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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



“Rebirth is bound to come with fresh problems, as we rise to new responsibilities. This is the challenge of the times . . . No fear, no racial barriers—the challenge of the times does not put the responsibility on one man but on each one of us”.

Kenneth Kaunda —see page 8

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The following editorial expresses the views of the editorial board. No other body or movement is in any way responsible for the views expressed.

Momentous Month

MAY has started and will continue as a momentous month in the history of the struggle for freedom in South Africa. At the Maritzburg Conference in March a resolution was passed urging the Government to sponsor a National Convention of all races before South Africa becomes a Republic on 31st May. This serious call has been casually rejected by Dr. Verwoerd and the stage is set for the demonstrations proposed by the Conference.

These demonstrations will, we learn, take the form of a three-day stay-at-home on 29th, 30th and 31st May. The object is a peaceful demonstration and the key to its success will be strict adherence to the powerful force of non-violence, whatever provocation offered by those determined to break the spirit of the people. At no time have the organizers of the stay at home suggested anything but non-violent action.

Already the call, and the leaflet distributions, slogan writing and meetings associated with it, has drawn the expected response of intensive police action against the suspected organizers and against the many people and organizations who sympathize with them. Homes have been raided, documents have been taken, African townships have suffered frequent raids, and there has been the degrading spectacle of the Government displaying its "armed might" of Saracens and troop carriers. In Parliament, the Minister of Justice has warned of detentions, has ranted against the so-called agitators and has introduced drastic amendments to existing laws. These amendments are being rushed through Parliament and will, no doubt, be applied against hundreds of the Minister's fellow citizens in South Africa.

But the desire to demonstrate has spread beyond even the bounds of influence of the Action Council preparing the stay-at-home. In Cape Town, for instance, the mass of so-called Coloured people have adopted the campaign as their own.

Nothing the Government can do can prevent the message reaching the people. For weeks the stay-at-home has been discussed in an atmosphere of mounting enthusiasm. For the chance to do something to help change 12 years of Nationalist oppression has captured the imagination of the people.

In such cities as Cape Town and Port Elizabeth no one doubts that the stay-at-home has the overwhelming support of the majority of oppressed South Africans. The Government may raid, arrest, and threaten, but the people know what to do on 29th May. They know that this involves risk and possible sacrifice. To them the price is small for the chance of at last really resisting the utter degradation, the hardships, and frustration inflicted on them in the name of Western civilization and White Government in South Africa.

For men and women who believe they have a right to struggle for their freedom in their own country; who desire to live in a democratic non-racial society free of the hideous burden of White baasskap; and who utterly reject Dr. Verwoerd and his power-crazed henchmen there is only one answer to the question: "What shall we do on 29th May or whenever the call comes to stay at home?"

It is the answer given by men of courage and of determination in the ageless struggle against oppression: "When the call comes we will be ready."

U.N.I.P.'s. Sikota Wina

ONE of Kenneth Kaunda's lieutenants, fiery-speaker Sikota Wina, Director-General of the International Publicity Bureau of the United National Independence in Northern Rhodesia, is also the Managing Director of Pioneer Publishing Co. Ltd., a firm publishing the party's national fortnightly newspaper, *African Life*.

Mr. Wina was at Fort Hare University from 1953 to 1955 reading for an Arts degree. We was the only student from Rhodesia who was expelled from Fort Hare during the 1955 strike when he was the secretary of the Students' Representative Council.

At Fort Hare, Mr. Wina played as a goalie for the College 1st XI football team and he also took a keen interest in tennis.

Back in Northern Rhodesia Wina worked as one of the first African press reporters in the Information Department. After a year's service he resigned from the government and joined the Nchanga Consolidated Mines Ltd., Chingola, as the editor of the fortnightly *Nchanga Drum*, a social newspaper for the African mine employees.

In 1957, Mr. Wina went to Britain to attend the Commonwealth Journalists' Conference, he remained there for six weeks. On his return from Britain he continued to work for the mines but only for nine months. In

1958 he was appointed editor of a newly started African monthly magazine *African Life*.

He edited this magazine for just four issues, then in March, 1959, he was arrested together with Zambia Congress officials, and he was restricted in the far Northern Province (rural area).

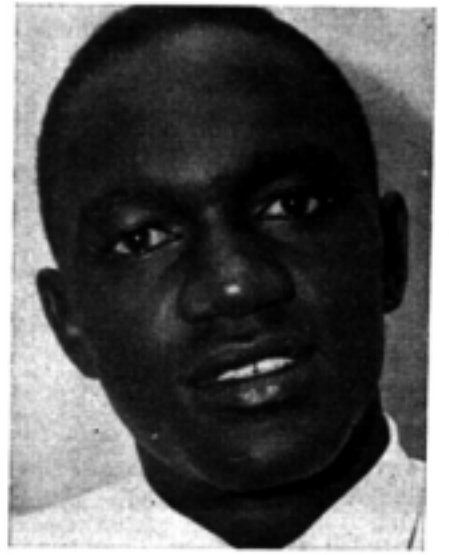
During his stay in the rural area, he gained confidence of the villagers in the whole province. On his release, nine months after, he came to terminate his services with his employers, and then joined full-time active politics. He was appointed the director-general of the International Publicity Bureau of U.N.I.P.

In September, 1960, Mr. Wina negotiated with his former employers on behalf of U.N.I.P. to buy the paper; therefore U.N.I.P. bought *African Life* and continued the publication on a fortnightly basis.

At the last conference of the P.A.F.E.M.E.C.A. in Uganda, Wina challenged Kenya's Tom Mboya for the chairmanship of the conference, but he lost.

He was one of the delegates to the Northern Rhodesia talks in London in December and January.

Wina (28), who is a bachelor, comes from a distinguished Lozi family in Barotseland, his father was Ngambela (Prime Minister) in Barotseland for 18 years. His elder brother Arthur Wina, is the U.N.I.P.'s



WINA

representative in the United States of America and at the same time he is studying for a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of California. His young brother Isimwaa Wina, is the Divisional Publicity Secretary for U.N.I.P. in Barotseland.

Wina is still ambitious to further his studies. "I would like to go overseas and collect myself a couple of degrees, after our struggle is over in Northern Rhodesia," he told me.

The Department which Mr. Wina covers in U.N.I.P. includes education, press and foreign affairs and publicity matters.

Journalists' Non-Racial Union

From a Special Correspondent

the provincial societies merged into a national body.

Journalists in Natal wished to strive for a charter along the lines of the British Institute of Journalists and the medical profession in the Union. The Transvaal wanted a trade union organization.

Other centres wanted the society registered under the Companies Act as a non-profit making company.

Eventually, the society became a legal entity by registering under the Companies Act as a non-profit making company. There was, however, strong resistance from constituent branches.

TRADE UNION

While the society was still considering the pros and cons of becoming a trade union, the Industrial Conciliation Act was amended in 1937, making it compulsory for any organization of employees claiming to protect the economic interests of their members to register as a trade union.

At the end of 1957 the S.A.S.J. was required to redraft its constitution under the again amended Industrial Conciliation Act.

