

# contact

**LIBERALS LEAD**

**JOHANNESBURG**

**RENT CAMPAIGN**

Vol. 4 No. 16

5c (6d)

10th AUGUST 1961

Registered at the G.P.O.  
as a Newspaper



24

— see p.p. 4 & 5

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**



**"Southward the course of freedom takes its way"**

A young woman prepares to vote in Southern Rhodesia's unofficial N.D.P. referendum by thumb-printing her voting paper

—see page 6

# 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.

## A Welcome Election

AS forecast in our last issue there is to be a general election in October.

Unlike most anti-Nationalists Contact is pleased at the prospect, although we are sure that Dr. Verwoerd will gain votes from the United Party, and that the parliamentary Progressive Party will be wiped out.

Why are we pleased at the prospect of an election? It is, quite simply, because another Nationalist victory will clear the air, and strengthen the real opponents of apartheid.

It has been true for years that no effective opposition has been possible inside the parliamentary system, because the Nationalists have fixed the rules so as to keep out or weaken their opponents. But few have seen this truth, because they have been deceived by the democratic appearance of parliament into believing that South Africa is still democratic. The United Party and the Progressives have been able to persuade their supporters that in just a few years the tide would turn. The Nationalists would split, they would say, or the Graaff Senate or the Progressives' Molteno Report would convert the White voters in sufficient quantities to bring victory within sight. Many voters believed these fables.

They would not believe the Liberals, who for years have been telling them that in South Africa to-day there could be no effective opposition that was not a largely extra-parliamentary opposition.

Dr. Verwoerd's expected victory in October will prove to all the world that the Liberal assessment was right.

Some movements have already fully understood the inward meaning of the coming election, and have drawn the correct conclusions. We have the small Non-European Unity Movement, which has consistently preached a boycott of this bogus parliament and all its elections. Now, of recent days, we have the Malmesbury Convention threatening an active organized boycott of the four "Coloured" seats, a boycott that could be immensely successful. Such a boycott could well prove the only point of interest in an otherwise dull election.

It is also logical. Four-fifths of the people of South Africa have lived for years under a cruel dictatorship, liable to exile without trial, to imprisonment and torture by the police. But the dictatorship is masked. The mask is this seemingly democratic parliament.

Contact says: "Off with the mask." Let democrats totally boycott this gerrymandered and rigged parliament and its attendant councils and elections. And, instead of maintaining the shadow-show of opposition within the system, get outside it, muster support from all who have decided that they can go no further along the apartheid road, rally mass support for a mass non-racial movement against the government, a movement which will win, and which will carry South Africa through to sanity and security.



The main issue at the "Black Peril" general election of June, 1929, was "the preservation of White South Africa". And at every general election since then the "Black Peril" bogey has been ever more shamelessly used by the Nationalists to terrify and seduce the voters.

## Government Hides the Truth

By the Editor

VERWOERD'S fascist grip has now extended to the Union's statistical services. And another step in the direction of dictatorship has been taken. This appears from the publication of the new *Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa, No. 30 for 1960*.

One of the main differences between dictatorships and democracies is that in dictatorships the government works in secret. In countries like Holland and Sweden, to name only two democracies, the government publishes promptly and fully thousands of facts about the people, their numbers, their health, about government revenues and expenditures, and so on and so forth.

For fifty years South Africa has also done so. Every year or two there has appeared the *Yearbook*. True, it has often appeared late. And true, many important statistics (for instance, the birth and death rates of Africans, and their infant mortality) have not been included. Taken all in all, however, the yearbook was a valuable book to have on one's shelves.

South Africa's new *Yearbook* (for 1960) came out about two weeks ago. It is plain that someone in authority, probably Dr. Verwoerd himself, has decreed that in future government will not allow the truth about itself to be known. FOR NEARLY ALL THE STATISTICS WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN YEARBOOKS BACK TO 1910 ARE LEFT OUT IN THIS LATEST EDITION.

Nearly 300 pages have been cut out: the last yearbook had 981 pages, while the new, Verwoerdian, yearbook has only 713 pages.

### WHAT HAS BEEN CUT OUT

The following facts which were in the last yearbook (No. 29) are absent from the new:

- 16 tables of crime statistics, including the terrifyingly high rate of prosecutions (1,622,003 in 1955)
- Numbers and position of the police forces

- Prison statistics. (The daily average number of prisoners rose from 29,275 in 1951 to 38,380 in 1956 and must now be much higher.)

- Revenue and expenditure of the state, and of the South African Native Trust (about thirty pages cut out)

- Amount spent by the government on housing

- Number of White and non-White Railway staff

- Trade unions' membership; and wage rates for Whites and non-Whites. One table in yearbook No. 29 shows the appalling fact that the average total monthly cash wage of a "squatter" in the North Western Transvaal was £1.14.0 in 1955-56

- Cost and number of civil servants

- Accident rates

- Lastly, and most importantly, the vital statistics of the people. In 1945-7, for example, THE LAST YEAR FOR WHICH STATISTICS ARE AVAILABLE, a White male baby had an expectation of life of 63.78 years, an Asian male baby 50.70, and a Coloured male baby only 41.70 years. Even then no figures were available for Africans.

Now even these, and many, many more tables, too many to mention here, have been cut out.

There is a catch: the Director, in his 1960 preface says: "It will be observed that most of the statistical tables which previously appeared in the *Official Yearbook* have been deleted from this issue, as they appear in revised and greatly extended form in *Union Statistics for Fifty Years 1910-1960*."

That sounds fine. But like Dr. Verwoerd's "Promotion of Bantu Self-

Government" which turns out to be a "suppression of Bantu self-government", this "improvement" of the statistical services of the Union government is eyewash.

It is eyewash because "Union Statistics for Fifty Years" is already out of print, as I was informed when I telephoned the office of the Government Printer in Cape Town on 28th July.

**Iincwadi zeziXhosa zaseOxford**

**UNgodongwana**  
P. M. NTLOKO 30c.

**Isitha**  
P. M. NTLOKO 25c.

**Inene nasi Isibhozo**  
A. M. MTINGANE 30c.

**AmaNqakwana Emfundiso Yezibhalo Ezingcwele**  
A. MADALA  
Ibanga 3: 35c. 4: 45c.  
5: 40c. 6: 42½c.

Zifumaneka kuzo zonke iivenkile zencwadi

**O X F O R D University Press CAPE TOWN**

## AFTER NINETY YEARS

# Natal Tribe to be Moved

From "Contact" Correspondent

DUNDEE: Another tribe, this time in Northern Natal, is now threatened with the loss of its land under apartheid laws.

This is the Boshhoek Tribe of Waschbank, near here. Like many other groups of Africans they possess land which is largely surrounded by White farmers. Under the Land Act of 1913 and the Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936 their land became, in the eyes of authority, a "black spot".

As it was not rich land their White farmer neighbours did not press for their removal to "Bantu areas".

Now, however, the neighbours have changed their mind: on 12th May this year the Dundee Farmers' Association decided to support Verwoerd's policy of removing "black spots" from Dundee district. The tribe's future is thus at the mercy of the White authorities.

The forefathers of the tribe used to

live in Swaziland under one Sigweje, whom they later made their chief. They were exiled from Swaziland because the paramount chief objected to their bringing in a missionary to teach them to worship God and to read and write.

