

contact

WAR IN ANGOLA

INVOLVES SOUTH WEST

AND UNION

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— see pages 4, 5

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

ANGOLA WAR!

DEAD: 34,000 Angolans, 1,000 Portuguese

THE FIGHT: Angolan Freedom vs. Portuguese Imperialism

AT STAKE: The whole of Southern Africa



Photo: United Press International

War pictures from Angola are rare. This shows a Portuguese Vanguard Patrol examining the remains of an army truck that was ambushed and burnt by Angolan nationalists near Vicosa on 3rd April. Nine Portuguese soldiers were killed

See pp. 4, 5

contact

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.

Welcome to Williams

A WARM welcome to G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs in the United States government, who is to visit South Africa in July.

Soapy it was who, at an Africa Day meeting on 16th April 1959, said that the U.S. must work for a change in South Africa's apartheid policy by all methods which are reasonably practicable.

Soapy it was who said in Nairobi on 22nd February, 1961 that America's policy was "Africa for the Africans" and that this meant that the African people should have self-determination at the speed they wanted, and that this policy included South Africa.

Again it was Soapy Williams who said that by "African" he meant all those peoples who had made their homes in Africa, irrespective of race.

There is much in U.S. policy toward South Africa which can be criticized. There is the defence link with the South African armed forces, the primary duty of which, ministers Fouché and Erasmus have told us, is the suppression of internal disorder. There is the ambiguous U.N. voting; the holding back over South West Africa. And there is the segregated entertainment in South Africa by a Whites-only U.S. embassy.

All these facts are offences which must be removed.

Mr. Williams's visit should be the occasion for their removal.

"White" Liquor

CONTACT welcomes the new law which will allow all people in future to buy White people's drink.

Prohibition rarely works, and in this case prohibition had been connected with the most brazen race discrimination. The old laws are well out of the way.

Mud Slinging

IT would be well if the organ of the South African Dutch Reformed Church (N.G.K.), the *Kerkbode*, would restrain its language somewhat and take more trouble to check its facts. On 19th April it published a bitter attack on Mr. Alan Paton for having written a report on the treatment of the oppressed people in South West Africa.

Two things were wrong with this attack. Firstly it was written with unchristian venom: it threw around such phrases as "evil network of falsehood", "malice and untruth", "the power of the lie" and so forth. And secondly it erred in attributing the article to Mr. Paton, for he has told *Contact* that he never wrote one word of it.

And what were the terrible lies that appeared in the article that Mr. Paton did not write? That "education, if one is an African, is to have none . . . wages: the mean wage for Africans is \$2.80 (£1) to \$9.10 (£3/10/-) a month . . . a second-hand suit costs \$14.00 (£5) . . . to be an African means that these inhospitable reserves are confiscated at the whim of the Administration . . ."

The *Kerkbode* claims that this description is a lying description. We do not see where it departs from the truth.

(Continued at foot of next column)



The Publications Bill has been referred to a Select Committee. When it becomes law the government will be able to stop the publication of any papers it "deems" undesirable.

Sam Sly

WHAT happened in 1946? The Youth League triumphed over the Old Guard in the A.N.C. annual conference; 70,000 gold miners who struck, were forced down the mines; nine were killed and hundreds injured, and the Native Representative Council broke up in protest, never to meet properly again. Among the many political futures that were doomed in August 1946 was that of Sir de Villiers Graaff.

The "toy telephone" N.R.C. could do nothing but expose the White Government's "breach of faith with the African people". That breach can never be repaired. With it went the idea of consultation.

And I wonder if Sir de Villiers Graaff even knows that it happened, for fifteen years later he has come back to 1946 and is proposing "consultation with responsible middle-class" Africans.

And not only proposing consultations, but actually holding them! Some friends with whom I had the honour to have some dealings in March-April last year were consulted by Sir de Villiers Graaff and four of his leading front-benchers in the home of a U.P. lady politician in Cape Town. The go-between was a noted Cape Town rascal, who introduced my Africanist friends in advance as "responsible middle-class" Africans. Sir de Villiers put to them his scheme that

(Continued from column 1)

Indeed the passages quoted omit all reference to the South West Africa contract labour system, one of the greatest abuses of our age and time. It might thus be claimed that the criticism is no overstatement but is an understatement.

One always hears that the D.R.C. is the Nationalist Party at prayer. On this occasion the D.R.C. has been discovered not at prayer, but slinging at an honourable man the filthiest mud in the political arena.

the time had come for him to consult with their sort, since he could have nothing to do with the A.N.C., P.A.C. or their heirs. My friends explained patiently that consultation would be meaningless if neither Messrs. Sobukwe nor Lutuli were present. At this stage even the two experts on the "Native problem" in the Graaff party must have realized that the noted Cape Town rascal had not brought "responsible middle-class" Africans. Hopes that they would help Graaff construct a "toy telephone" of his own faded away in some confusion when, at the end, my friends announced that they were ex-members of the banned P.A.C.

THE noted Cape Town rascal's flair for farce got the better of him a few weeks later. While conducting a bogus house-to-house collection in a smart White suburb, a housewife asked him about the end-of-May strike then a few days off. With Groucho Marx-like gestures he announced himself as the head of the A.N.C. and the chief organizer of the strike—Mayibuye Afrika! After uttering threats of a horrible death to the housewife and her maid, he strode off. But the excellence of his performance was his downfall. At the bus stop he and his companion were picked up by the Special Branch car the frantic suburban lady had summoned. They kept him in gaol for 12 days but found no strike plans on him—only a sheaf of press statements he had made to the local English dailies in recent months. All dealt with political movements as non-existent as the church of which he claimed to be a minister. I hope they let him keep his cuttings. I must remember to send him a copy of *Contact* so that he can add to them the story of his consultation with Sir de Villiers Graaff.

I NOTE that there is a Finnish member of the U.N. committee on South West Africa. He will find that not only Afrikaners, Germans and English South Africans oppress the indigenous people of South Africa, but

Finns as well. The Finnish Lutheran Mission in Ovamboland, the pride and joy of the Finns, whose only great missionary enterprise it is, is a staunch ally of B.A.D. Minister De Wet Nel's, who has several times paid glowing tributes to its "co-operativeness". They have schools, where Bantu Education is imparted. [An Ovambo friend when at the Finnish boarding school at Ondangua subscribed to *Drum*. He was first accused of being a communist, but was eventually allowed to receive it after heavy censoring with a pair of scissors.] Many of the Finnish teachers are trained in South Africa in Afrikaner colleges. Many consequently teach in Afrikaans in their schools, which is resented by Ovambos who, like members of other African-language groups, suspect that they are being blinkered by the denial of a world language.

The Finns raise great sums for their Ovambo missions. If they do not know that these missions are instruments of White *baasskap* I hope that their member of the U.N. Committee will tell them. Piet Beukes in Oslo, and Messrs. Kaukuetu and Kauraisa in Sweden could tell them too. South Africa's great friends in Sweden, like Gunnar Myrdal and Per Wästberg, would not keep silent.