The S.A.S.J. applied to the Minister of Labour for exemption from the Act which said that trade unions were not to be mixed. The request was refused, and the Minister went on record as saying that he would continue to refuse such a request.

Members of the S.A.S.J. were then told what this meant before a ballot was taken to decide what type of trade union members wished to have.

There were three courses open to them apart from the fact that if they ignored the instruction to amend their constitution they would automatically be deregistered at midnight, 31st December, 1957.

The choices were an all-White trade union, a partially mixed trade union from which Africans were debarred and Coloureds and Indians were on a separate roll without the power to hold executive office, or a fully integrated trade union which

would also be automatically deregistered.

Members of the S.A.S.J. voted for the middle course which still gave them the power to bargain with the employers including the right to invoke the Industrial Conciliation Act.

At the beginning of 1958, the S.A.S.J. did not have a single Coloured or Indian member.

DIFFICULT

The immediate future of the N.U.S.A.J. is going to be a difficult one. But the signs are heartening. The National Union of British Journalists has already sent a letter of support. And indications are that the S.A.S.J. will not be loath to give advice wherever it is needed.

On the executive of the N.U.S.A.J. there are African, White, Indian and Coloured journalists. Some White journalists have already made encouraging enquiries about the N.U.S.A.J.

A letter by one White journalist in the *Journalist*, organ of the S.A.S.J., of February, 1961, should provoke deep thought among journalists of all shades of colour and opinion.

He writes: "Any journalist who believes in the ethics of his profession (or trade) must be unhappy about this discriminatory system."

"The answer is clear: there must be a non-racial union of journalists. The Government is unlikely to recognize such a union but other unions have grown to strength without the blessings of the Government . . . or their employers."

"A non-racial union might seek affiliation with the British N.U.J. and/or recognition by the I.C.F.T.U."

"We have to think of the future and a union which began non-racially under difficult circumstances would command much respect."

"A discriminatory society of journalists accords ill with trends in the second half of the 20th century. Questions face South African journalists which must be thrashed out by all journalists, not only White ones."

Low Wages, Constant Irritations

Africans in Warmbaths "Seething with Discontent"

From "Contact" Correspondent

WARMBATHS: Poor liaison between the Warmbaths Town Council and the Advisory Board of Warmbaths location was one of the causes of the strike of all African workers in this Northern Transvaal town on Saturday, 29th April, and Monday, 1st May.

The town council, I learnt on good authority, failed to inform the Advisory Board officially that Mr. M. W. van Coller would return to work as location superintendent on Wednesday, 26th April, after having been suspended from duty for nearly a year.

When he walked into his location office on Wednesday, with a .303 rifle in his hand, the location residents were taken by surprise.

They had never imagined that this man, who was involved in serious



Police and residents at Warmbaths location.

charges under the Immorality Act (he was cleared on appeal to the Supreme Court), would be reinstated as superintendent and manager of non-European Affairs.

He was reinstated by the Bantu Administration Department, and the town council claim that they could present no legal grounds to the Department in an application for his dismissal. In other words, they had no alternative but to reinstate Van Coller.

Van Coller's reinstatement sparked off the strike and the riot in which two Africans were killed by police gunfire, but, quite apart from the Van Coller affair, Africans in Warmbaths have been seething with discontent for many years.

PINPRICKS

Like most location residents they have suffered constant pinpricks over matters like lodgers' permits, increases in various fees and permits for visitors to enter the location.

Recently a man from another town who wanted to attend the funeral of a relative in Warmbaths was refused an entry permit.

But the biggest cause of discontent is the abject poverty of Africans in Warmbaths and other Northern Transvaal towns.

Nearby are vast reserves on which thousands of Africans scratch a living from the soil. Because of influx control they cannot sell their labour in the cities to the south—Johannesburg, Pretoria and on the Witwatersrand generally. The result is that labour in these small towns is plentiful—and dirt cheap.

Wages are so low that even many Whites in the towns are alarmed. A municipal official told me that the average wage of a municipal worker is R140 (£70) a year.

A bar steward in an hotel in Warmbaths told me he was earning £3 5s. a month. He has a wife who cannot go to work because their three children are too young to be left at home. Her wages as a domestic servant if she did work would be £3 a month or £4 at the most.

A dining-room waiter in an hotel earns £8 10s. a month after 14 years' service. Tips average 10s. a week. No hotel food may be taken home.

A hotel manager told me: "These Natives are fat on the wages we pay them!"

T.B. RIFE

A local doctor said that malnutrition and T.B. are rife in the location. The people live on mealie-meal, bread and tea. Sanitation and living conditions are bad.

In contrast the streets full of luxury hotels are lined each day with big cars—the cars of Whites enjoying the hot baths. Most of the local Whites live in luxury, comfortably ensconced in their smart modern homes.

Africans in Warmbaths want the immediate dismissal of Van Coller. They are not satisfied with De Wet Nel's announcement that a committee of inquiry is to sit to take evidence and that meanwhile Van Coller should not take up his duties.

Most Whites in the town lull themselves into the false belief that the removal of Van Coller would solve everything and peace and calm would return.

The Warmbaths affair is only symptomatic of the discontent among Africans throughout the Union.

Van Coller was merely the spark that ignited the flame in this quiet, tree-lined holiday resort—"the last place where one would expect anything like this to happen".

It also illustrates the powerlessness and ineffectiveness of the Advisory Board system. Nobody will care about "location" residents until they have a vote on the town council on an equal basis.

Open Air Art Exhibition



JOHANNESBURG: When the Johannesburg City Council organized two weeks of open air art exhibition at Joubert Park recently, they failed to live up to their tainted reputation as racists and allowed artists of any colour to participate.

The exhibition was highly successful both from an artistic and a commercial point of view. Many good pictures were on view in pleasant open air surroundings and sales were brisk, although the prices were low. Thousands of people came to look and buy and there seem to have been no raised eyebrows at the presence of three Africans amongst the exhibitors. It is regrettable that this requires comment, but the moronic political climate prevailing amongst the citizens of Johannesburg provokes surprised pleasure when racial mixing at any level passes unnoticed and without disturbance. Maybe one day in the not too distant future Johannesburg, too, will rise to the maturity that becomes a city of a million people.

Mr. Lucas Teddy Sithole of Springs, photographed above, was one of the few who exhibited stone and metal sculptures of original and pleasingly modern design.

ANGOLA IS A WARNING TO SOUTH AFRICA

"ALTHOUGH reports are sketchy the situation in Angola is clearly growing more serious," said Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, in a statement to *Contact*. "Violence is spreading and is now being practised extensively both by those who are in revolt against authority and those who are trying to re-establish it. It seems also, that the pattern of violence frequently follows purely racial lines.

"In South Africa the Liberal Party has consistently protested against the use of violent methods whether by the Government or its opponents. It deplores the use of these methods in Angola now. The Party does not usually comment on events outside the Union but Angola is a special case. Not only do its borders touch ours but we believe it has lessons to teach us which we must learn quickly.

"The Portuguese colonial record is possibly the worst in Africa. Consistent economic exploitation and political domination have lead the African people there to turn to armed revolt as their only escape from tyranny. The same could happen in South Africa. But it need not, if White South Africans in particular will realise now that their future can only be secured in the kind of non-racial democracy which the Liberal Party advocates.