From Swaziland they went to Pongola in Zululand, but they did not agree with the Zulus. They then moved to Ndeleni, in Natal, with a missionary. (Here the missionary founded Ndeleni College.) But the refugees were still not satisfied.

### FARM BOUGHT

In 1870 the missionary heard of a certain Mr. Pretorius who was selling a property of 8,000 acres. This they bought as a place where they could settle.

Chief Sigweje was succeeded by his son, Chief Mbango, who died in the 1940's leaving his only son, Chief Nicholas Kunene, as chief. He has been chief now for almost 18 years.

The people lived peacefully and were not disturbed until the Nationalist

government began urging them to move about two years ago. By this time they had already laid the foundations for their new school.

Most of the tribe's breadwinners are normally away in Johannesburg and Durban, but those that remain were determined to build the new R4,000 school; but they had to stop work until the decision of the government about their removal was known.

### NO DECISION

The tribe had made it clear that if the government were to force them to move it must give them a place equal to if not bigger than their own, which is already overcrowded. But the government did not have such a place and they were left without a decision.

As far as the tribe is concerned it doesn't know whether it is going or staying. A grey-haired old man remarked to me, "This is the way our government treats us. By this deed the government may see another Pondoland or Congo. The government is unto the tribe as a bear lying in wait and as a lion in secret wait. The tribe is doing the same."

## GIFT FROM NKRUMAH



Mr. J. J. Nquku, Swaziland Progressive Party President, wearing a kente cloth given him by President Nkrumah of Ghana.

## New Edition of African Classic

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Hundreds of Africans who have achieved prominence in all walks of life in South Africa and Africa will be included in a new edition of a "Who's Who", which is in the course of preparation.

The African Register is being compiled by Mr. T. D. Mveli Skota, of Johannesburg—the man who prepared the first two editions of the book thirty years ago.

Those to be included will range from doctors, musicians and writers.

The "Who's Who" will be illustrated by photographs.

The book—which will run to about 500 pages—will also have sections on African political, cultural, social, trade union, and business organizations throughout the continent, as well as statistical details about Africa and her peoples.

"It is time that all African people and the world know more about Africa and her people," says an announcement about the book.

"Read about the great and distinguished men and women of your country. Do not let your children remain in the dark any longer."

## REVEALING CLASH

DURBAN: There was a revealing verbal clash involving a leading member of the Congress of Democrats at the Durban Combined Indian Ratepayers' Conference on the municipal franchise on 23rd July.

Mr. Ronnie Kasrils, an active member of C.O.D., called for a White Citizens' Committee to act as a pressure group among White ratepayers.

This was challenged by Mr. R. W. Morris, a Liberal Party delegate, who said that the only valid approach was non-racial. Only thus could conference set an example. He was loudly applauded.

Then another member of C.O.D. spoke rejecting a sectional appeal. The approach must be multi-racial, he said.

## BLOKE MODISANE IN LONDON



MODISANE IN "THE BLACKS"

Three years ago Bloke Modisane, South African actor and journalist, was preparing for a visit to America—but he didn't have a passport and was told that he wouldn't get one unless he gave the Security Police information they wanted. He refused, but soon afterwards left South Africa by the back door and made his way to England.

And there he has been successful: "Former South African journalist and political agitator" was how the programme at London's Royal Court Theatre described him when he appeared there in Jean Genet's play, "The Blacks". But serious critics in London's leading papers singled him out for his gifted performance.

He is to appear with Rex Harrison at the Edinburgh Festival in Nigel Denis's new play, "August for the People", and will then return to London where the play is expected to have a long run.

How does he like it in England? "I feel it worse here," he says, "I cried more over Sharpeville here than I would have done at home. One gets numb in Johannesburg."

"But I'll be back there, on one condition . . ."

## Swazi Leaders Return from Ghana

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: On 19th July the Mbabane branch of the Swaziland Progressive Party turned out in full force to welcome three Party leaders back from Ghana where they had attended a conference of leaders from the African countries still under colonial rule.

The three leaders are: Mr. J. J. Nquku, S.P.P. President, Dr. A. P. Zwane, Secretary General, and Mr. C. D. Dlamini, Chairman of the S.P.P. Youth League. By chance another Swazilander was present—Dr. G. Msibi who was also welcomed home after nine years in India where he recently completed his studies.

Addressing the large audience, Mr. Nquku said that their journey to Ghana was a "complexity of wonderful experiences". He was glad to have been to a fully independent African country where people enjoy the fruits of independence, rights and privileges which they could never have dreamed of while the country was ruled by Britain.

Mr. Dlamini described a visit to the old Dutch and Portuguese castles which had been used as prisons and transit camps during the days of slavery. He said that it is the memory of those terrible days that spurs the people of Ghana in their fight against imperialism in Africa.

He ended by saying that it was high time for the people of Swaziland to prepare for the struggle for independence now facing them, because the liberation of Swaziland, small as she is, can make a great contribution to the liberation of the entire African continent.

Dr. Zwane declared that he had been deeply impressed by the air of independence. He and his party had been able to attend three important functions: the opening of the George Padmore Memorial Library, Republic Day celebrations and a session of the House of Assembly.

An important chief who was at the S.P.P. meeting told the audience that he was greatly pleased to see two doctors, Dr. Zwane and Dr. Msibi, seated side by side and ready to work and suffer with their people.

# KENYATTA FREE THIS MONTH

**B**EFORE the end of this month the world will hear that Jomo Kenyatta has at last been set free according to a statement by the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, on 1st August. He will step into a Kenya vastly changed from the one he knew before his imprisonment and exile eight years ago. He will also step into a Kenya which has been waiting for his release to give substance to the belief that he is the true leader of the country; the man who will lead Kenya to independence.

Kenyatta was born about 1893, and was brought up in the tribal tradition. When he was ten he ran away from home to go to school and there started his formal education. But the glitter of Nairobi lured him away from school and he went to the city to become a "house boy"; but his employer, recognizing his talents found him a job as clerk in the Ministry of Works.

It was not until 1921 that Kenya's

first recognizable political movement appeared, the Young Kikuyu Association, later called the Kikuyu Central Association. Kenyatta joined in 1922; by 1925 he was an official in the party and by 1928 he had become a full-time politician, and editor of a Kikuyu newsheet.

He went to London in 1929 to see the Secretary of State about problems



JOMO KENYATTA

affecting the Kikuyu tribe and particularly the distribution of land, but despite assistance from liberals in London, he was not able to see him. The same year he went on an arranged trip to Moscow but it had no particular influence over him.

After a visit to Kenya he returned to London in 1931 and spent the next sixteen years in England. During that time he acted intermittently as a personal lobbyist on behalf of Kenya Africans—

presenting their petitions to the Colonial Office and ventilating African grievances before the British public.

He led a varied life in England: he went to a Quaker school; did a course in anthropology; wrote his book *Facing Mount Kenya*; lectured; worked as a farm labourer; and helped Kwame Nkrumah, W. E. B. Du Bois and George Padmore organize the famous 1945 Pan-African congress in Manchester.

## RETURN TO KENYA

In 1946 he returned to Kenya and set about organizing Kenya's first effective party, the Kenya African Union.

