuade, opposing injustice, building bridges, providing leadership and guidance, and was he not using his gifts unsparingly in that cause, with that great integrity and modesty which are characteristic of him? If there are any here who fear that the Party may be tempted to take a dangerous and inexpedient direction, and to neglect its duties as a political organisation, I ask them to consider whether it is not the simple doing of one's political duty that has become dangerous? Do we think that our National Chairman followed mischievously or perversely or ill-advisedly a dangerous path, or do we think that he was a man who suffered the consequences of doing his duty? I tell you that he knew quite clearly what the consequences might be, but if a man such as he is faced with the choice of doing his duty or of not doing it, he has really no choice at all. He and I, National Chairman and National President, used to joke about it. He said I should go to prison, being older and therefore less important for the future, and I said he ought to go, being younger and better able to stand it. But behind this joking was the realisation that to do one's duty and to stand for non-racial democracy might entail serious consequences, and this it has certainly done. As your acting National Chairman, I shall try to do my duty in the same tradition.

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