"If they will start now to get together with members of other races to work out what the future should be, then there is no reason why we should not make a reasonably peaceful transition to a new society acceptable to all our people and the Commonwealth.

"If they do not do that, they must face up to the implications of an inde-

pendent and hostile Angola on their borders, in the same way as the Angolans are now learning the lessons of an independent and hostile Congo on theirs, and they must face the fact that people denied other means of opposing tyranny will turn, sooner or later, to revolt."

In a cable to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions declared that attempts by the Portuguese government to suppress the freedom movement in Angola and to perpetuate a regime denying political and labour rights, constitutes "a threat to peace and a violation of the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights". The cable expressed the hope that the appropriate organs of the United Nations will deal with the situation.

Omer Becu, I.C.F.T.U. General Secretary, declared on 6th May that the Confederation intended to submit to the International Labour Organization a complaint on the violation of trade union rights in Portugal and in Portuguese colonies.

"What is now taking place in Angola," he said, "is in effect an explosion resulting from the oppressive policies of the Portuguese dictatorial regime. These policies have robbed the people of Angola—as well as those of all other Portuguese colonies—of the means of protecting their interests, develop'ng their civic, political and trade union rights and exercising their right to self-determination. Even the small proportion of Portuguese nationals and "assimilated" Africans enjoy rights strictly limited by the dictatorial rule."



Saracens and troop carriers outside Warmbaths location.

Raids, Threats, New Laws, but . . .

PLANS GO AHEAD FOR THE THREE-DAY STAY-AT-HOME

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRIGHTENED South Africa, sinking steadily into the mud of the Verwoerd Republic, is going through its most anxious period since March-April last year. May started with an intensive police raid, continued with a wave of scare stories, and has brought an addition to the dismal list of Nationalist Government laws against the struggle for freedom in this country.

Described as "routine" and "not indiscriminate" by Police Headquarters, the raids of 3rd May took place from 4 a.m. in the morning. In Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth and many other centres the pattern was similar: an intensive run-through the locations, and a more selective search of homes outside. Among those searched were leading members of the Liberal Party, the banned A.N.C. and P.A.C., Congress of Democrats, South African National Convention, Coloured Peoples Congress, African General Workers Union, and S.A. Indian Congress, in fact every organization suspected of involvement in or sympathy towards the peaceful stay-at-home planned for 29th, 30th and 31st May.

Searches were thorough and much has been made of the politeness of the early morning intruders. Enquiry among those raided has shown that this new departure from customary harshness was confined to raids on non-Africans. The usual procedure of pulling everything out of cupboards and drawers and strewing them on the floor, battering on doors and shouting complaints if they were not opened at once, and insulting remarks to members of the households searched, were revealed among the African families raided.

The raids coincided with similar police activity in South West Africa. No information has yet become available as to the people raided. Only two names have been mentioned, subject to confirmation. They are Mr. Frank Dixon, leading Windhoek architect, known to be entirely uninterested in politics, but to be on terms of personal friendship with Miss Mary Benson of Rev. Michael Scott's Africa Bureau, London. Mr. Sieke, also an architect, formerly of the Administration, and said to have withdrawn from all association with African politicians, with whom he was on friendly terms until dismissed from his post because of this.

The warrants empowered the police, usually a detective and a man in uniform, to look for and seize documents, pamphlets, letters and anything else concerning the infringement of about five listed laws by 14 organizations and committees. The Liberal Party was not included in the 14 organizations, but this did not prevent police from taking material dealing with the internal affairs of the Party. "These raids were used partly as an excuse to investigate the activities of the Liberal Party," said Mr. Peter Hjul, Cape Chairman of the Liberal Party, whose home was raided along with the homes of eight other members of the Party in Cape Town.

SHOWS OF FORCE

African townships throughout the country have been subjected to intensive police activity and shows of force. And everywhere there are rumours: thousands are to be arrested; the stay-at-home will last longer than three days; violence is being planned. Seldom has a simple request coupled with a promise of action caused such an upset in a country. It must be a source of great satisfaction to those who gathered recently at Martizburg, remarked Sir de Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, in Parliament, all they have to do is threaten "and this Government takes fright to such an extent".

He was commenting on the General Law Amendment Bill, which has been rushed through Parliament in under two

weeks, to create what Mr. Harry Lawrence of the Progressive Party described, as a state of unproclaimed emergency in the Union.

DETENTION

This Amendment Bill empowers the state to keep a man in prison for 12 days without bail if the Attorney-General considers it "necessary in the interests of the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order"; it provides for heavier penalties for taking part in or publicizing a banned gathering; places the onus of proof in cases of intimidation on the person

APPOLUS IN "DAR"



From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: The former editor of *South West News*, Windhoek, Mr. Emil Appolus, has left Dar es Salaam for New York via London and the Mali Federation, as Publicity Secretary of the South West African People's Organization. Mr. Appolus who escaped from the Union of South Africa last year, has been in Dar es Salaam as a political refugee with his wife and children.

He said in an interview that plans for the total liberation of South West Africa are being worked out by South West African exiles living here and in other parts of the world.

He plans to visit New York in September this year when the U.N. Trusteeship Council meets. He has already been promised a hearing by the U.N. Committee dealing with South West Africa. Mr. Appolus predicted that South West Africa will be free next year.

E. A. Railway Apprentice

OUR cover picture shows an apprentice receiving instruction on a lathe in the Nairobi mechanical workshops of the East African Railways. While in South Africa Africans are denied all opportunity of becoming skilled artisans, this young man is one of 286 Africans (out of 330 apprentices) receiving technical training in the East African Railways. And the railway he serves is regarded as one of the most efficient on the African continent.

In East Africa, like many terri-

accused; and introduces further controls on firearms.

Had he had these powers last year, said the Minister of Justice, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, he might not have had to proclaim a state of emergency. The Amendments will come under review once a year and have, as several Opposition members in Parliament noted, created a year of emergency laws in South Africa.

Introducing the Bill, the Minister of Justice dealt extensively with the resolutions of the Maritzburg Conference and later suggested, no doubt to awed followers, that the non-White people no longer came with grievances but with demands.

The Opposition should realize the new circumstances—these people wanted a joint say in the Government of the country. And so for the millions who ask no more than this Mr. Erasmus, his police and all the other forces of the state have another instrument of oppression to inflict on them.

This panic action to avoid the coming of the Republic in a state of emergency was opposed by all Opposition members of Parliament, but their fight lacked the force of previous contests. "Opposition members," said the *Cape Times* political commentator, "seemed to have little sense of outrage at this new inroad into civil liberties. The whole attitude seemed to be: 'Oh dear, they're at it again.'" A kind of exhausted reasonableness, he observed, hangs over nearly everything the Opposition says.

But, if the Opposition in Parliament gives the impression of being "pretty close to hurling in", this is certainly not the case outside of Parliament. The call for definite action against the minority Government of South Africa is receiving an overwhelming response.

In Cape Town the most significant reaction is that of the so-called Coloured people. Intensive discussion, small meetings, and peaceful persuasion is going on in such a way that no Government action, short of meeting the demands made, can hope to stop it. In the Drill Hall on 7th May 4,000 Moslems cheered wildly and roared their unanimous approval of a call to stay-at-home at the end of the month. For the first time in years the Coloured community is flexing its political muscles and it likes the feeling of pride and self-respect that comes with the flexing.