Kenyatta tried to use constitutional methods, but many of his younger supporters talked the language of violence, with an end in view very different from Kenyatta's—they wanted to see the White man driven out of Kenya.

## COLLISION WITH GOVERNMENT

The power of African nationalism met in headlong collision with a government that refused to meet any of the demands of the African people—and Mau Mau resulted. Kenyatta was singled out as the African nationalist leader, and the government quickly removed him from the scene.

He was charged with organizing Mau Mau, found guilty and given the maximum sentence of seven years hard labour.

After serving his sentence and spending several more years in exile, Kenyatta will return to public life in Kenya this month. On his shoulders rests the future of Kenya.

## PROG. CASE IN NEW BOOKLET

**T**HE London Institute of Race Relations has done the Progressive Party the honour of producing a statement of its case, written by Dr. Z. J. de Beer, M.P. The subtitle, "the reconciliation of forces", gives the key to Dr. De Beer's argument.

He sees two main forces in action in South Africa—African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism. He takes what seems to him the middle way of these forces, expresses it in words acceptable to non-Nationalist Whites, and the result is Progressive Party policy. By this policy, the Whites would lose supreme power but would have group rights, the Africans would not get universal franchise but would have a majority in the end. Socially, there would be "certain barriers", though existing "only where they were demanded" and "substantial equality of amenities would remove the stigma which is now attached to separation". He seeks to make the argument sound

scientific, by using the language of physics, and saying that the policy he puts forward is the "resultant" of the forces he describes.

## COMMON PATRIOTISM

But politics is not physics, and the "resultant", even where Dr. De Beer places it—"rather nearer to African aspirations than to the White supremacy line"—has no place in the politics of Africa in 1961.

At one point Dr. De Beer sufficiently forgets his policy of multi-racial group rights to speak of "a common patriotism which would lead our people to think as South Africans and as human beings rather than as members of racial groups. Only the extinction of racialism can bring South Africa happiness and success."

It is to his credit that he sees this great ideal. But his "resultant" does not point that way.

Let the Institute of Race Relations commission a book that does. It would have to come from a Liberal.

## "Shirt sleeve University"

**DAR ES SALAAM:** A new venture in education in Africa began on Saturday, 29th July, when Prime Minister Dr. Julius Nyerere opened the "shirt sleeve university" of Kivukoni College, at Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

This college is designed to give adult education to men and women who have shown an ability in public affairs, yet who may not have the necessary qualification for normal academic life. At present equipped to take 34 students, it is hoped that next year there will be room for 50, and that the college will rapidly grow in size and importance.



Miss Wicken

The principal is Dr. Colin Leys, 30, of Balliol College, Oxford, an expert and author of two books on the politics of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Opening the college Dr. Nyerere pledged Tanganyika to a neutralist foreign policy line.

The Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. George Kahama, introducing the Prime Minister, paid tribute to Miss Joan Wicken, secretary of the Trust Fund, who had been responsible for the collection of the funds, and who had put into effect all the ideas of the Trust.

## SOUTH AFRICA—THE REAL TRADITION

**I**N 1852 and 1853 Britain gave the Cape Colony a colour-blind constitution. All men, Black, White or Brown, could vote for parliament, and could stand as members, provided only that he occupied a house worth £25 or had £50 a year in wages.

The next hundred years saw one surrender after the other by the dominant Whites to racism, thus ruining what had been a lovely and happy land.

Just how happy it was appears from the travel book *Three Visits to Madagascar* by the respected English minister, Rev. William Ellis.

Ellis was in Cape Town in May 1852, when the new Charter of Constitution arrived, and attended the Queen's Birthday celebrations. This is his description:

Two days after our arrival the

Queen's birthday was celebrated, with unusual demonstrations of loyalty, and a general illumination of the city at night. But to me the most pleasing part of the proceedings was the treat given by the municipality to the children of all the day and Sunday schools in Cape Town. They were assembled on the parade, where the children, between 3,000 and 4,000 in number, walked in procession past . . . the Lieutenant-Governor . . . The children of each school walked together, carrying flags, on which were inscribed the

name of their school, with some appropriate motto or device. One flag, a very striking one to me, exhibited two hands—a black and a white one—clasped together . . . A . . . gratifying fact was the entire absence among the children themselves of anything like estrangement or aversion on account of colour.

The majority of the children were Africans, but there was also a considerable number of the children of Europeans, and many times my attention was attracted by a little sturdy woolly-haired negress holding the hand of a blue-eyed flax-haired girl, and both looking up with laughing faces and apparently loving hearts as they passed along.



Liberal Party workers collecting rent que

## JOHANNESBURG:

# Libera

**JOHANNESBURG:** The any prosecutions and midnight arrests campaign.

Protest meetings are being c zations is called for.

This was discussed at an organizi by the Residents' Committee of Site quarter of the whole South Weste Residents' Committees and organizat

The meeting resolved to form a Central Committee consisting of all Residents' Committees of the South Western areas. The Central Committee will plan the campaign.

The Liberal Party moved into the forefront of the campaign when it undertook to distribute 100,000 questionnaires to establish each family's rent position.

## ORIGINS OF CAMPAIGN

Hundreds of workers are being summonsed each week because they are in arrears with their rent. They find that their miserable wages are swallowed up by the prime needs of food, clothing, transport and medical expenses.

Often the choice for a housewife lies between paying rent and buying food for her children.

Women of Johannesburg's south-western townships first began the agitation against rent arrests in May. They were filled with indignation and resentment when their husbands and sons were dragged before courts like common criminals for what should be a civil offence.

## FINED AND SACKED

In addition to the fines which have to be paid the breadwinner often loses his employment while serving his sentence.

In a memorandum to Mr. W. J. P. Carr, manager of the city's non-European Affairs Department, women representing 25 townships demanded that prosecutions of people who fail to



Questionnaires for distribution among 100,000 families in Johannesburg's South Western Areas.

# Liberals Lead Rent Campaign

From "Contact" Correspondent

Over 100,000 of the residents of Johannesburg's South Western Areas over the past few months for non-payment of rent is fast being channeled into an organized

campaign. Led in all areas and the concerted action of all areas and organi-

zational meetings on the rent issue held in the South Western Areas and Service areas which make up a large part of Johannesburg. Other residents also attended the meeting.

The women said: "All the glittering life of Johannesburg, the comfort, leisure and luxury which it offers to its European inhabitants, is created by Black hands.

"We are denied any share in that comfort and leisure. Our life is a life of harassment and near-starvation.

**HARASSMENT, STARVATION**  
"Our poverty is aggravated by the exorbitant payments which we have to make and which have no relation to our wages."

A city council spokesman said in reply that it was only in extreme and inco-operative cases that the council resorted to the courts.

To this Mr. Carr added that to-day more than R500,000 was owing in rent in Johannesburg townships. Every effort had been made to keep the rents as low as possible.

## CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED

After the memorandum had been presented a massive campaign against rent arrests was launched at the end of July when the Liberal Party undertook to distribute 100,000 questionnaires in the south-western townships to establish how many people are unable to pay rent each month, how many are arrested, fined or jailed and on what scale evictions take place.

This information will form the basis

of the campaign, which is being controlled by the central committee of location residents. Liberal Party volunteers will take the questionnaire from door to door.