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EDUCATION

Schoolchildren Protest, Walk out, are Sacked

By PETER MOTSOANE

PRETORIA: "Stay-at-homes", boycotts, pass campaigns and protests have so much become a pattern of African life in the Republic of South Africa that if the African worker is involved, the news spreads into the world's headlines.

What rarely catches the public's eye is the plight of African students in boarding schools situated in remote rural areas.

I met some students from Maria Trost Catholic boarding school in Lydenburg. All students there have been sent home because of a strike for better food. The mission, which caters for high school students, is Catholic run.

VICTIMIZATION

Early in April, the students of the mission assembled and brought their grievances to the college authorities. Because of victimization, student leaders fear expulsion if they were known. So the strike was a voluntary action of all students of both sexes.

The students alleged that the food given them was most unhygienic and "unfit for human consumption". They are fed on a daily diet of beans and stiff porridge.

WORKING IN FIELDS

They also complain that they spend most of their time working on the mission's maize, bean and wheat fields.

On 25th April, the students were told by the authorities to pack and go home. They had not written their half-yearly examinations, and their parents were not notified of the decision.

When they brought their troubles to the authorities, all they wanted to know who was "inciting" them against authority and who their ring-leaders were. They were told that if they wanted to be treated "like White students", the boarding fee would have to be increased.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS CLOSED

Two government-controlled "Bantu Education" schools in the rural Northern Transvaal have been closed down because of a strike by students over conditions there.

One is a popular high school in the vicinity of Warmbaths, Emmarentia High School. The school career of the students was interrupted during the period when the recent "stay-at-home" call was still the main topic under discussion in South Africa.

According to some of the students, who have been at home since the college was closed down, there had always been complaints about feeding conditions there.

They also complain of little time for study and of a great deal of manual work that is being done by students. This tends to discourage the students from having an interest in book learning and prepare them for unskilled labour, which will be their occupation under apartheid.

MEDALS AND BADGES

On the eve of the republican celebrations, the students were informed that they would receive medals and badges to mark the birth of the republic. The unsatisfied students agreed that they would not attend classes on the 29th and 30th of May. Instead they brought their complaints forward to the authorities. After the celebrations the students were all sent home without having written their half-yearly examinations.

The other school is Sekitla High School at Hammanskraal. Here also the main trouble started when the students asked for better feeding conditions. They have all been sent home since they staged a successful boycott of classes and of labour in the fields.

WILL BE SCREENED

The Bantu Education Department has officially stated that students will first be screened before being re-admitted. Only "suitable" and "well-behaved" students will be allowed to return.

Alternatives to "Radio Bantu", "Radio South Africa"

A REGULAR radio listener, Mr. Sikhanyiso Duke Ndlovu of Durban, has sent his views on the Radio South Africa's programme for Africans in the Republic: "Radio Bantu". He writes:

"RADIO BANTU is depriving African listeners in South Africa of world news, and of any material which might keep them informed about the outside world. Why? For lack of correspondents and reporters? Lack of aptitude among the programme organizers? Or is it Government censorship? For whatever reason, the absence of real news has caused the total dissatisfaction of the entire non-White population concerning the 'Radio Bantu' news service.

"The African people now get most of their information from newspapers and from other radio stations, such as the Federal B.C., Radio Katanga, the French broadcasting station, Radio Brazzaville, the Voice of America, and more.

"If the aim is to prevent Africans from becoming politicized, then that is hopeless, because the African intelligent-s'a has the most valuable sources of information on world events and politics, in comparison with the repeatedly announced Bantustan developments and accounts of events in rural areas we hear over and over again on 'Radio Bantu'.

"What we hear is not wanted by the public: it has no universal taste. It may suit the programme organizers in the interest of preventing African progress, but by us it is universally condemned."

Readers who have short-wave radios should be able to hear the stations mentioned below:

Brazzaville: 13, 16, 19 metres.

Federal Broadcasting Corporation:

Day time: 41 metres.

Night: 90 metres.

Voice of America: 13, 16, 19, 25, 31, 41 metres.

British Broadcasting Corporation:

Day time: 13, 19 metres.

Night: 25, 31 metres.

Ghana Radio will be beamed to South Africa before the end of the year.

Readers who like to listen to the radio should buy themselves short-wave sets so as not to be limited to "Radio South Africa" or "Radio Bantu".

Recommended: Pye Transistor Portable: 13 metres - 550 metres; R59.50).

NEW JOB FOR KOINANGE



Mr. Peter Koinange, who hails from Kenya where he played a very big part in the freedom movement (left), is greeted on arrival in Dar es Salaam by Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Minister without Portfolio.

NKRUMAH'S ADVISER FOR P.A.F.M.E.C.A.

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM, Tanganyika: The former African Affairs Adviser to the Ghana President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has been given a new post in Tanganyika. He is 48-year-old Kenya "exile", Mr. Peter Koinange, who has been appointed Secretary-General of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa with headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

Mr. Koinange who is a "specified person" in the Kenya Colony where he was alleged by the British Government to be involved in the Mau Mau movement but which Mr. Koinange publicly claims he had "nothing to do with", spent nine long years in exile, mostly in Britain and Ghana. He was not at all a bitter man but was dedicated to the long cherished goal of freedom "for everyone".

"GAGGED" IN KENYA

When he arrived from Kenya Colony early this month after he was "gagged" by the Kenya police during his seven days' stay in his home town at Kiambu, Mr. Koinange said he was very happy to be in Tanganyika and particularly honoured that he should have been chosen by his own people to head the P.A.F.M.E.C.A. movement in East and Central Africa.

UNITY FIRST

About politics in Kenya, Mr. Koinange said Africans there needed unity first. There should be, in his opinion, no question of K.A.N.U. or K.A.D.U. If they were united they would get support. Asked if he meant by this that there should be one party in Kenya, Mr. Koinange said he did not.

A former Harvard graduate, Mr. Koinange also made an impassioned appeal to the British Governor of Kenya, Sir Patrick Renison, to take the view of the African leaders in Kenya "seriously" and to meet the needs of Africans. "Africans in Kenya are in a majority. I never like the rule of the minority but that does not mean that the minority

cannot agree with the majority," Mr. Koinange said.

Mr. Koinange emphatically denied allegations that he was involved in the Mau Mau movement which broke out in 1952 in Kenya while he was in London.

With Mr. Koinange's appointment the P.A.F.M.E.C.A. movement with which thirteen African nationalist organizations in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Ruanda Urundi, the Congo, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are affiliated is likely to get fresh impetus. Mr. Koinange himself will tour all these P.A.F.M.E.C.A. areas in order to get full report of the movement and to co-ordinate the work at first hand of all these organizations.