From Johannesburg, from Durban, from Port Elizabeth, and from areas which have seldom before seen political activity on a large scale come reports of enthusiastic response to the call.

No one believes that a three-day stay-at-home will change the Government overnight. But it will show that most people in South Africa, and most political organizations engaged in the struggle for freedom, can unite in positive non-violent action; and it should convince thousands more Whites that a real movement of the people cannot be stopped or even deflected by a Government which is now only able to rule by threats and by force.

New Libera



THREE top Transvaal Liberals with Party a dynamic new meaning on to right: Ruth Hayman, Johannesburg; Ernest M. Wentzel, no Transvaal Division, also an attorney; Wentzel spent four months in gaol; Drake K. Koka, 33-year-old Marian Matthew's higher primary school, Mother to the L.P.'s Transvaal Youth division David Craighead, Transvaal tre.

Nat. Newsp a New

From a Special Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: If the Prime Minister and those around him feel that all is right in South Africa, many in his Party are not so sure. It is well known that there are members of the Nationalist Party, mainly in the Cape, who would like to move the country out of its present disaster course by moving the Prime Minister out of his job. Anxious house meetings have been held in the Cape Platteland and in Cape Town; vague promises have been made of a new deal for the so-called Coloured people; even vaguer promises are made of better things for "the Bantu". Always the plea is for more time. And yet there is a strange inconsistency in these apparently well-meaning attitudes and half-hearted efforts to break the stranglehold of Dr. Verwoerd on his Party and on South Africa.

Recognized as the leading mouthpiece of the "remove Verwoerd" camp, the Cape Town Daily *Die Burger* has now found a new bogey—Black imperialism. In two editorials on 10th and 11th May, *Die Burger* alleges that the leaders of "Black imperialism in our midst are out for a show-down".

"The White man and his institutions," warns an editorial headed "The Danger at the Gate", "must be brought to their knees through strikes, riots, and everything that can flow from them in the form of economic collapse, violence and foreign intervention. And it would be unrealistic to deny that the time and the circumstances have been well chosen for the success of this strategy."

To *Die Burger* the perfectly reasonable call for National Consultation among people of all races and the peaceful stay-at-home which will follow the rejection of this call is seen as a threat to the "very framework" of Society in South Africa.

"The way to strength and wisdom," according to this newspaper, "is to recognize the danger for what it is: directed not against any political party or policy, but against our way of life and the framework of values within

Chairman



to have helped to give the Liberal the Rand and in other areas. Left attorney, and first permanent Director of the Liberal Party, and ex-President of N.U.S.A.S. during the 1960 State of Emergency; a hill-educated ex-headmaster of St. John's, who has given terrific impetus to the Liberal Party. Obscured behind Mrs. Hayman is a lawyer and executive member.

Speaker Finds Bogey

Which our processes and institutions exist. The foremost national priority now is not to argue about how the assault could have been evaded or made less formidable, but to repulse it at all costs. This simply means that "normal" politics should be suspended until the danger has been decisively averted."

For most South Africans "normal" politics ended when the Party supported by *Die Burger* came to power in 1948. They will resume when the present "processes and institutions" are changed and civilized government shared by all people of this country replaces a regime which even *Die Burger* finds less and less palatable.

TEMBU LEADERS

(Continued from column 8)

Territorial Authority session will be discussed. Paramount Chief Sabata is a member of the 27-man Recess Committee appointed to report to next year's T.T.A. meeting on the implications of self-government. He told the gathering on 6th May that he would say nothing about Independence on that occasion as the Recess Committee was not to meet until July, so that there was nothing to tell them that they did not already know.

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Land Schemes, Police Not Wanted

Tembu Leaders Reject Government Offers

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Almost 1,000 chiefs, subchiefs and representatives of the Tembu people gathered at Bumbane, Great Place of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, on Saturday, 6th May. The occasion was for the Tembus of the Umtata, Engcobo and Mqanduli districts to consider once again whether or not they would accept the so-called Rehabilitation Scheme, otherwise known as Land Stabilization, which the Government has been pressing upon them for many years.

This Stabilization, the cause of much hardship and of prolonged strife in many parts of the Transkei for more than twenty years, involves the culling of cattle, fencing of lands, and, worst grievance of all, the loss of land by many peasants, who are then to be brought together in "rural villages", or moved to sites which they do not willingly exchange for their old homes.

Experts see the Stabilization plan as a hopeless attempt to increase the agricultural product of the Transkei to a point where the 1½ million Transkeians would be self-supporting in food, without the absolutely vital prerequisite of (a) vastly increasing the land available (b) generously subsidizing the whole endeavour.

Since the Government has tried to restore tribalism to the Transkei, the Chiefs' duty of acting on the wishes of their people has had to be respected, and many Government moves which the people sense to be against their interest, good chiefs have delayed by insisting on acting as their people require them. This has kept Tembuland largely free of Stabilization so far.

In Tembuland, the Paramount Chief has handed over many of his responsibilities under the Bantu Authorities to Headman E. M. Sangoni of Viedgesville, Umtata District, a government-supporter, who took the chair at the Bumbane gathering. Mr. Sangoni called on Paramount Chief Sabata to report on the reasons for the meeting, and then announced future church and educational meetings. Mr. Sangoni also stated that steps would be taken to collect the levy of R1.50 per head towards the building of Bantu Authorities' offices for the Dalindyebo Regional Authority (Tembuland) at Sitebe. R40,000 was required in three years and R2,800 had so far been collected.

CONSENT OR NOT

Paramount Chief Sabata then put to the meeting that they must decide whether or not they wished to have the Rehabilitation Scheme put into opera-

tion in their districts. He explained that this could only be done with their consent. They must signify whether or not they wanted the scheme.

Speaker after speaker then got up and attacked the scheme. They had seen the ill-effects it had had in other areas, they knew the hardships it entailed, and how it did not really improve anything. One elderly speaker, who arose to put the contrary view and urged the Tembus to accept the scheme, had to be rescued from physical attack by infuriated tribesmen around him. Only the Paramount Chief's quick intervention averted a nasty incident. The feelings against the scheme can be gauged by the reception of this speech.

One speaker likened Stabilization to many hardships the Government had brought upon the African people: "They give you a present, all prettily wrapped up, but you are not allowed to look inside to see what it is so that you can try it out. You have to take it as it is. The African people always tried to co-operate with the Government, however badly they treated us, so being used to doing what the Government want, you would take the present. Then you open it and find its contents are rotten. You tell the Government you don't want it because it is rotten, but the Government says: 'Ah! But you have accepted it. You can't give it back or refuse it now!' This is what happened to us with so many things, like the 'Dompas' (reference book). Don't let it happen again. This Stabilization is no good. Don't accept it now and find it is killing you later."

In the end there was an overwhelming rejection of the scheme by the whole gathering.