### CONCERTED MASS ACTION

The chairman of the Liberal Party sub-committee working on this project said: "The concerted mass of all the residents of the south-western areas would be a force that the city council and the government could not resist. Mass action, properly planned, should succeed in ending the rents problem."

Meanwhile a special all-day meeting called by the South African Congress of Trade Unions on 30th July threatened the municipalities of Johannesburg, Pretoria and the Reef towns that a boycott of municipal beerhalls would be called unless rent prosecutions and arrests were stopped.

Delegations are to call on the mayor of each city in question.

### "Indian Opinion"

AFTER 58 years *Indian Opinion*, founded by Mahatma Gandhi, is to close down, as announced by Mrs. Sushila Gandhi, daughter-in-law of the founder, in the last issue but one, dated 28th July.

Organ of the 1906-1914 Natal passive resistance campaign, recorder of matters of interest to South Africans of Indian origin since then, *Indian Opinion* has consistently stood for democracy and against racialism, under the great editorship of the Mahatma and, from 1918 till his death in 1956, of his son Manilal.

STOP PRESS: In the latest issue (4th August) Mrs. Gandhi announces that a sympathizer in Johannesburg has offered direct financial help to enable the paper to continue as a "living monument to Mahatma Gandhi".

Mrs. Gandhi is considering the offer.

### Northern Rhodesia:

## New Constitution Leads to Violence

THE widespread opposition to the new Northern Rhodesian constitution has flared into violence in many parts of the territory.

In the north, people armed with pangas and spears attacked a Federal government truck between Kasama and Abercorn, injuring a police officer, on 4th August, and on the Copperbelt on the night of 5th August, attempts were made to blow up a bridge and government offices. A store was burned to the ground at Bancroft, and arson attempts have been made on government lorries. An explosion caused damage

to a school and buses were burned.

In the northern provinces, a bridge has been destroyed and another damaged, a river pontoon was put out of commission and near Chilenga village, 250 trees were cut down and laid across the road.

The Chief Secretary for Northern Rhodesia has announced that since 13th July, more than 121 "incidents" have occurred—seditious speeches, stonings, arson, road and rail blocks, damage to bridges and three suspected murders—mainly traceable to political dissatisfaction.

Following the explosions of 5th August, the police reserve has been called up and leave cancelled.

On 31st July, a delegation from the Northern Rhodesia Catholic Bishops' Conference met the Governor and expressed their concern with the widespread dissatisfaction that has followed the promulgation of the new constitution. They expressed the hope that something might be done "even at this late hour" to lessen the existing political tension throughout the country.

And one of the territory's most influential chiefs, Chief Mapanza, speaking at his court in the Southern Province, on 25th July, said: "I condemn this constitution as it is a complete departure from the plan which was proposed by the British Government in the White paper."

### Malmesbury Convention:

## NON-RACIAL P.E. COMMITTEE

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: A non-racial Areas Committee is to replace the Coloured National Convention's planning committee in Port Elizabeth.

At a Report Back meeting on the Malmesbury Convention, on 18th July, the following were elected to the committee: Rev. H. Hendrickse, Dr. M. Pather, Dr. E. Roman, Dr. A. S. Pillay, Dr. T. Jamie and Dr. S. Appavoo and Messrs. H. Erasmus, G. Jenneker, S. Tobias, I. Bergins, F. Lanman, B. Beis, F. Davids, R. Koen, J. Rousseau, R. Doraswami, O. Salie, I. Diedricks and D. Brutus.

Members of the Committee met for informal discussions on Thursday, 20th July. It was agreed to broaden the committee by inviting Rev. Cyprian Thorpe, Mrs. A. Pirie and Messrs. L. Melunsky, I. Noach, T. Mqota and V. Minnie to join it.

## Shorts . . .

● Indian South African leaders have condemned the creation of a separate ministry of Indian Affairs, and the appointment of Mr. Willie "Molo" Maree to the post.

● The Commissioner General for the Northern Transvaal Bantustans is to have a new house, built at public expense. It will cost R50,000. His chauffeur is to have a new house too, costing at least R9500.

● Shouts of "Heil Hitler" greeted Progressive Party speakers at a meeting in Pretoria on 1st August. Pretoria University students did the shouting.

● Mr. Adelino Gwambe, leader of the União Democratica Nacional de Moçambique who has been living in exile in Dar es Salaam, has been ordered to leave Tanganyika.

## LIBERALS TO FIGHT ELECTION

THE Liberal Party is to fight 10 seats in Natal, Transvaal and the Cape in the forthcoming general election. Announcing this on 3rd August, the Party's National Chairman, Mr. Peter Brown, said that the decision had been taken by the national committee of the Party earlier in the year.

"There is only one reason for holding a premature election," he said. "It is that Dr. Verwoerd expects to do better now than in two years' time when his policies will have brought internal conditions in the country to an even lower ebb than today and external pressures against her to a very much higher pitch than they are now.

"The sinister note in Dr. Verwoerd's statement is struck by his reference to the need for a 'strong' government in the next five years.

"It seems clear that after 18th October we can expect to see an extension and intensification of the totalitarian measures which have become more and more familiar since 1948."

## MEN ARRESTED AFTER STRIKE

From a Reporter

DURBAN: Following a demonstration outside the Lion Match factory here on 4th August, 141 men appeared in court charged with illegal refusal to return to work. They were granted bail of R10 each, but were dismissed from their jobs at the factory.

During the lunch break at the factory on 4th August, about 200 workers demonstrated in front of the building. They carried posters with such slogans as "Demand £1 a day", "Recognize our union", and "Kwashiorkor is killing us". They demanded the reinstatement of a worker who had been dismissed in the morning.

After being addressed by factory officials, they were told that unless they returned to work they would be sacked. They refused to move, and police, who had been called to the factory, gave them three minutes to disperse. They did not move and the time was increased to five minutes. Then a police cordon surrounded the men and they were taken in pick-up vans to the charge office where 141 were charged and later appeared in court.

### TSOPANO

Nyasaland's independent monthly magazine, published to promote freedom and justice.  
6d. (5c) per issue.

Publisher:

P.O. Box 2719, Salisbury, S.R.  
P.O. Box 378, Blantyre, Nyasaland.

**S.R. REFERENDUM****N.D.P. to Call Conference soon**

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY, Southern Rhodesia: The National Democratic Party will soon call a congress to discuss whether the Party is to work the new constitution or to boycott it. This was announced at a press conference in Salisbury by Mr. Morton Malianga, Vice-President of the N.D.P.

The Party will have to decide whether to fight the fifteen seats open for Africans on the lower roll of the new constitution and thereby gain a voice in the parliament of Southern Rhodesia or else keep their political battle for one man one vote democracy outside parliamentary politics and hope to win by making the new constitution unworkable.

The N.D.P., in the words of its President, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, decided after the constitutional talks earlier in the year to have nothing to do with the new constitution.

As the vast majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia are not allowed to vote in the referendum to decide whether the new constitution would be adopted or not, the N.P.D. organized its own referendum which was held three days before the "official" referendum.

In the N.D.P. referendum, the people were asked to say yes or no to the new constitution. 372,546 people voted no, 471 voted yes.

In the "official" referendum, 41,949 people voted yes and 21,846 voted no.