TO KENYATTA

*Dignified, like a statue he stands,
And with dazzled eyes looks at the strands,*

For seven years confined in glooms of prison,

*He wastes the talents of reason,
The unproclaimed Messiah.*

*Great indeed is thy loss to the world
Kenyatta,*

*I hope thy brain will not be abraded
Kenyatta,*

*For in prison thy life is a torment,
But thy thoughts flow like a torrent,*

*And awaken the waking Kenya,
I grieve thy loss O Kenya,*

*And my grief flows to Kenya,
For now after four years of wars,*

*Nothing lightens thy woes,
To cancel which you strove.*

*Kenya thou art ripe for freedom,
Britain answer to the call for freedom;*

*Fail not in the ripeness of the moment,
To see to time's destined portent,*

*Like South African tyrants,
That close their eyes and cork their ears,*

To the wailing of tortured people.

BEKIZWE NYAKATHA.

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Meeting 8th, 9th, 10th July

Will Convention Provide Leadership?

THE South African Coloured National Convention, planned earlier for 23rd - 25th June (see *Contact* of 4th May) was postponed, owing to the ban on meetings, until the week-end of 8th - 10th July.

The meeting will be held in the Claremont Civic Centre, Cape Town, on those days.

Leading members hope that the July meeting will be the forerunner of a truly national non-racial meeting.

The movement up until now has succeeded in uniting a wide spectrum of political opinions. Away on the "right" is Mr. N. S. H. Kearns, national president of the 40,000 Coloured B.C.E.S.L. In the centre are figures such as Bishop Francis Gow of the A.M.E. Church. And out on the "left" are people like Mr. J. C. A. Daniels, Liberal Party, Mr. R. September, Councillor George Peake, and Mr. Barney Desai, vice-president of the Coloured Peoples' Congress.

Spokesman

The man who has emerged as the chief spokesman of the movement is Dr. Richard E. van der Ross, the principal of Battswood College. Though known for his caution in the past, he has now demanded full equality for all the people of South Africa.

In taking his place in the convention movement Dr. van der Ross has enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (T.E.P.A.). A small group has dissociated itself from

his move: these are allied to Mr. George Golding's Coloured People's National Union (C.P.N.U.). Informed observers believe that their decision to pull out has not weakened either T.E.P.A. or the convention.

Council for Coloured Affairs

Another body which has criticized the convention is the government-appointed council, the Union Council for Coloured Affairs. In its case too observers feel that the convention movement is fortunate: the seal of the approval of U.C.C.A. might well have been the kiss of death for the planned meeting.

In the interests of completeness it is also necessary to record that the Anti-C.A.D. movement and its weekly *Torch* disapprove of the convention movement.

Apart from the above organizations, the convention movement has succeeded in getting the support of almost every influential body that is active among the Coloured people. It is because of this widespread and enthusiastic support that the Afrikaner nationalists are so concerned. Up till now, the Coloured people could be relied upon by the White rulers to take their side against the resurgent African oppressed. But the convention looks to the Black South Africans just as it does to the White to join eventually in a non-racial movement. And to the extent that it succeeds, White supremacy will lose its hold on 1½ million hitherto unquestioningly loyal auxiliaries.



VAN DER ROSS

In Parliament the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, issued veiled threats in the middle of June against all multi-racial conventions. The threat was not specific enough to commit him to act against the Coloured Convention. But if the authorities were to attempt to stifle this meeting it is certain that they would encounter a hail of opposition, not least from segments of Dr. Verwoerd's own Nationalist Party, which are becoming increasingly critical of his handling of the Coloured people of the Cape.

The liberation struggle in South Africa badly needs leadership that can unify it. Supporters of the convention movement believe that the July meeting may do much to fill this need.

Angola in So

WHITE supremacy (in the for with African nationalism to

Over a month ago responsible est 20,000 Angolan dead (both figures i

Now, Baptist missionaries, appalled at the savagery of Portuguese reprisals, have broken their silence to give a figure of 34,000 Angolan Africans killed by bullets, by napalm bombs, and in other ways by the Portuguese.

What is happening in Angola profoundly affects the future of South Africa. One of Minister Fouché's concerns in his visit to Britain and Europe is to concert with, and strengthen the resistance of, the Portuguese.

And what is happening in the Congo affects the future of Angola and South West Africa. *Contact* brings to its readers an assessment of the whole situation on the western coast of Southern Africa, by an observer lately in the Congo.

CONGO

Leopoldville is coming back to life after the troubles of 1960; 45% of the original White male population is back, and business is recovering, but most women and children are still in Belgium or otherwise out of the Congo. The essential services run: the streets are swept, though not very well; water and light flow; and health services are functioning.

Public transport works well, and the armed forces and police of President Kasavubu and General Mobutu grow daily more impressive and smart. The U.N. also functions smoothly, with its own blue-helmeted troops (Indonesians, Swedes, Norwegians, Tunisians in Leopoldville). Under the umbrella of the U.N., Kasavubu is fast building a strong Congolese state. He has broken Tshombe's resistance to the central government, and it is virtually certain that Communist-backed Gizenga in Stanleyville will be forced to come to terms with Leopoldville within a month or two.

Contrary to public opinion in South Africa, fed by a slanted press that wants the Congo and U.N. to fail, the Congo



The office of the União das Populares
Refugees from Angola

XHOSA IN TOWN

Townsmen or Tribesmen

PHILIP MAYER

Professor of Social Anthropology
Rhodes University

This is the first of three volumes which together make up the first comprehensive survey of town-dwelling Africans in South Africa. This volume is a field study of the 52,000 migrants who largely outnumber the town-born Africans in East London.

Professor Mayer brings out an important factor in South Africa; he contrasts the 'conservative' group of 'red' people who maintain their tribal ways in town and the more 'progressive' group of 'school' people who have to a great extent accepted the ways of an industrialised society.

This is an insight for the layman, as well as the social-anthropologist, just as were the American studies on Yankee City and Middletown and the English work on Bethnal Green.

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NEW ATTACK ON NAT. LABOUR POLICY

By a Reporter

THE harmful effects on South Africa's economy of job reservation, influx control and the migratory system are described in the new book, *The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa*.

The book is by Mr. G. V. Doxey, who was Senior Lecturer in Commerce at the University of the Witwatersrand until he emigrated to Britain recently. It is published by the Oxford University Press.

Mr. Doxey gives an historical account of how the Whites have tried to prevent non-Whites from improving their economic status. He shows how this has not only made non-Whites frustrated, but also retarded the expansion of the Republic's economy.

These are some of the ways in which the colour bar hampers industrialists and other employers:

White workers, free from the competition of non-Whites, do not work as hard as they would if non-Whites could compete with them. Because the number of skilled Whites has not kept pace with the expansion of the economy, employers have been forced to give important positions to Whites who are not properly qualified.

The mass of race laws also makes it very hard for non-Whites to work efficiently.

MIGRATORY SYSTEM

Discussing the migratory system, Mr. Doxey points out that even the new worker from the reserves is given some training when he comes to the towns.

But this training will probably be lost when he goes back to his reserve.

If, some months later, he returns to the same town, there is no guarantee that he will get his old job back. If he does, he will probably have to be re-trained to some extent. If he does not, he must be taught from the start again.

INFLUX CONTROL

Influx control machinery "may add to these wastes and increase the rate of labour turn over," says Mr. Doxey. The labour bureau may direct the African to a job which he does not like, or which does not suit him.