TO ASK POLICE

Another point dealt with was the statement by Colonel J. A. C. Reay, of the S.A. Police, Umtata, to the Territorial Authority at Umtata on 18th April, that the people of the Transkei must look on the police as their friends and protectors, and must ask the police

to come to their areas to comb out the trouble-makers and agitators, and to remove the dangerous weapons that could cause serious trouble between the people and the Government. The Paramount Chief asked the gathering whether they wanted the police, and this new Mobile Squad, to go around Tembuland doing these things.

This, too, was emphatically rejected. About eight speakers then followed each other with stories of the activities of the police, and all agreed that the police were only to be seen in the countryside when checking for passes and handling people roughly. They decided they did not want the friendship and protection of the police at this time.

Headman Sangoni, and another Government-supporter, Chief B. Holomisa, spoke in favour of asking the police to patrol the roads in the countryside, and to act against agitators they found on the roads, but not to raid the homes of the people.

"WE DON'T WANT THEM"

They were replied to by Chief Zwelihle, who described how on 26th April he was stopped on the main road by a convoy of seven police vans, who demanded his "Dompas". They then demanded to know what he had in his car, and handled him roughly when he at first refused to let them search it. They let him go when they found nothing. They would be wrong to invite the police to do this work.

Chief Sabata summed up by saying that it seemed as if the police were being used to enforce the pass system in the countryside, as it was enforced in the town. The Tembus saw no reason to invite the police to do this as they did not approve of the pass system, nor of the frequently bad behaviour of the police in enforcing it. He said he would tell the Government that if the Tembus wanted the police to come amongst them to look for trouble-makers and arms, they would ask them. At this time they did not want them at all.

Paramount Chief Sabata finally told the gathering that he had been offered a bodyguard by the Government, a strong body of men to protect him from the enemies of Bantu Authorities. Should he accept the offer? The large crowd responded: "We are your bodyguard. It is not necessary."

The meeting lasted from about 2 p.m. until 6 p.m., when the large crowd, which had completely filled up the large space in front of the Paramount Chief's homestead, dispersed. It is understood that a similar meeting will be held later in the year, when the Independence motion of the last

(Continued in column 5)

LIBERAL CALL FOR CONVENTION

AN appeal to summon a National Convention representative of all South Africans is made in a letter to the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, signed by Mr. Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party of South Africa; Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane, National Vice-President; and Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman.

"On 31st May," says this letter, "you will be celebrating the inauguration of the new South African Republic and the attainment of an ideal long cherished by the Afrikaner people. We accept the fact that South Africa is to become a Republic, although we have condemned, and still condemn, the methods by which you brought it about, in that you refused to consult four-fifths of the people of our country. Nor do we expect your Republic to endure, based as it is on the assumption that people of different races cannot live in peace together, and on cruel and discriminatory laws.

"Your new Republic will have no friend in the world, unless it be the tottering regime of Portugal. Its apartheid policies are unacceptable everywhere.

"It will be further isolated by its recent withdrawal from the Commonwealth of Nations, a withdrawal directly due to your insistence on the practice of race discrimination.

Convention representative of all South Africans is made in a letter to the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, signed by the Liberal Party of South Africa; Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane, National Vice-President; and Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman.

"It will receive little support from the African people, who, under your very eyes and contrary to the statements of your information service, are moving from passive to active opposition.

"It will receive as little support from the Indian people of South Africa. Who could expect it from those who suffer such anxiety and hardship under the harsh Group Areas Act and other discriminatory laws?

"Even the Coloured people, so long the supporters of White South Africa, are now turning against you. Their new Coloured Convention has rejected a destiny which makes them a buffer between White and Black.

"You will get little support from the English-speaking people, except from those who are prepared to move into the inferior position which the Coloured people are now vacating. The rest of them are learning that race discrimination in Africa is impossible and indefensible.

"You are called by your followers the saviour of Afrikanerdom, but history will call you its destroyer, unless you halt before it is too late. Even amongst your own, the will to dominate its losing its ancient power.

"Your withdrawal from the Commonwealth has dealt a deadly blow to the economy of the country. You talk of costly schemes of racial separation while the country grows poorer and poorer and while you yourself are spending more and more on precautions and defence. Confidence is at its lowest ebb.

"Last October we called for a new National Convention. We now repeat that call and ask you to summon such a National Convention, representative of all South Africans whose aim would be to find a new policy for our country, which would command the support of its people and restore our confidence in the future and our prestige in the world.

"Only such a solution has any hope at all and we urge you to help us to find it. Otherwise history will pass on you a judgment only less harsh than it has passed on Adolph Hitler, whose cruel empire lasted only the barest fraction of its vaunted thousand years."

They Serve Tanganyika . . .



When Tanganyika became fully self-governing internally on 1st May, 1961, the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull, administered oaths of office to the Ministers of the new Cabinet. Two were absent abroad.

Seated, left to right: Chief Abdullah Fundikira, Minister for Legal Affairs; Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Julius K. Nyerere; Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull; Minister of Finance Sir Ernest Vasey, and Asian Minister for Communications, Power and Works, Mr. Amir Jamal.

Standing, left to right: Mr. Job Lusinde, Minister for Local Government; Mr. R. M. Kawawa, African Minister without Portfolio; Mr. Nsilo Swai, Minister for Commerce and Industry; Mr. Paul Bomani, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Oscar Kambona, Minister of Education; Mr. Tewa Said Tewa, Minister for Lands and Surveys, and Mr. C. Meek, Secretary to the Cabinet.

In the lower picture, Sir Richard Turnbull, the British Governor, shakes hands with Mr. Nyerere after he was sworn in and took office as first Prime Minister of Tanganyika, on 1st May, 1961.

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SAM SLY IN UMTATA

INDEPENDENCE DIARY—TRANSKEI

DO you know Umtata, capital of the Transkeian Territories, where they have been debating independence?

In the Bunga, its parliament house, group photographs of councillors line the walls. Until 1956 the Black councillors stood behind seated White officials, who have since vanished from the photographs. In the Chamber itself the presiding territorial chief and the chairman of the session sit above the senior White officials, who can only speak at their invitation.

In this setting the Independence debate of 21st and 24th April seemed logical enough. From self-development to self-government looked but a step. Mr. De Wet Nel himself had made approving noises: "a few years . . . Soon . . . preparations at an advanced stage", when commenting on the motion for Independence.

Outside the debating chamber of the Bunga, the Umtata streets, and the poverty-stricken locations tell a different story. About midnight one night during this Bunga session, I dropped my friend on the corner near his boarding house in the town, and drove away. Next day he told me he was chased by a policeman, whom he only narrowly eluded when inside the boarding house itself. He had deprived this "friend and protector of the Bantu" of a curfew arrest. In Umtata it's "No Natives on the street after 11 p.m."

We had been to a Liberal Party meeting that night. My friend had not minded coming along. He had thought of going to see "That Kind of Woman" at the Metro, but it was "Not for Persons 4-16. Not for Natives". (He appeared to me more amused at the prohibition than angered by it: such affirmations of White superiority do the Whites more harm than the Africans.)

Yes, my friend's boarding house is in the town, and there are one or two others. It is odd to see Chief Kaiser Matanzima's 1960 Chevrolet parked in the mud at the entrance to the slummy "Welcome Home"—"Native Boarding House"—while in the smart Savoy Hotel bar jokes about the "Kaffers" are cracked by White B.A.D. clerks.