**"Play their Part"**

When the result of the official referendum was known, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead, said, "The stage is now set for the African people to play their part fully in the political life of the country and have a hand in the framing of policy."

Some people say that the N.D.P. should participate and put up candidates in the forthcoming election so that the Party can "air the African point of view" in Parliament.

Others say that Mr. Nkomo rejected the proposals soon after the constitutional talks, and that the Party's referendum showed quite clearly that people were not interested in the fifteen seats offered to Africans: they want "one man one vote".



A voter in the N.D.P. referendum.



People waiting to vote in the N.D.P. referendum.

**Non-violence Advocated**

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: More than 300 delegates attending the Durban Combined Indian Ratepayers' Conference on the municipal franchise on 23rd July in Durban overwhelmingly demanded one-man-one-vote for all races in municipal affairs.

They also called upon Natal municipalities to urge the Provincial Council to amend the 1924 ordinance denying non-White people the vote in municipal affairs.

The Liberal Party sent five delegates to the conference one of whom was elected to the resolutions committee and another to the continuation committee. They were Mr. H. J. Bhengu and Mr. D. Evans.

The Progressive Party sent observers and among those attending the conference was Mr. Leo Boyd, leader of the party in Natal, The Black Sash and the Institute of Race Relations were also represented. Mr. Jimmy Bolton, a member of Durban's City Council attended.

The conference was opened by Prof. H. J. Simons of Cape Town University.

He spoke for two hours and compared events in South Africa with events in Western Europe in the mid-nineteenth century.

In an address written for the conference Prof. Simons said: "I must confess to a growing personal repugnance to the use of violence in human affairs. . . . The adoption of a policy of deliberate and systematic violence would under our conditions make it very difficult if not impossible for our variegated communities to co-operate in building a free society in which peoples of different types could live together in peace and security."

He added: "I am of the opinion that we are less likely to achieve our goal through violence than by continuing along the path of mass passive resistance and civil disobedience."

**AFRICAN STATES AS ADVISERS****U.N.O. TO FREE S.W.A., URGES SWAPO**

By a Reporter

THE South West African People's Organization has issued its programme. In it is made clear that when Swapo becomes the government of South West Africa it will revolutionize the country both in its relation with other states and in dealing with the internal problems which have been caused by a century of misrule, first as a German colony, and later as a mandate under South African government.

Swapo announces that it plans to be ruling South West Africa by 1963, first with the help of the United Nations, advised by a U.N. commission of independent African states, and then as an independent state.

It plans to establish a non-racial democracy in South West Africa. In the words of the Programme "A free democratic government based on the will and participation of all the people" irrespective of race, colour or creed.

And Swapo plans to "reconstruct the economic, educational and social foundations of the country to support and maintain real African independence".

**POLITICAL AIMS**

In South West Africa Swapo intends to establish a non-racial democracy based on universal adult suffrage, and all citizens will enjoy equal rights and responsibilities.

Freedom of speech, the press, assembly and worship will be guaranteed, but

race or tribal discrimination and colour discrimination will be a criminal offence.

**Swapo's foreign policy will be based on the principles of Pan-Africanism, positive neutrality, and would provide for the Union of African States with a common nationality for all people of Africa.**

Swapo will work for the review of all artificial boundaries drawn by colonialists in Africa.

**ECONOMIC POLICY**

The economic programme advocated for South West Africa is designed to give each citizen a share in the wealth of the country, and envisages the creation of a mixed economy, there being both public enterprises and those owned privately.

**But all basic industries will be publicly owned, and Swapo plans to nationalize both the mining and fishing industries. All foreign-owned land will be nationalized, and the**



MBURUMBA KERINA, new Swapo Chairman.

government would establish farming co-operatives.

Forced and contract labour will be abolished and a 40-hour week introduced.

All schools will be public schools, under the control of the government, and there will be free and compulsory education for all South West Africans without discrimination.

Swapo will also establish institutions for the training of doctors, technicians and skilled workers.

\* \* \*

**By adopting these methods, Swapo hopes that it will be possible to raise the standard of living of all South West Africans very rapidly, and to lay the foundations for a stable independent state.**

**Leaders to sue Nat. paper**

JOHANNESBURG: Seven African political leaders are claiming a total of R20,500 for alleged defamation from the Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper, *Die Vaderland*.

The seven are among the 13 members and former members of the continuation committee of African leaders who planned the All-in Maritzburg Conference and who have been charged under the Unlawful Organizations Act and the Suppression of Communism Act.

They were arrested on 20th March and their case is still before the courts.

The claims for damages are based on a report in *Die Vaderland* on 20th June about their appearance in court.

The seven leaders are: Mr. Jordan Ngubane, Liberal Party national vice-president from Durban; Mr. Bill Bhengu, a Durban attorney and prominent member of the Liberal Party; Mr. Paul Mosaka, a well-known Johannesburg businessman; Mr. Julius Malie, formerly Transvaal organizer of the Liberal Party; Mr. J. C. M. Mbata, a field officer with the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg; Mr. Joe Molefi, ex-treason trialist, and former member of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress; and the Rev. B. S. Rajuli, a minister of the A.M.E. Church and secretary of the International African Ministers' Federation.

# The Malmesbury Convention

## A PRELIMINARY REPORT

By DENNIS BRUTUS

ON the 8th and 10th July, 1961, on the farms Dassenberg and Rondberg in the Malmesbury district, some thirty miles north of Cape Town, representatives of the Coloured section of the South African population met in a "Coloured National Convention". The holding of the Convention had been banned by the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism Act on the night of the 6th July. The ban applied to the magisterial districts of the Cape, Bellville, Wynberg, Simonstown, Paarl, Wellington, Somerset West, Stellenbosch and Worcester.

The Convention was the most representative gathering ever held of the Coloured section of the South African population in spite of the fact that many delegates did not travel to Cape Town after news of the ban and many others were not informed of the venue of the Convention because of the necessity of concealing the Convention from the Security Police. All the provinces of the Republic were represented and the widest variety of political opinions was expressed.

### PREAMBLE

On Wednesday, 8th February, 1961, 15 members of the Coloured community who are leaders in the Church, educational, cultural, trade union and political organizations, met in Cape Town, and since then a series of meetings attended by many more influential leaders have been held and consultations have taken place with African leaders.

The primary purpose of the meeting was to set in motion the machinery for the calling of a National Convention and also to bring together all democratic organizations, people and forces in a non-racial movement against the existing system of apartheid and White domination.

As a result of these meetings it was agreed:

- (a) That the only policy that can succeed in South Africa is one of complete equality for all people;
- (b) Having accepted that we stand for complete equality in a non-racial South Africa, we therefore reject all political and social agencies that have as their purpose the perpetuation of a system which implies the inferiority of, and imposes inequality upon, any South African of whatever race or colour;
- (c) Bearing in mind the stated policy of the Government as enunciated by Dr. Verwoerd, and the political and social institutions which are being used to implement that policy which is entirely repugnant to, and inimical to, the true interest of the people, it was agreed **THAT THERE COULD BE NO COMPROMISE OR COLLABORATION WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT;**
- (d) After consultation with, and the approval of, African opinion, it was decided to call an initial conference of Coloured people;
- (e) That the basis of discussion at the convention would be the clear and unmistakable demands of the people for:
  - (i) **THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF THE COLOUR BAR IN EVERY SPHERE;**
  - (ii) **FULL CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA.**

This Preamble was unanimously adopted by the full Convention as the Original Policy Formulation with the addition of the following clause:

- (f) *The Convention is satisfied that this Original Policy Formulation is a correct reflection of the feeling of the Convention and accordingly ratifies it for inclusion in the Findings of Convention.*

### AGENDA

The main items on the Agenda, with the names of the introducers of subjects given in brackets, were:

1. **The Status of the Coloured people** (V. Benjamin).