He then leaves, or is dismissed — and the employer must find someone else to replace him.

And if the employer does find the right man, there is little inducement to train him properly. "What use would it be to spend time and money on training a worker for a particular job if at some future unspecified date the job is 'reserved' for a member of another race. Or to spend time on training Africans who in a few months will return to the rural areas."

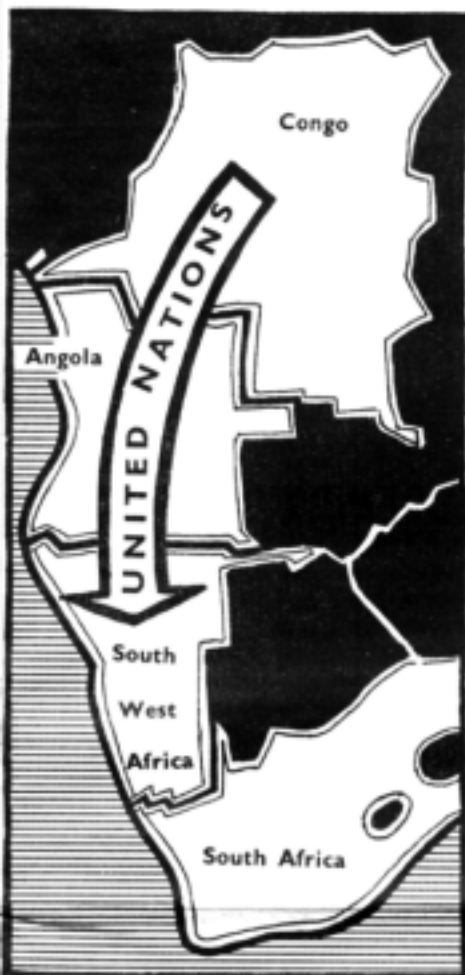
Taking these factors into consideration, Mr. Doxey concludes that the "cheap labour" of non-Whites is not so cheap after all. Low wages are off-set by the relatively low productivity of workers on both sides of the colour bar.

War Affects all Southern Africa

By an observer lately in the Congo

(movement of Portuguese imperialism) is grappling in a life-and-death struggle today, in northern Angola.

Estimates were: 1,000 Portuguese dead; included women and children).



is on its way back to prosperity and strength.

Also contrary to public opinion in South Africa, it is virtually certain that during all the 1960 disturbances in the Congo less than twenty White women were raped, and less than forty Whites killed. A senior British journalist spent eight months collecting authenticated cases, and found that nearly all reported cases were untrue rumours. (Contrast these figures with the appalling death tolls from Angola.)

ANGOLA

In Leopoldville, enjoying the protection though not the favour of Kasavubu, is Mr. Holden (first name) Roberto



...ões de Angola in Leopoldville. ... waiting to be helped.

(second name), commander in chief of the Union of the Populations of Angola (U.P.A.).

Less than five miles away, across the Congo River in Brazzaville, is the office of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.).

Both these movements are neutralist, but the M.P.L.A. has shown itself prepared to accept help from the Communists, while the U.P.A. has refused it. The movements are not on good terms with each other.

Which movement is in control of the revolution in Angola? The world believes that the U.P.A. is in control, but there is much disorganization in Angola, and no correspondents have been able to get in on the Portuguese side to see the fighting, nor have any yet succeeded in getting in on the nationalist side. The question may be said to remain open, with the probabilities on the side of Mr. Roberto and his U.P.A.

Whichever movement may be in control, the nationalists have triggered off a genuine popular rising against the Portuguese, a rising which the Portuguese have little hope of controlling. Their much heralded counter-offensive due to open, so they said, when the rains stopped in March, never came off. The reason, as Mr. Roberto told me: "We have destroyed ALL the bridges . . . and . . . dans la brousse les Portugais sont un peu embarrassés (in the bush the Portuguese are a bit embarrassed)."

MILITARY SITUATION IN ANGOLA

In the Portuguese newspaper *Jornal do Congo* of 4th May there was published a list of "localities abandoned in the Congo" (Portuguese Congo, i.e. northern Angola). Seventeen towns and villages figured in the list*. Since then the Portuguese have admitted that the town of Ambriz, on the Atlantic, has been surrounded, and the airfield taken, by the nationalists. An additional list was given to me by Mr. Roberto.** From these lists it is clear that a territory some 300 miles long and 200 miles wide, has already been wrested from the Portuguese. And, as Mr. Roberto told me, along all the frontier from near São Salvador do Congo eastwards, Portuguese frontier guards have disappeared.

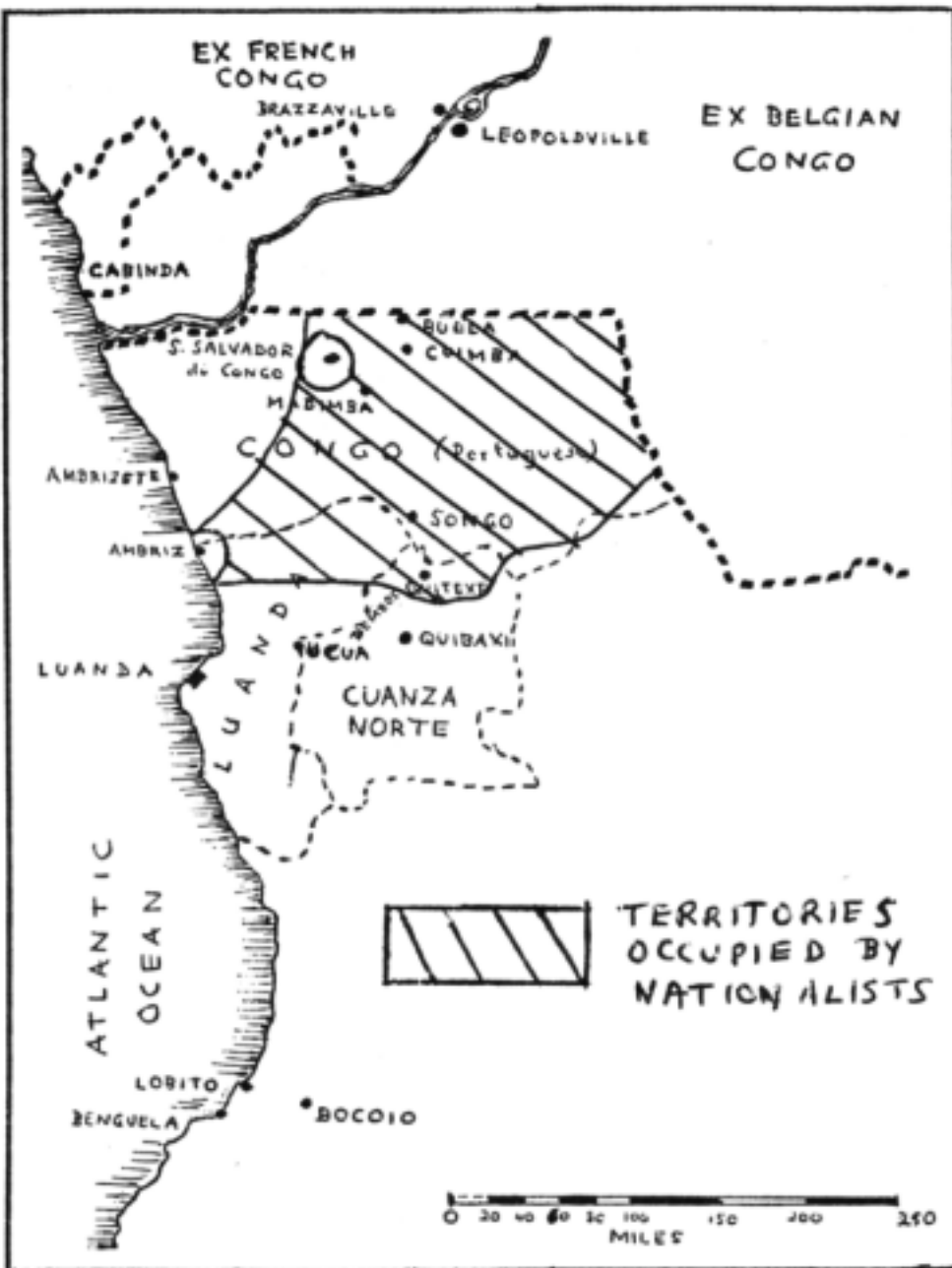
This great breach is a breach torn in the defences of White supremacy and imperialism in Southern Africa.

IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA

As already reported in *Contact* (4th May), this war of liberation has already spread to southern Angola where the town of Ondjiva (Vila Pereira de Eça) was burnt. My information is that only half the town was burnt. Few, if any, people were killed. The attack was carried out by Angolan soldiers who had been demobilized from the Portuguese army. I am informed that most Angolan soldiers have been sent home from the Portuguese army, as they have proved to be unreliable in battle against the nationalists.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The towns of southern Angola were burned by soldiers of the tribe "Ovakuanyama" (another name for Ovambo). The Ovambo tribe is divided into two by the S.W.A.-Angola frontier, the



larger part of the tribe being in Angola.

To counter the threat to the Union's rule in South West three army camps of the Union's armed forces have been set up, to try to insulate the southern Ovambo from the northern.

At the very moment when South African White supremacy feels, for the first time, the first ripples of the tide of African liberation on its boundaries, observers inside the Union have learned for the first time that a collision between South Africa and the world is virtually unavoidable over South West.

A pamphlet, *South West Africa; the case against the Union*, has just been published by the Institute of Race Relations (50c) which argues that "South West Africa in the present international situation (is) the Achilles heel of the Union". The author, Mr. Ronald B. Ballinger, refers to the case which Liberia and Ethiopia have brought in the Inter-

national Court of Justice against South Africa, charging that South Africa has violated the terms of the mandate under which the League of Nations gave the territory to the Union. He speaks of the possibility that the court will find against South Africa. He argues that such a result would "provide a legal foundation for those who claim that the Mandate should be revoked".

The Congo . . . Angola . . . South West Africa. . . The next few years are swimming into clearer focus, and show us that the heroic nationalists now fighting for life and liberty at the gates of Ambriz and São Salvador are fighting the battle of all free men in Southern Africa.

*Bembe; Calongo; Bengo; Puri; Cuango; Uamba; Macolo; Baenga; Cuilo Futa; Icoca; Sacandica; Beu; Buela; Madimba; Cuimba; Lucunga; Colonato do Loge.
**Caipemba; Quitexe; Zolla; Povoação Lucunga; Damba.

To all over 40

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ANDREAS DE PARE (SWITZERLAND)

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Nigeria Nine Months after Freedom

HOW IS DEMOCRACY WORKING?

By HARRY JAGUAR

LAGOS, Nigeria: To the outside observer Nigeria appears to be a model of democratic stability in the confusion of changes on the African continent. After nine months of independence the Federal Parliament still preserves all the democratic principles of Westminster.

The Premier, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, has often repeated that he is a firm believer in Parliamentary government and says that opposition formed by a rival political party, is an essential part of the constitution.

Unlike South Africa the national Parliament is elected by all adult citizens and the Nigerian government has no need to enforce its will by means of police raids and official intimidation.

Nigeria also compares favourably with Ghana where most of the opposition leaders are now under detention without trial. Dr. Chike Obi, leader of Nigeria's eccentric Dynamic Party, accused government members of "cupidity, nepotism



AZIKIWE

Nnamdi Azikiwe (who was an African nationalist of long standing) used to be identified with the N.C.N.C. party which he personally built from its foundations, but since he has taken office as Governor-General he has continually emphasized his role as a national leader. Since then there has been no evidence to show that he has dabbled in party politics.

Equally important is the role of Sir Abubakar Balewa. It is only recently that his great qualities of leadership are coming into the open. Few commentators suspected that under his quiet and unassuming exterior, behind his moderate gentleness, there is a man of conviction and principle. He is free of any suspicion of corruption and has staked his reputation on the achievement of national unity. As time goes on he is also showing that he has very definite policies of his own and he is certainly not the tool of the Sardauna of Sokoto, the all-powerful ruler of the North.

MANY WORRIED

But for all Nigeria's stability and apparently entrenched democracy, many Nigerians are worried that the democratic system is not going to work in the long run.

Their chief fear is that Nigeria will always be dominated by the Northern Region which has a population of 18 million compared with 8 million in the East and 6 million in the West. Unfortunately the North is the most backward of the regions and the Southern political parties have been unable



to break the alliance between the ordinary people of the North and their Fulani rulers. With the help of Islam's conservatism the Fulanis have been able to preserve the conservative regional feelings of the poor and uneducated against the more progressive political parties of the South.

NORTHERNERS DOMINATE

The result of all this is that the Northerners dominate the Federal Parliament. They have entered into an unholy alliance with the N.C.N.C. of the East—an alliance which seems to be growing stronger as time goes on. Thus the Action Group of the West feels that it has been condemned to a position of permanent opposition.

Recently an N.C.N.C. leader disclosed "a Federal Government plan to annihilate the Action Group". He also said that the present N.P.C.-N.C.N.C. coalition would "continue to rule Nigeria for 100 years". This wild statement, which has not got the backing of Sir Abubakar, has nevertheless struck fear into the hearts of Westerners.

The West has been given many other shocks in recent weeks. The latest is the announcement of a Federal enquiry into

the National Bank of Nigeria, a Western Bank. It is also widely held that the Federal Government will extend the Federal territory of Lagos in order to swallow up the extensive area of industrial development which the Western Region has pioneered on the outskirts of the capital city.

WEST DISAPPOINTED

Moreover the Western Region is disappointed about the proposals for the creation of a new Mid-West state. The plan is to divide the Western Region and create a new state between the Eastern and Western Regions.