They can walk over for a swim in the new municipal swimming pool, where, incidentally, there is no "Whites Only" notice, because there is no need for one. No Black resident or visitor would imagine for a moment that he would be admitted.

Most Bunga councillors cannot afford the Welcome Home—it costs 25c. a night and beds in the Umtata "Native location" are cheaper, though it is a long walk into the town. A few of the

B.P.P.'s First Meeting

Bechuanaland "One Nation"

From "Contact" Correspondent

LOBATSI: More than 300 people attended a meeting of the Bechuanaland People's Party at Lobatsi on 23rd April, 1961. There was great excitement when the Secretary-General, Mr. Motsamai K. Mpho, was met by the President, Mr. K. T. Motsete. They were followed by a group of singing youths, among them seven delegates of the Johannesburg branch of the B.P.P., led by their branch secretary, Mr. Anderson Mbakile.

After full explanation of party policy by the President the meeting was addressed by the Secretary-General, who told the audience that they must unite to form one nation of Bechuanaland.

Other speakers were Mr. K. K. Motshidisi, Mr. G. Mogotsi (the only sign-writer in the Protectorate), Mr. Anderson Mbakile, and Mr. Philip Matente, an executive member of the B.P.P.

The meeting passed the following resolutions, arising out of discussion of the new Legislative Council form of government, which Mr. Mpho accused of being a "colour-bar constitution":

This first public meeting of the

Bechuanaland People's Party resolves that while welcoming the creation of the Legislative Council for Bechuanaland, we nonetheless suggest the following amendments to its constitution:

1. Uniform polling by ballot for a common roll based on universal suffrage for all races, tribes and peoples of the territory.
2. Postal voting for the Bechuanaland citizens temporarily living beyond its borders to be provided for.
3. An African majority to replace the present minority.

These were unanimously accepted by the meeting.

the similarity in the serious view of independence taken by Transkeian Blacks and Whites.

I heard no Whites express outrage or derision at the idea of Transkeian independence, and I heard many Africans applaud it. Among the applauders are those who do so to please the Government, and those who aim to use the Transkei in the cause of South African liberty.

As an example of the first group, Chief Kaiser Matanzima said at the end of the Independence debate: "Today the Transkei is on the march in support of the Government policy of self-development and the measure just decided so unanimously is an unequivocal rejection of the policy of a multi-racial society, and I have no doubt that the other sister Bantu homelands will give full support to your decision."

The second group is a small one in the Bunga, but great among the intellectuals and real patriots of the Transkei.

And the Whites? It did not seem odd to me to read in the latest *Territorial News*, of 4th May, the White mouth-piece in the Transkei, that the "principal (obstacle in the way of self-government) will be to see that a sufficient number of trained officials is available to undertake the manifold duties of an independent government. . . . Training schools will be a first need and the sooner a start is made the better".

Umtata, curfew, "not for Natives", and all, is taking the independence idea perhaps more seriously than Pretoria is. In Pretoria, "self-government", a very different idea, is the slogan—and perhaps no more than a slogan.

senior councillors stay with non-White friends who still have houses in Umtata, or at Ncambedlane, the suburb where Whites once lived and where some African now, inexplicably, still have freehold rights. What's holding the Group Areas Board back here?

In a tea-room near the Bunga, the very cross manageress has three voices—a coo for White customers, a yap for African customers when the shop is empty, and a furious squawk for African customers if White customers are in earshot. Her rudeness is equalled only by the offhand impertinence of the Coloured waitresses, who feel called to impress their mistress as well as the White customers, with the fact that they may be Coloureds but are not "Natives".

The young woman on the telephone exchange tried to get me a country lawyer on the line, but he was out and the elderly char in his office spoke only Xhosa. She tried the number later but told me: "It's only that damn kaffir girl again".

Another friend, a chief over many thousands, is a patient of the European Dr. H., and is too well-mannered to cause a fuss by not using the back door, as the notice on the gate tells him that he, and all "Non-Europeans", must.

Do I bore you with these notes on baasskap in a South African town? But this is Umtata, capital of the Transkeian Territories, where they have been debating independence.

Theory in the Bunga and reality in the streets outside may be very different things, but more surprising than this is

IN THE LAND OF SHEM . . .

He stood in the docks at Cape Town,
Having walked over the sea,
His eyes were bright as stars at night,
His face was fair to see.
His skin was dark and glowing,
Palestine's sun is strong.
And He stood in the docks at Cape
Town,
Watching the hurrying throng.

"You there, where have you come from?"

"I come from the land of Shem,
I played in the fields of Galilee
And was born in Bethlehem."
"Hm, Non-European,
Get over the other side,
This is a White man's country
And the gate is none too wide."

"Now, have you any money?
What church do you patronize?"
"My Father gives me all I need,

I find favour in His eyes,
My parents were but lowly folk,
And Jewish, I am told."
"Alleluia! Here's another Yid
With his pockets full of gold."

"What is it I am going to do?
I come to raise the dead.
Where am I going to live?
I have no place to lay my head."
Well, wherever you are going,
You can use your legs again.
For Europeans only,
You can't get on that train.

"So join the Blacks and Coolies,
And all the Coloured folk,
We are the lordly White men,
We cannot bear your yoke.
Go find the meek and humble,
The outcast and the poor,
Don't you know we've got apartheid?"
So they turned Him from the door.

ANON.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Communists in S.A.

SIR,—You have replied more than adequately to the attacks made on you by *New Age* but may I be permitted to comment on the fact that Communist strategy in South Africa is following their old overseas pattern.

Russia was ruled by despotic Tsars who cruelly oppressed the Russian people. To combat their evils there arose a number of Liberals who sought to oust the Tsars. At the same time the Communists came to life and, in the name of a United Front, infiltrated into the ranks of the Liberals.

In 1917 many Liberals perished but their group succeeded in freeing Russia. The Communists, who had tactfully kept out of the line of bullets, now came forward and sought to disrupt the Liberals who had lost many of their leaders and who faced the gigantic task of restoring order.

After a few months the Liberal government was destroyed and the Communists took over, unleashing on the Russian people a police state far worse than that of the Tsars.

That is what the Communists are trying to do in South Africa. They know that in the not too distant future the Nationalist regime will be replaced by a more democratic inter-racial government. They know, too, that this government will have been weakened during the end of the Nationalist reign and that it will be facing tremendous difficulties, possibly, although we hope not, even something verging on civil war.

Under those circumstances the Communists, who, as they did last March, spent a few months in Basutoland while things were hot, hope to be able to take over the country.

To do this they must know all about the new government and its leaders. This is why they seek to infiltrate the A.N.C. and the Liberal Party, who, unfortunately, both accept the "United Front" story and have already suffered as a result.

The only organization which could see their game was the P.A.C. and that is why they sought to destroy the P.A.C. How glad *New Age* and C.O.D. must be that Robert Sobukwe is in a Nationalist gaol. *Contact*, too, is proving to be a thorn in their side and it must therefore be destroyed.

We in South Africa do not seek the communist equality—everybody enslaved. The equality we want is equality of freedom.