2. **A Bill of Rights** (Dr. R. E. van der Ross).
3. **The Franchise** (Rev. Dr. F. Gow and D. A. Brutus).
4. **Commissions on Special issues.**
5. **The Mechanics of Calling a National Convention.**
6. **A Continuation Committee — future tasks** (J. C. A. Daniels).

### THE FINDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

#### 1. The Status of the Coloured People

This Convention declares that the Coloured people are a separate group only by discrimination.

We declare we have no separate destiny and therefore reject the principle of a separate racial status with its em-



The barn in which the historic Convention met. Talking together are Mrs. Mary Moodley and Mr. Stan Lollan; Mr. A. D. Amlay and Rev. R. Joorst.

bracing separate culture, politics and economy from the rest of the other peoples of South Africa.

We will work for a closer relationship with all true South African patriots, irrespective of race, colour or creed, on the basis of a common humanity for the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

#### 2. A Bill of Rights

Convention resolved that it was necessary to work for a new non-racial and democratic constitution for South Africa which would embody a "Bill of Rights" protecting the rights of all individuals. The substance of the "Bill of Rights" would be determined by a National Convention.

#### 3. The Franchise

Convention unanimously adopted a resolution that it rejected all forms of group or separate representation and that it was convinced that universal adult suffrage "the right to elect and be elected" was the only just form of representation in South Africa.

A few preferred this principle to be

stated as follows: a common, non-racial roll with no other arbitrary requirements.

#### 4. Special Issues

**Group Areas:** Convention condemned the Group Areas Act and called for its repeal and to refuse to co-operate with any instrument designed to implement Group Areas Act and actively oppose it.

**Job Reservation and Labour:** Convention condemned the colour bar and all forms of discrimination with regard to labour; it expressed its absolute condemnation of Job Reservation.

**Education:** Education should be free, integrated and compulsory, and all institutions of learning should be open to everybody. Parents should have the right to decide in which manner their children should be educated.

**Citizen Rights:** Convention agreed that there should be full and equal citizenship rights for all.

**Civil Rights:** These would be embodied in the Bill of Rights still to be formulated. Convention stood for the abolition of all laws which discriminated against people on a basis of race, colour or creed.

country should be used to promote the welfare of the entire population.

**Labour:** In formulating a healthy economic policy, we feel that the Tot System, Contract Labour, Child Labour, Compound Labour and Convict Labour must be abolished.

**Land:** We feel that a re-division of the land should take place, so that it can be developed to full productivity for the benefit of the country as a whole.

**Union Council for Coloured Affairs:** Convention repudiated the Union Council for Coloured Affairs as an instrument of oppression and discrimination which did not represent the voice of the Coloured people. It rejected the Council and all similar bodies.

#### 5. The Mechanics of calling a National Convention

Convention instructed the Continuation Committee to work to make contact with leaders of all other organizations and movements who support the idea of a national convention with the view of calling a national convention of all the people of South Africa as soon as possible on the basis of the Findings of the Convention.

#### 6. The Continuation Committee: future tasks

Convention elected unanimously the Chairman of the National Convention Mr. D. van der Ross as Chairman of the Continuation Committee.

Dr. R. E. van der Ross and Mr. B. Desai were nominated for the position of Deputy Chairmann; Dr. van der Ross was elected Deputy Chairman on a show of hands.

The duty of the Continuation Committee would be to enter into negotiations with all other bodies with similar aims with a view to organizing for a national convention.

Each Province would elect three representatives to serve on the National Continuation Committee.

The members of the Executive Committee of the Cape Town Planning Committee were elected en bloc to the Continuation Committee.

They are: **Mr. D. van der Ross** (National Chairman), **Dr. R. E. van der Ross** (National Deputy Chairman), **Mr. D. B. Smith** (Finance Chairman), **Mr. J. C. A. Daniels** (National Secretary), **Rt. Rev. Dr. F. Gow**, **Rev. R. Joorst**, **Mr. H. J. Carelse**, **Mr. N. Daniels**, **Mr. B. Desai**, **Mr. E. F. Doman**, **Mr. M. A. Gierdien**, **Mr. N. S. H. Kearns**, **Mr. C. Marney**, **Councillor H. E. Parker.**

Convention elected the following additional members to the Continuation Committee:

**Mr. D. A. Brutus** (Eastern Cape), **Mr. E. Bydell** (Natal), **Mr. S. Lollan** (Transvaal), **Mr. S. Leon** (Northern Cape), **Mr. I. Stone** (Western Cape).

The General Secretary, **Mr. J. C. A. Daniels**, was asked to continue as Secretary of the Continuation Committee, and it was recommended that a full-time paid organizing secretary be engaged if financially possible.

**Votes of thanks** were moved to the Chairman, Secretary and Executive, to the Finance Committee and to the hosts on the two farms in the Malmesbury District.

### POLICY FORMULATION

**Constitutional Policy** (see (e) under "Preamble"):

Convention agreed that:

- (a) It is necessary to draw up a new Constitution, fully democratic and truly representative at a National Convention of the people of South Africa.
- (b) That such a Constitution must embody a Bill of Rights.

**Economic Policy:** Realising that the mere granting of political freedom will not lift our people out of the dire poverty and state of semi-starvation to which they have been subjected for hundreds of years, and knowing full well that this exploitation has been perpetuated under the guise of racialism, we propose the following Economic Policy:—

That all restrictions on the right of the individual to enter skilled trades be abolished, that colour bar in Commerce and Industry be scrapped, and that the principle of **equal pay for equal work**, irrespective of sex, be firmly entrenched in the statutes of the land;

That the natural resources of the

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## Liberals must fight for freedom

**S**IR,—As one of those South Africans who has much faith in and thinks so much of Liberalism as the only way to solve our problems, I would like to advise every one of my fellow Liberals to fight for our freedom—not only for my fellow Africans who have been under harsh oppression since the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, but also for those Whites who have always been sympathetic to us during these long years.

To gain our hopes we should have self-confidence and consultation among ourselves to convince even those Goliaths who govern this country today, that their apartheid means only that they are digging graves for themselves and their children.

And let us assure this government that we are still preparing for our struggle towards our claim—equal political rights and equal living standards.

Unless Dr. Verwoerd and his selfish, sectionalist government grant this, they can forget about any faith from the whole 12 million Africans, Asians, Coloureds and some of our White citizens.



**JOSEPH PHUDAHUDU,**  
Vryburg, Cape.

## Struggle for non-racialism

**S**IR,—Believing in the Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms I fully support the liberatory movements and other democratic freedom fighting societies. I'm a firm and unshaken believer in the emancipation of the enslaved and the freedom of the oppressed, whether politically, socially or economically, no matter of what class, creed or race.