Strangely enough it was the West which originally sponsored the creation of this state. The West realises that the Northern region will always be the predominant power in Nigeria until it is divided. Thus the Western government thought that by agreeing to a division of the Western region, it would force the North to make similar divisions. This was a serious miscalculation. The Northern dominated Federal government (it controls 148 out of the 305 Federal seats) has now made proposals for dividing the Western region, but it has no intention of creating a "Middle-Belt" state in its own territory.

The danger that the opposition Action Group will become weaker over the years is a real one, but this danger must be seen in perspective. The Action Group is still the majority party in a region of six million inhabitants. It still has 66 members in the Federal Parliament. It is still the richest region in Nigeria. But perhaps the most important factor of all is that the leaders of government have no desire to defeat the opposition by unconstitutional means.

Told to leave Tanganyika

KUMALO

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: The South African United Front here has disowned publicly Mr. Edw ard Kumalo, a South African refugee who claimed here to have escaped arrest in South Africa on political grounds.

Three reasons were listed by the Front in a statement to the press for being unable to afford "protection" to the former organizing secretary of Benoni branch of the banned African National Congress, Mr. Kumalo who has been ordered by Tanganyika Immigration Department to leave the country within seven days.

1. Mr. Kumalo's general behaviour is repugnant to all the standards required of a refugee or Freedom fighter who falls under the direction of the Front.
2. His explanation of the reasons for leaving South Africa and the manner of his doing so falls far too short of satisfaction.
3. He has been publicly denounced by our organizations and contacts in the Republic of South Africa and neighbouring territories as an unreliable element and falling within the premise of strong suspicion as an agent of some activity detrimental to the liberatory struggle in South Africa.

"Under these circumstances," the S.A.U.F. statement said, "it will not be fit and proper for the South African United Front to afford him any protection whatsoever."

Mr. Kumalo who left Tanganyika by road has taken a teaching post in Uganda.

U.K. Backs Journalists' Union

THE new non-racial union for South African journalists, the National Union of South African Journalists, is receiving warm support from the United Kingdom, where an appeal has been launched for funds for the new Union.

The appeal, which is signed by fifteen British Labour and Conservative M.P.s and journalists (including Myrna Blumberg, a regular *Contact* correspondent when in South Africa) states that the new union could "play an important part in furthering press freedom" and also "demonstrate that people of all colours can handle their problems together."

FRAGILE PLANT

It calls the new non-racial N.U.S.A.J. "a fragile plant: it has about 100 members and at the moment is not able to give real protection. If it is to flourish it must have money. . . ." U.K. donations are to be sent to Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C. 4.

and squandermania". The Nigerian government is taking legal action against him through the courts. In the meantime he is a free man.

SAFEGUARDS

It appears that Nigeria has "built-in safeguards" which will preserve democratic government into the foreseeable future. The country is divided into three regions; each with its own political party supported by the majority tribe. The Northern Region, the Eastern Region and the Western Region all have their own regional parliaments and considerable autonomy in running their own affairs.

Recent elections in the Northern Region resulted in the Northern Peoples Congress (N.P.C.) still further increasing its overwhelming majority. It now controls all but a handful of seats. Earlier in the year there were elections in the West, and Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group also consolidated its position in its own region.

Elections in the East are not likely to be held before the end of the year, but it is almost certain that the ruling National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons will retain control.

NATIONAL UNITY

Despite the strength of the N.P.C., the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group in their own regions none of them want to disrupt the national unity of Nigeria. Nor have there been any serious disputes between the Regional and Federal Legislatures over their respective powers. Public Corporations, Committees and Commissions have tried to maintain the balance between members of all regions. Each region also sends members to the Federal Parliament where regional interests are represented according to local populations.

"NIGERIA FIRST"

Added to this, the two great Nigerian leaders frequently show that they are true to their slogan "Nigeria first". Dr.

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To The Manager

P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Hands off Protectorates

SIR.—The Protectorates seem to be a thorn in the flesh of the White supremacists. The South African government has long been hungry for these small countries and states often that, "THEY can't do without US". They continually gloat over the Protectorates. When one speaks about them to any government supporter one will be told that "we'll get them one day!"

But fortunately there is great political activity in these territories. The Swaziland Progressive Party is just what the doctor ordered. If the South African Special Branch was allowed a night's raiding in Basutoland and Swaziland they would have a large haul of fugitives in gaol the following day.

PATRIOT,
Cape Town.

Religion and the church

SIR.—Brothers and sisters in South Africa, we have seen the separation of churches and their leaders, now let us cling onto the leaf of unity, which is the true church of God, the spiritual brotherhood.

John 4: 21-24. How long have we been praying for deliverance under these churches? But no one could help the Africans, we paid them millions and millions of pounds for deliverance from evil (oppression) but with no success. Now you can judge by yourself what to do from now. We have been serving these churches for a period of 128 years but we have reaped nothing, they have no God, no Holy Spirit. Titus 1: 16.

Unity is then the chief characteristic of the true church, which is the body of Christ, not made with hands (spiritual brotherhood), carnal has no place in that church. 1 Corinthians 3: 3-4. For while one saith I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal?

For all the law in fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. This commandment is found nowhere in these churches, what be there is: "Kaffer, meid, Baas en Misies." But still they say they serve the living God.

V. J. NSITSHANA,
Welkom, O.F.S.

SIR.—The purpose of religion on earth, is the performance and maintenance of whatever thing is Justice to God as well as to man. Any principle that aims and results in the degradation of the dignity of any human being is expressly intolerable and repugnant to God and to man of goodwill.

Such crude and destructive notions as apartheid, white man's superiority (baaskap), western civilization, race, etc., impoverish and adulterate religion. After redemption by Christ from sin we cannot sink again into low, immoral and demoralising levels of racialism and apartheid. One has to respect a man irrespective of colour, creed or sex, together with his birthright. Nobody is inferior to others on earth, heaven or even in hell.

REGINALD SOMVUMASE,
Cape Town.

Delicate Machines

SIR.—It is impossible to spend even a few days in South Africa without realizing the distinctions which are made between White and non-White.

Let's fight for our freedom, because we are delicate machines, and require nice treatment to get maximum power and pleasure.

E. M. T. NAMAMAYANE,
Butha-Butha, Basutoland.

Tugela Basin

SIR.—The issue of *Contact* dated 4th May, 1961, under the heading "Raw Materials= People", contained a review of the report "Towards a Plan for the Tugela Basin". The review makes two points both of which are based upon such extraordinary misrepresentations of the contents of the report that a correction is called for.

The review states: "Figure 5 is entitled "Raw Materials: Sugar and Forests" and yet there are three not two maps all on identical scale. The third map is entitled "Bantu Areas"; the "Bantu" classed as a raw material. The insult of it!"

Figure 5 does comprise three maps, but the presence of the third is clearly explained in a note printed on the map, which reads: "The map of the Bantu Areas is included for comparison with the distribution of raw materials shown in the foregoing maps." Such a comparison is essential for an assessment of the resources of the Bantu Areas, but clearly the Bantu were not classed as raw materials, nor are they on page 52 quoted elsewhere in the review, which goes on to state:

"The report everywhere assumes that one of the essential factors in the siting of industries is the proximity of the reserves, that it is as important, for instance as the lie of the land (for railways) or the presence of water. Such an assumption vitiates the whole report."