BRIAN BISHOP,
1 Bickley Road, Sea Point.

Gettysburg, South Africa

SIR,—Some time ago our fathers (not White fathers or Black fathers; but fathers) brought forth upon this world (South Africa) a new people, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that people, or any people so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are endeavouring to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place of those who consider themselves competent to give their lives that that people might live in harmony.

In conclusion, for the interest of the readers, I take pleasure in stating that we shall not have to go to war to attain our objective; it shall fall into our hands like over-ripe fruit.

Sibanye!

JACO KUBYANE,
Saulsville, Pretoria.

U.N. and S.W.A.

SIR,—I reply to Mr. Kauraisa's question asking me to let him know why I say that S.W.A. people are getting fed up with waiting for U.N.

Mr. Kozonquizi has broadcast from Radio Peking. Doesn't he look like a person waiting for U.N. since 1946? Is it convenient for Mr. Kauraisa if S.W.A. becomes communist? Does he mind the tensions which are growing up among our petitioners at the U.N.?

The U.N. will think we are not fit to be granted autonomy if we do not cooperate. I am anxious lest this tension continues because I do not want another Congo to be born in S.W.A. Remember that the Congo crisis was caused by the Congolese themselves who were not united. I want the United Nations Trusteeship Committee to intervene before a tense situation grows up.

E. H. CHRISTOPHER,
The Strand, Cape.

Nyerere's Non-Racialism

SIR,—Dr. Julius Nyerere's Africa Day message to the people of South Africa holds a timely warning to all of us in the freedom struggle in this country. It is to be hoped that those who refer glibly to him as a great leader in their speeches and letters, and thereafter proceed to put forward anti-White and anti-West propaganda, will remember what he stands for and will be guided in the difficult months to come by his call "to re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom and justice throughout this continent" and remember that he believes in "the dignity and equality of man regardless of colour or creed".

Because if the struggle is won against White domination and thereafter "justice" and "dignity and equality" are applied to non-Whites only, South Africa will still be without the freedom for which we are sacrificing so much.

(Mrs.) ADELAINE HAIN,
Hatfield, Pretoria.

Piggs Peak Pay

SIR,—We wish to inform the world about the different types of payments system applied here in Swaziland. The type of payment is that abominable type of paying after 5 weeks to 7 weeks. When you are employed you are told that you will be paid so much money at the month's end. But when the month ends you find that on your ticket you still have to work a week before getting your pay. We have seen this in Piggs Peak and at the Havelock Asbestos Mine, Emlembe.

At Piggs Peak there is "educational discrimination". When you are educated and have managed to pass your Std. 6 or higher you will be paid at the end of every month—that gives you 12 pays per year.

Should you be unfortunate and be a Std. V or totally illiterate then you are entitled to get your pay in 1½ months' period. And that gives you 8 days per year of 12 months. Where does the four months go? Is it a donation to the employers and their authority?

HOWLER & FREEDOM LOVER,
Emlembe, Swaziland.

Nyasaland

SIR,—I hope you are in good spirits. Things are quiet here now, but I would guess that this situation will last till the LegCo elections, and perhaps a little after them, then when it becomes plain, that, despite their elected majority in LegCo, elected specifically to get them out of Federation, the people of Nyasaland still have no "Constitutional" power to leave Federation, "Unconstitutional" methods will come to the fore again, and there may be really serious trouble.

It is difficult to make predictions, but at present I think it likely that the Malawi Congress Party will win all 20 lower roll seats, and probably some of the eight higher roll seats. Presumably, however, this will not be sufficient to persuade Sir Roy Welensky and his allies to relinquish their hold voluntarily—I wonder whether anything would be sufficient for that now, though it would seem to be the only way by which further violence could be avoided.

DAVID STEVENSON,
Fort Johnston, Nyasaland.

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Please keep your letters short
- But go on writing
- Views, news, comment
- Hit hard
- A photograph if you can manage it

Solidarity against Apartheid

SIR,—I was astonished to learn that in S.W.A.P.O. Coloureds take a keen interest, whereas in the Bechuanaland Protectorate it is vastly different; the Coloureds play White. They even go to the extent of calling Africans "Kaffirs".

A spirit of solidarity against apartheid is necessary.

J. MONCHO,
Lobatsi, Bechuanaland.

Tribal Prejudice

SIR,—Permit me to comment on the violent attack of the White man in South Africa. Many Europeans were happier in Africa in the past when all the people believed in White superiority, and why are the same Europeans not as happy today, when some of the people are being "healed" of the mental malady of their belief in the reality of White superiority.

No one seems to be free from this particular fear: from the Europeans of the highest rank to the Africans of the lowest rank. Everyone feels that the action of Whites in South Africa is wrong and unjust, but everyone seems to be afraid of prison punishment. They all fear that if they were to speak their mind, someone might victimize them.

Secondly, tribal prejudice does not allow White leaders to unite with us. Unity once made America strong; White and Black should pull together. We must "out" with anyone with whom we don't agree. God save South Africa.



AKPENN A. EKOTT,
Calabar.

Despair?

SIR,—I should like to say that Messrs. Van der Ross and Daniels are entirely incorrect in saying that the Coloured people are possessed by a feeling of hopeless despair. The Coloured people have, in fact, never been more confident. It has dawned upon them finally that with unity with the African people all but an accomplished fact and with the democratic movement making great strides, they no longer have to cower and dance and grovel at the feet of tyrants.

They are confident as never before because they have learnt that they are strong.

C. MARNEY,
Lansdowne, Cape Town.

The Great Commandment

SIR,—To maintain White supremacy any visitor to South Africa will get the impression that the country has two great commandments: "Thou shalt love no neighbour who hath not the same colour as thyself and shall maintain White supremacy with all thy heart."

FRANCIS NDALA NDLENI,
Sharpeville.

Verwoerd and the Commonwealth

SIR,—It is said that the Prime Minister Verwoerd has failed in his mission. His mission we have been made to understand was to keep the Republic of South Africa in the Commonwealth.

They say the African is rejoicing in this "failure". It's funny that the Nationalist is also rejoicing this "failure".

Aren't we only now witnessing the end of the Boer War. The Prime Minister was given a "hero's welcome", on his return from a mission said to be a failure. No, there was no failure, but victory! Victory came with the withdrawal of the Premier from the "British" Commonwealth.

Any cry of being isolated and of economic weakening is of no importance to the die-hard Nationalist. He has won the country, it's his and his alone. No British meddling, no interference in his policies.

J. CHRISTIAN MATYILA,
Nyanga East, Cape.

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



Internal S.W.A. Squabble

KERINA CALLS FOR "UNITY"

IN an exclusive statement released to *Contact*, the divisions that have recently become apparent in the South West African freedom movement are deplored by Mr. Mburumba Kerina, of S.W.A.P.O., dynamic spokesman of the oppressed peoples of S.W.A. at the United Nations.

Mr. Kerina states that he wishes to make it abundantly clear to all the peoples of South West Africa "that S.W.A.P.O. (South West Africa People's Organization) does not wish to compare itself with other organizations in South West Africa who are sincere and who are fighting for the same objectives. The main activities of S.W.A.P.O. are to fight relentlessly until freedom and independence are won in S.W.A. and in the entire continent of Africa." Mr. Kerina issues the following call to organizations in S.W.A. who have lately participated in a verbal battle with S.W.A.P.O.