We should fight—struggle and criticize for the immediate establishment of a non-racial state, sensible enough to be recognized and supported by the whole world.

Our country will be governed under the direction of the United Nations Declaration.

I would like to be a devoted agent for *Contact*, South Africa's non-racial paper.

Dear Africans wake up!

Yours in the struggle for peace and liberty in Africa,

**Z. D.,**  
Johannesburg.

## The West opposes Colonial freedom

**S**IR,—*Contact* of 27th July states that "... the West is thus the friend of colonial freedom ... the Western countries in the last 20 years have given up their colonies. The United States gave independence to the Philippines and Cuba. All the European powers, except Portugal, have, or are, giving independence to all their colonial possessions."

Permit me to contradict this. The West is not giving independence to its colonial possessions. True, it is losing its colonial possessions, but that is not the same as giving colonial independence.

The more astute Western powers realize that the only alternative to expensive and long drawn out colonial wars is the granting of nominal political independence to colonies, whose leaders can be trusted to permit the continued exploitation of the newly independent country.

Whenever a colony has made a bid for full economic as well as political independence, the West has not hesitated to resort to the gun-boat tactics of the 19th century, as they have done in Viet-Nam (from 1945 to 1954), Guatemala (1954), Cuba (1961) and Algeria,

for the last seven years, to give just a few examples. The West's answer to Algeria's bid for independence has already cost the Algerian people three-quarters of a million dead, 100,000 jailed, 2½ million in "resettlement camps" and 300,000 living in exile.

France's reaction to Guinea's voting for complete independence was an all-out attempt to cripple Guinea economically. When Guinea turned to the United States for aid, it was refused. Cuba's attempt to gain independence and raise the wretchedly low standard of living of its people was met by the United States with unconcealed hostility.

It must not be forgotten that Portugal is only able to massacre Angolans because NATO keeps it well supplied with guns and bombers.

The activities of the West in the Congo over the last 12 months should leave no one in doubt as whether "the West is the friend of colonial freedom" or not.

**MASHAYINQAWE,**  
Durban.

[I agree that the process of decolonization is not yet complete for the colonies of the West. My point was that it has not yet begun for the colonies of the communists.

But don't worry, Mashayinqawe, the mighty process of colonial liberation will soon free the eight Asian and twelve European captive nations which are now controlled by the Russians. —Editor.]

## Students can play great part

**S**IR,—As an unofficial observer at the Nusas Congress which was held in Durban this year, I was very impressed by the way students of today fight racial laws.

I came away feeling that many students of today can play a great part in the struggle for a non-racial South Africa.

They have more opportunities than others, and it is they who are going to be the future leaders and statesmen of the country.

I therefore call on all students and student-bodies to oppose any form of racial discrimination and work towards a non-racial democracy.



**HASSIM RAVAT,**  
Johannesburg.

## African Nationalism will triumph

**S**IR,—The government of South Africa is busy day and night consolidating its forces. It is preparing to fight against the African people. It wants to suppress the rise of the African nation to power. It does not realize that it is not fighting

## Good wishes from Ghana

**S**IR,—I wish all the members of your staff long life and may "Contact" grow forever until the great battle the paper stands for has been won.

Kindly tell all your people, in the paper and on the political platforms, that they should all join one true group to win the great battle which lies ahead of you and all of us. They should not be afraid of human beings but go on and do what they know is right.

If they are on the right side and are killed in the great political battle they have done their duty on earth and for their motherland and die a glorious death.

So they should continue the great battle that lies ahead and will win one day.

**ERIC MENSA A. ACOLATSE,**  
Accra, Ghana.

against the African people but against a spirit, the spirit of African nationalism which manifests itself in the actions of the people.

While the government is fighting the air, which it will never defeat. I call upon the people of Africa to rally to African forces under the banner of African nationalism. Let the spirit of African nationalism sweep the dust of imperialism out of Africa.

Do not be misled by the detractors preaching racial or tribal oppression. The oppression is national, the struggle is national; the goal will be achieved through a national struggle. Nationalism is bound to triumph over militarism and racialism.

Forward to freedom now! Tomorrow the United States of Africa!

**AFRICAN,**  
Zastron, O.F.S.

## Back-to-the-bush education

**S**IR,—All the Minister of Bantu Education and his stooges want to do is to send the African people back to the bush far from civilization. Some of these Bantu Education stooges are Africans: they don't realize that they are poisoning their own brothers and sisters so that in a few years they will not even know that Africa is their home.

Verwoerd realized that if the African people were taught properly they would

in time advance. Some of his racialists, oppressors and gangsters think, that if Africans send their children to school there will be no servants: so they stop Africans from going to school so that they can remain masters.

Those who think like that, and who are anti-African, must one day pack their bags and belongings and leave the land of our forefathers and seek somewhere else to live.

But those who sympathize with the African non-racialists must remain because they faced the pains the same as the Africans.

We patriots do not want to see any more bloodshed.

**MOSAS TSODADI,**  
Johannesburg.

## Our hope is in U.N.O.

**S**IR,—We invite the United Nations Committee to visit this territory still. Our demand is self government under U.N. trusteeship and independence not later than 1963. We want the end of South African government in our beloved South West. We want a peaceful country.

We demand the return of our savings book and members' applications forms which were taken from our office by the South African Police.

Our hope is the resolution in the General Assembly of 18th December, 1960, and 7th March, 1961.

Please, United Nations, pay attention to our Swapo petitioners or are you waiting for another Congo or Angola before you come?

**E. E. MBUMBA,**  
(Swapo Secretary),



Luderitz, S.W.A.

## Changes must be made

**S**IR,—With the formation of the Legislative Council in Bechuanaland I wish to see the undermentioned changes take place. I direct my attention particularly to Southern Bechuanaland, which is reminiscent of the "Deep South" of the United States and I refer to tribal administrations rather than to government:

- That the so-called dry areas where liquor is prohibited be made "wet", so that Africans in these reserves are able to buy liquor;
- That Sunday sports be allowed in villages where this has not been allowed. Here I may mention the Ngwaketse, Kgatleng and Kweneng reserves.

**FREE THINKER,**  
Mahalapye, B.P.

## NEW P.E. CHESS CLUB



About fifty people joined the new non-racial Chess Club formed in Port Elizabeth last week. Some of the members are seen playing here on the opening night: from left to right, Mr. I. Kandiko, Mr. G. Jenniker, Mr. S. Munshie, and Mr. T. Dullabh.