How your reviewer arrived at this conclusion if he studied the report carefully, it is impossible to imagine. All sites within 10 miles of a railway and physically suitable for industry and flat enough for railway sidings, are carefully studied in the report regardless of their distance from the reserves. These sites are then classified in First, Second and Third Stage Projects based on the cost of providing services, but regardless of their distance from a reserve.

Finally the First Stage Industrial Projects are divided into two groups according to the magnitude of their potential water resources, but again regardless of their distances from the reserves, which vary considerably as can be seen from Table 49 page 218.

E. THORRINGTON SMITH,
Pietermaritzburg.

I am sorry that the writer feels that my remarks were unjust. But I am unrepentant.

Map No. 5 shows a map of "Bantu Areas" under the headline "Raw Materials". The footnote explains that the purpose is "for comparison" without saying why such comparison should be desirable. Why no map of "European Areas"?

Again, throughout the report there is constant reference to "Bantu Areas". If Africans had the same ability to move as have the Whites, the presence of "Bantu Locations" would not be in any

TO ALL READERS OF CONTACT

- Let us have your views on any topics, but especially the freedom struggle
- Send a picture if you like
- Keep letters short — but keep on writing.

way relevant as a factor affecting the siting of industry.

What I criticized was the author's apparent belief that this immobility of the Africans will be permanent enough to figure in the long-term planning which the report envisages.—Editor.

Complaints of exploitation

SIR.—Will you please allow me in your non-racial paper to breathe about what I see at Emlembe.

The Havelock Mine, Emlembe, Swaziland is the most horrible place I have ever seen in Swaziland.

The authorities of the compound never in the least imagine that an African has feelings. They simply take him to be a stone; the reason why they do that I simply do not know.

FREEDOM LOVER, Emlembe.

SIR.—Today I contribute the following story under the title "LIFE IS HELL AT HAVELOCK MINE". I have strong reasons for giving the story that title.

I have been working for the Havelock mine for only a month and three weeks. I commenced work on 4th April and received my April pay on 18th May: my May pay would be due on 22nd June.

People are treated as if they were not human beings. To prove this statement one of my friends even went so far as taking a snapshot of clerks and other workers at table.

If you don't say "Nkosi" (my lord) to the compound manager you are taken for a disobedient person and are sacked. As I am writing this letter I have been sacked for no special reason and not given notice.

On 29th May I was woken by the police and was summoned to the office at 4.45 a.m. On my arrival I was given a seat in the Induna's office waiting for the "lord" to come.

When "he" arrived he simply told me that he had no more vacancy for me in the company. When I asked him for the reason for my expulsion he said that my foreman was responsible.

So I told him to call for my foreman to explain the matter, but the compound manager told me that he had absolutely no interest in calling for the foreman.

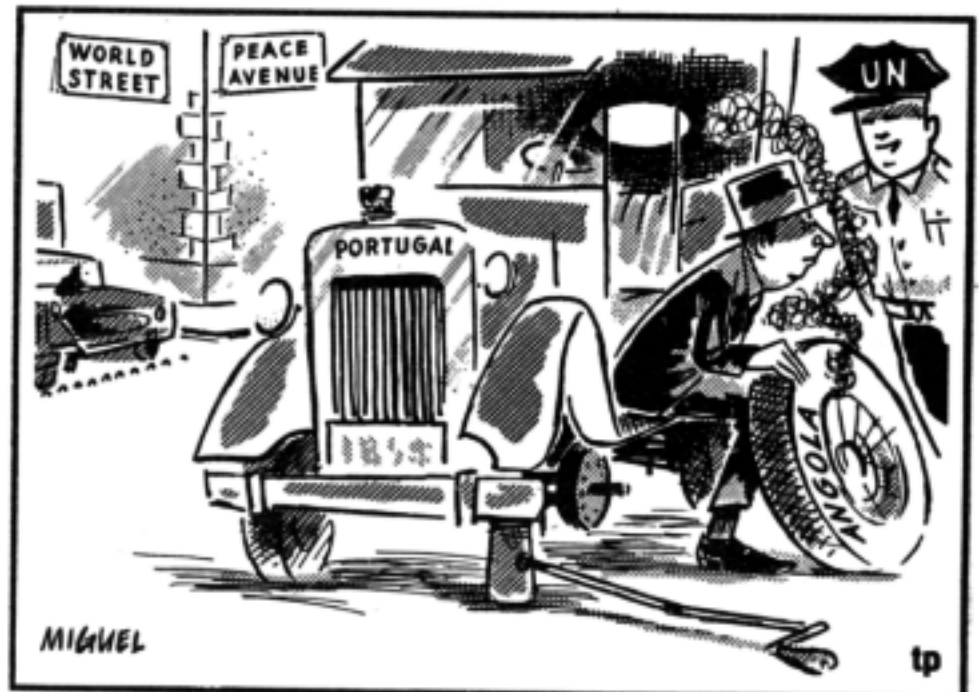
He told me that it was useless to argue as what he had told me was final. There was not even a transfer for although I knew of three vacancies in the company as a result of their having expelled three clerks for no reason.

After that I went to my foreman to ask about my expulsion. He told me that he knew nothing about it. The compound manager refused me even the free lift bus which takes people away when they leave the job.

The main aim in expelling the educated is simple and straightforward: the educated boys are politically minded—the mine does not want politicians. They may expel us but they will not expel the truth. Those who side with the Whites are very glad in such a way that they say, "The modern J.C.'s will be exterminated here for their lightheadedness".

I am going to fight a great war against the "slavery" practised at Havelock mine. I really, really want to liberate my brothers who work for twenty cents a day yet labour hard.

HOWLER SPECIAL, Bremersdorp, Swaziland.



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South West Africa:

CHIEFS, S.W.A.P.O. INVITE UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE

By a Reporter

ON their arrival at Accra on 19th June, the U.N. Committee on South West Africa was met by a cable from the heart of the Territory.

Addressed to the chairman, Professor Enrique Fabregat, the cable ran: SITUATION IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA CRITICAL STOP PLEASE COME AND SEE CONDITIONS FOR YOURSELVES.

It was signed by Chiefs Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi, the paramount chiefs of the Herero and Nama peoples who, with the South West Africa Peoples Organization, also addressed a long letter to the Secretary-General, in New York, dated 11th June.

Their letter reflected a cause of the distress suffered by the inhabitants of the capital city, Windhoek. The residents of the old location, the scene of the riot of December, 1955, have been under constant pressure from the authorities to move to Katutura, the new "apartheid location".

The main pressure has been the fear of renewed police shootings. Then the authorities have used the following threats in an attempt to make the people move:

- threats of dismissal from work. Contact has the names of 12 municipal employees who were dismissed by a municipal official, Mr. O. V. Plichter, because they refused to move to Katutura;
- threats of the withdrawal of residence permits, and
- of work permits.