"Let all people of our country, men, women and children, call for unity and solidarity and not for divisions and destructiveness. If we embark on comparisons of one freedom organization and another, we automatically jeopardize our constructive work. Unity has no room for division or personal ambitions. Whoever is encouraging definitions of differences is a traitor, and whoever is a traitor has no place in our country."

FINANCIAL AID

Dealing with recent accusations about the leadership and activities of S.W.A.P.O. (which have appeared in the columns of *New Age*, *the Windhoek Advertiser* and *Contact*) Mr. Kerina said he deplored attempts to create the impression that S.W.A.P.O. has not, for instance, made a substantial contribution to the victims of South African oppression in his country, in the form of financial assistance. He stated:

- In 1959 S.W.A.P.O. and the Chief's Council contributed funds to families of those who were killed and wounded during the Windhoek disturbances.
- It has contributed to the families of those deported in both the Police Zone and the Reserves.
- It has contributed to the South West African refugees in Bechuanaland, Tanganyika, Cairo and New York.

LEADERSHIP

Dealing with attacks on the quality and stature of S.W.A.P.O.'s leaders, Mr. Kerina asked these questions.

"Why is it that:

1. the South West African administration is daily persecuting these leaders?
2. They are prohibited from holding meetings and gatherings?



KERINA

3. detentions, deportations, arbitrary arrests and unjust imprisonments are imposed only on the S.W.A.P.O. leaders in the entire territory?"

Mr. Kerina continued: "Much has been said about S.W.A.P.O. being a labour organization composed of migrant labourers, so that it is not a national liberating movement, and that it is organised by irresponsible people. Yet they admit it has a large following."

STUMBLING BLOCKS

"I wish members of other organizations would examine their accusations and thoughts before they expose them to the public. If they did so they would wonder how people could follow an organization like S.W.A.P.O. if it lacked able leaders. I hope that members of other organizations who make these criticisms will become aware of the fact that they are creating pandemonium and erecting unnecessary stumbling blocks among the entire population of South West Africa."

Mr. Kerina concluded his statement: "S.W.A.P.O. has done and will continue to do all it can for all our people, irrespective of their political differences, because we know the importance of solidarity. We of S.W.A.P.O. are leading our people not to division and destructiveness but to life abundant, to liberty, equality and justice."

N.R. ASSOCIATION DISSOLVES . . .

Coloureds Join U.N.I.P.

By N. VICTOR ZAZA

THE common talk, "Coloureds - are - superior - to - Africans" has been smashed in Northern Rhodesia. Kenneth Kaunda's personality and the straightforward policy of the mammoth party, the United National Independence Party, has made an impact on the Coloureds. They have thrown their weight in with the Africans to achieve the desired goal of the legitimate peoples of Africa—*Freedom*.

The 4,000 strong Coloured political organization, "The Northern Rhodesia Euro-African Association" was dismembered last December, and the leaders decided to support Kenneth Kaunda and his party.

By then Kaunda was in London at the constitutional talks, they sent him a telegram that read thus: "NORTHERN RHODESIA EURO-AFRICAN ASSOCIATION DISSOLVED, ALL IN SUPPORT OF U.N.I.P. STOP DEMAND AFRICAN MAJORITY STOP SELF-GOVERNMENT BY AFRICANS NOW." The telegram was signed by George Cornhill, the then Secretary of the Association.

KAUNDA'S SPEECH

After an address by the party National Chairman, Solomon Kalulu, the party of 20 Coloured and 15 party officials left for a picnic to Kafue River. For three hours, U.N.I.P.'s big shots had a relaxation which they have not enjoyed since they came in the political field. From the picnic the party went to see a multi-racial football match between the city of Lusaka and the city of Bulawayo.

The National President, Kenneth Kaunda, addressed the Coloureds at Freedom House (the new party headquarters), he said: "For a long time, the walls built by U.F.P. have kept Northern Rhodesia apart. Time has come for the walls to be rebuilt. Rebirth morally, spiritually is taking place among us in Northern Rhodesia."

"Rebirth is bound to come with fresh problems, as we rise to new responsibilities. This is the challenge of the times. The solution is that now men

of different colours are seeing in one microscope.

WHITES WELCOME

"The Europeans are welcome in a free state of Zambia (Zambia is U.N.I.P.'s name for an independent Northern Rhodesia) we would still need their technical know-how. With the European capital we shall provide the labour. No fear, no racial barriers, the challenge of the times does not put the responsibility on one man but on each one of us."

Mr. George Cornhill, who was the secretary of the Coloured association, thanked President Kaunda on behalf of the Coloured community, he said: "What we have worked for in the past few years has now come true. The artificial barriers created by the Government between the Coloureds and the Africans kept us apart, because the Government provided us with better economic facilities than Africans."

"SQUARE DEAL"

"Many of us have known poverty, but our African parents managed to rear us in difficulties, therefore we have moral obligation to the African community to which we belong. The imperialists held us a buffer against the African Nationalists, but we have realized that we were heading for danger, then we decided to dissolve our political organization to support Mr. Kaunda in his legitimate struggle for the freedom of this country. Before we dissolved our association we were fully satisfied in the honesty and sincerity of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. We knew we were going to get a square deal from Mr. Kaunda and his party. After dissolving our association we put our leaders at the disposal of U.N.I.P."

"We are convinced that through the United National Independence Party we shall gain freedom for our motherland. We are aware that Northern Rhodesia is our home, and that we shall die here, it is therefore our duty to mould it. It is no use to allow the transitory people (Europeans) to exploit our land."

Mr. Kaunda closed the ceremony by singing the African National Anthem.

Banda Comes Home

Large Sums For Malawi

From "Contact" Correspondent

AT a public conference held at Chileka Airport on Sunday, May 7th, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the Life President of Malawi Congress Party, told a crowd of about 18,000 that came to welcome him, that "money is coming from overseas to help the development of Malawi". On his return from a lecture tour of the United States, Dr. Banda said that everywhere he went he asked for money to help his country. "I met business men in New York; they are prepared and ready to start their business here and some of them were asking me that 'when are you going to call us, Doc?'" said Dr. Banda.

Dr. Banda referred to the extravagant and fantastic claim recently made by Sir Edgar Whitehead in particular and the United Federal Party in general which alleged that "If Nyasaland secedes from the federation, it will have no money and that thousands of people will die of starvation within two years".

He also referred to the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury and boasted, "I am going to build my own University—a Malawi University at Khondowe".

Dr. Banda said that he also wanted power from the Shire River and local produce to be processed locally by American companies.

At last Dr. Banda thanked his followers for their thorough obedience to his order of "Peace and Calm".

"I was told that I was the wonderful person who could lead my people, keep order and maintain 'Peace and Calm' more than police could do," he said. "This is simply because of your obedience to your Kamuzu. Nyasaland is now on top; I have been honoured in Britain because of your behaviour," said Dr. Banda.

"I repeat, no trouble to police, no trouble to Europeans, no trouble to Asians and no trouble to stooges and Capricorns," he concluded.

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