## AFRICAN AID ASSOCIATION PTY. LTD.

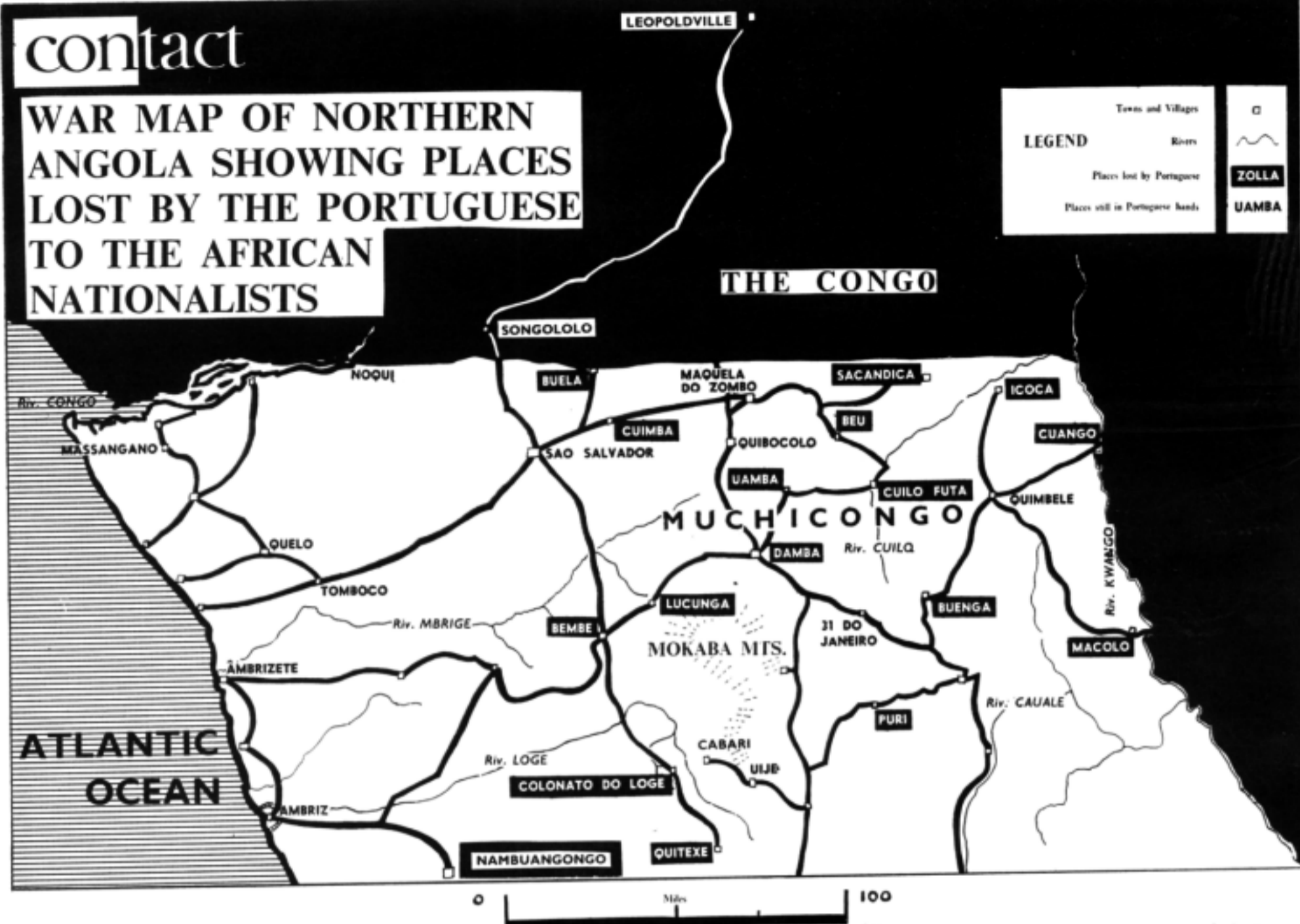
Monthly membership for advice on legal and personal assistance, including FREE life and burial insurance  
P.O. Box 10853, Johannesburg

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT STUDIO  
1st Floor, Zygmarsh House, Kruis / Marshall St., Johannesburg. Ph. 23-6829



# contact

## WAR MAP OF NORTHERN ANGOLA SHOWING PLACES LOST BY THE PORTUGUESE TO THE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS



This map is based on facts released in the Portuguese newspaper "Jornal do Congo", published at Uije (see map), dated 4th May, before the Portuguese began their much-heralded dry-season offensive. The towns marked in white letters on black blocks are towns which, according to this newspaper, had been "abandoned".

Nambuanguongo, at the lower edge of the map, is the headquarters of the

Angolan nationalist forces, and Portuguese reports claim that it is now fully encircled by Portuguese forces. But they also admit that the place lies in dense forests, and that the task of defeating the Angolan nationalists is a heavy one.

The latest news about the sea-port of Ambriz is that it remains totally surrounded by Angolan nationalist forces: the Portuguese have had to turn the town's main street into an airstrip.

Keep this map: it will be useful to you as the war goes on.

# Portugal is Losing Angola War

—says the London "Observer"

THE *Observer*, one of the world's great newspapers, sent one of its star reporters, Mr. Gavin Young, to Angola recently. In a dispatch to his paper (23rd July) Mr. Young reports that Portugal is losing the war. He says: "Eight weeks after the start of the dry season, and only a month before the rains set in again — her army still has not mounted anything that could be called an offensive against the rebels, except in the communiqués of the High Command.

"The vital coffee crop, grown 80 per cent in the rebel-held area, is in ruin and growers say they will be lucky if they can harvest one-third.

"In the view of independent foreign observers, the current defence bill and trade loss are certain, if continued, to force Angola—and Portugal—into bankruptcy within two years.

"The military operation which began in May now absorbs 20,000 troops—nearly half the regular Portuguese army.

Its advertised aim was to encircle the rebels and seal off the frontier of the former Belgian Congo from which they are directed.

"Neither objective has come within the bounds of possibility. All that can be claimed is the checking of the revolt on a line running roughly from Luanda through Salazar (200 miles east) to Forte Republica, near the Kasai (Congo) border. (This line lies to the south of the huge area shown on our map above to have been lost by the Portuguese.—Editor, *Contact*.)

### REBEL FLOOD

"Above this line, certainly, mobile columns have relieved or re-occupied a score of towns and villages engulfed by the rebel flood in March—but even in daytime their control of these places extends only to a radius of five or six miles.

"At dusk they are obliged to retire on their strong points and watch from a distance while the rebels burn neighbouring plantations . . ."

The *Observer* reports further that the nationalists are having much success in making the army's communications

impossible. "Obstacles are removed (by the army), ditches filled in, ambushes fought off with casualties, only for the road to be blocked again at darkness by the felling of hundreds of trees.



HOLDEN ROBERTO

"Bridges, even of reinforced concrete, have been destroyed. Some have been dynamited. Others have been broken by

other methods." (Diverting the streams against their foundations or lighting fires on them.)

### 50,000 DEAD

Mr. Young estimates that "The number of Africans vanished without trace is now, on all evidence, about 50,000." Mr. Young makes it clear that he thinks that they have been killed.

## THE ORGANISER

THERE are two Angolan nationalist movements: the M.P.L.A. (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) with headquarters in Brazzaville and Conakry, and the U.P.A. (Union of the Populations of Angola) with headquarters in Leopoldville.

It is believed in Leopoldville that the U.P.A., led by Mr. Holden Roberto, is in charge of the nationalist campaign in Angola.

The war began on 15th March this year with simultaneous attacks on Portuguese installations. The U.P.A. is said to have infiltrated the whole of northern Angola with a network of cells which made simultaneous action possible.

Holden Roberto is 36 and was educated at a Protestant mission school.

SUBSCRIBE TO

contact

AFRICAN POSTAL UNION

R1.40 (14s.) a year

ELSEWHERE

R1.70 (17s.) a year

To The Manager

P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.



Published by the Proprietor, Selenela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament St., Cape Town. Printed by Linsey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.