In many cases, these pressures have proved effective, and the population of Katutura now numbers 3,600.

The letter from the chiefs and S.W.A.P.O. repeated the complaints of the residents of Katutura against the authorities. Higher rents, long exhausting journeys to and from work, inadequate transport, high transport costs, and above all constant police raids.

A complaint that sums up the Administration's contempt for its victims describes a typical police raid, on 16th April, when 40 people were arrested on the road between the old location and Katutura. (They were fined £1 each next day: "The charge against them was

that they had no right to visit each other without the so-called night passes.")

"Honourable the Secretary-General," reads the letter, "we are scarcely a year at Katutura and this is the beginning stage of the situation under which we must live. What is the situation going to be in the future when the new jail is built?" (A new jail is to be built near Katutura in

1961, which residents believe is intended to make it easier for the police to deal with them during raids.)

The final words of the appeal could come from all of oppressed South West Africa: "We live in fear and we do not know where to escape to. Our eyes and prayers are directed to the United Nations . . . Our hope is based on the United Nations Committee on South West Africa. . . . While our eyes have for years been directed to you, we are waiting for a solution."

THEY WOULD SEE TRIAL

If the U.N. Committee were to arrive within two weeks it might be able to witness the trial of 17 South West Africans on a charge of public violence. On the night of 10th December, 1959, in Windhoek location, 11 people were killed and many wounded by police shooting. The preparatory examination against some of the residents began on 8th May and the trial is expected to start shortly. Money has been collected among the non-White people of Windhoek to maintain the dependants of the people killed and of those who were permanently disabled. Friends of South West Africa outside its borders are assisting towards the legal costs. The names of 14 of the accused are: Victoria Hoses, Emma Urikas, Ismael Gowaseb, Frans Kujambera, Ismael Kujambera, Ismael Kahipura, Antonius Markewitz, Langman Wetiani, Kefas Nunuhe, Karel Cloete, Niklaas Siririka, Johannes Brinkman, Methusela Matundu, Maragrite and Elias Kangatjini.

Mr. Bernard Sheridan, a representative of "Justice", the British section of the International Commission of Jurists, has recently been in South Africa gathering material about the facts of this case for presentation to the Commission.

Political Victimization

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Mr. Walter Hain, Chairman of the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party, lost his job as a result of taking part in politics.

Mr. Hain, who was employed by the Provincial Administration, was called in by his superior some days before his arrest (see Contact, 15th June) and accused of taking an active role in politics. He readily admitted that this was true stating that the Public Service regulations which he had seen did not debar a public servant from doing so. He mentioned some of the Administrator's recent statements in support of this. It transpired, however, that the completed regulations do in fact prohibit a public servant from belonging to a political party.

Mr. Hain was therefore given the alternative of ceasing to be active politically, or of resigning his post. He chose the latter, but the date from which his resignation was to take effect had not yet been finalised when he was arrested. While in gaol he received a letter from the Administration dismissing him. One of his superior officers admitted in conversation that the Administration had been approached by the Special Branch in connection with his political activities.

Mr. Hain has been fortunate in obtaining another post with a rather more sympathetic employer!

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Several Durban firms have taken severe reprisals against employees who did not come to work over the three-day demonstration period at the end of May.

They have dismissed them.

And the Security Police have been asking questions about letters sent by the Institute of Race Relations asking

employers to consider reinstating sacked workers. It is reliably learnt some firms handed their letters over to the Branch.

The letter from the Institute went out to:

- Hebox Ltd., said to have dismissed 20 workers—most of whom have been taken back.
- Daily Office Cleaning Services, which is said to have dismissed 14 workers.
- City Engineering Carron Ltd. (20 workers).
- Clover Dairies (25 workers).
- Johannesburg Building Society (10 workers).
- Durban Municipal Abattoir, said to

Port Elizabeth Group Areas Protest

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Six hundred people attended a meeting last week called by the Port Elizabeth Civic Association, a non-racial body open to all citizens of Port Elizabeth and the environs.

The meeting was called to protest against the zoning proclamation for Port Elizabeth under the Group Areas Act.

The speakers were Rev. H. J. Hendrickse, Uitenhage Congregational Church; Sheik J. Jardine, Muslim Community, Port Elizabeth; Rev. H. F. C. Thorpe, Holy Spirit Church, Kwazakele, Port Elizabeth; Mr. F. A. Landman, vice-chairman, P.E. Civic Association; Mr. D. A. Brutus, executive member, P.E. Civic Association; Mr. O. Salie, hon. secretary, P.E. Civic Association, and Mr. B. B. Ramjee. The chairman was Dr. S. V. Appavoo.

Among resolutions passed unanimously by the meeting were these:

- To affirm our belief in the right of all people to live where they choose without regard to "racial" origin, colour or creed.
- To do nothing which will lead to the implementation of the Group Areas Act to the detriment of all.
- To call on all people to stand united in their protests against the Act.
- To pledge ourselves to a fight in unity and steadfastness against injustice in our country until freedom for all is won.

have dismissed 15 workers (the abattoir denies dismissing any).

The letter was written at the request of the Joint Congresses.

The Security Police also questioned a Congressman about the Joint Congresses' letterheads from which, it is alleged, the name of the A.N.C. had not been deleted.

Most political observers are taking a long, long look at the stay-away and its implications. Liberal observers in Natal hope that one of the more positive results of a political misfortune which set back the entire extra-parliamentary opposition will be a preparedness by leaders outside the party to consider the non-racial approach to politics more favourably. They argue that a truly non-racial organization would be politically and practically sounder, because all people would share in planning, discussion and participation.

NON-RACIAL TENNIS

From "Contact" Correspondent

EAST LONDON: Tennis players of all races, Whites included, are to meet soon at East London. For the second year the East London Tennis Union will hold its Open Championship at the championship-standard Selborne Park Stadium, on 8th - 10th July.

Though the union is non-racial no Whites in fact entered last year.

This year it is different and Whites will be competing for the first time.

Most players, who will come from Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and elsewhere, belong to other non-racial unions. The White players will come from racially-exclusive unions.

An exceptionally high standard is expected, with John Booyen (P.E.), Hermie Abrahams (Johannesburg), Mojanaga (East London), and J. W. Claasen (Alice) among the favourites. D. Samaai and other Western Province players will be absent as the Cape school holidays do not fall over that week-end.

The tournament is to be opened by Mr. O. S. Casoojee on 8th July. Many players will be present at a dance in the East London City Hall on 9th July.

Child Art Exhibition



An interesting exhibition of children's art was held recently in Johannesburg. Organized by the S.A. Association of Youth Clubs, it was called "The First National Child-Art Exhibition for Non-Europeans".

The art master of the Association Mr. Raymond Schoop, comments: "The general standard is remarkable, evidence of an excellent observation and freedom of expression."

Despite extensive publicity, few people

visited the exhibition. The habit of visiting exhibitions appears to be acquired slowly.

The picture shows Mr. Schoop and a visitor critically examining an interesting painting.