

contact

Hans Abraham Insulted Hammaraskjoeld

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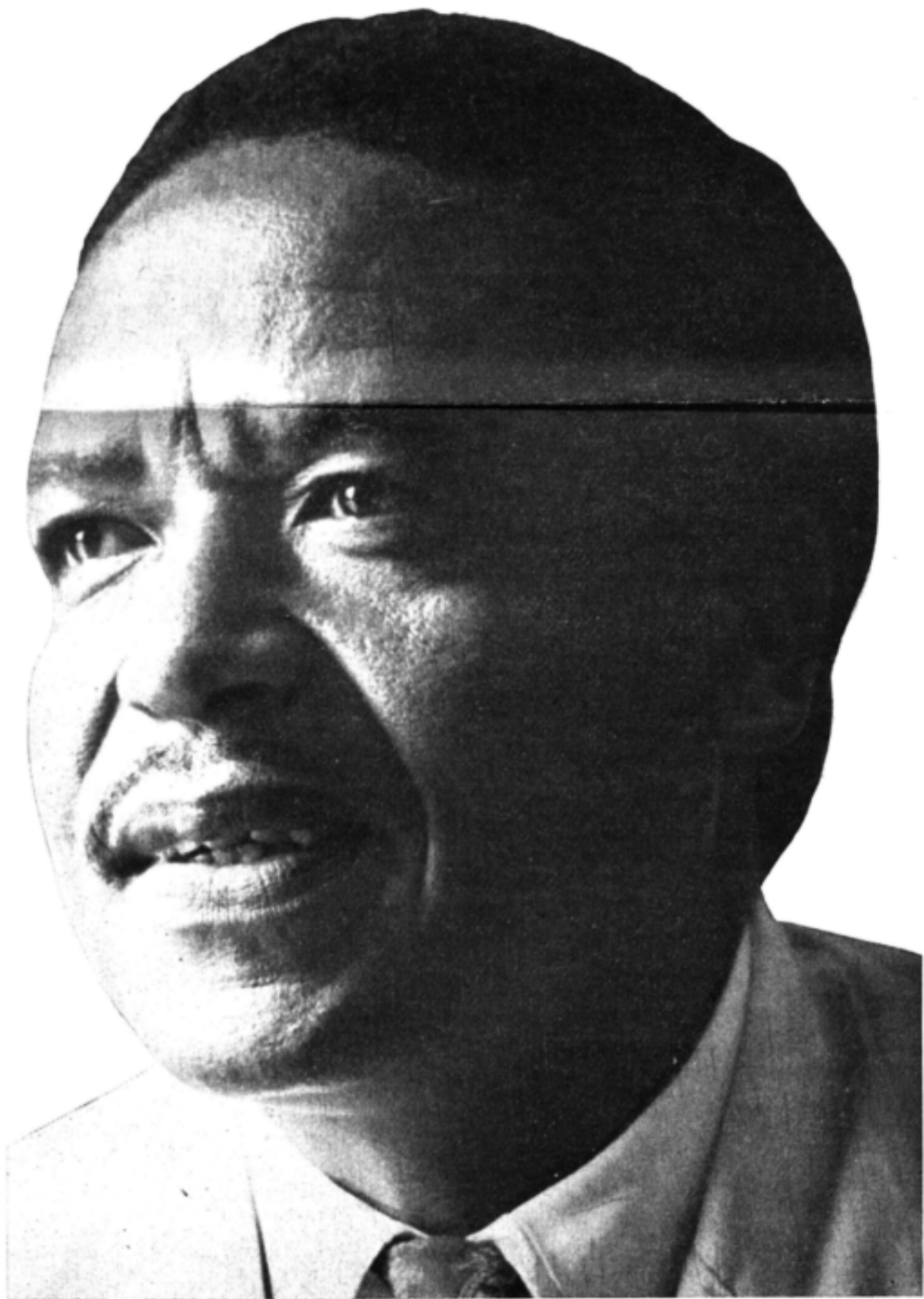


— See page 3

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

**JORDAN
NGUBANE—
LIBERAL**

— See page 6



"Politician, journalist, shrewd observer, planner, intellectual . . ."

S.W. LEADERS

No Compromise

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The possibility of United Nations sanctions against the Union of South Africa's administration of South West Africa awaits the decision of the International Court of Justice on the case filed by the governments of Ethiopia and Liberia jointly. Meanwhile, in an attempt to stem the tide, the major White political parties are searching for a way out of the problem caused by the world's rejection of apartheid.

The Nationalist Party and the United National South West Africa Party (the official Opposition) are seeking closer co-operation with each other and, in the words of Advocate J. P. Niehaus, the Opposition leader, "to find a solution which is acceptable to both the White and non-White inhabitants of South West Africa". This solution they say they hope to find after thorough mutual consultation of the people of S.W.A., both Whites and non-Whites.

To stress the urgency of the situation, Adv. Niehaus told a recent meeting that "we have a very short time at our disposal in which we can put matters right or else we shall suffer the consequences". In his New Year message he went so far as to plead that the Legislative Assembly elections, due in March this year, be postponed to a later date and that a start be made with consultation between the population groups.

It is not yet known who are considered as "suitable non-Whites" to consult, but *Contact* has ascertained from all influential sources that **there is unity opinion among all non-Whites—not to compromise.**

An official of S.W.A. National Union told *Contact* in an interview that: "There will be absolutely no compromise on the side of the oppressed people, on the grounds that this so-called consultation is mere propaganda intended to quieten the mounting world opinion against repugnant apartheid policies in the international territory. To compromise is equal to acquiescing in oppression," he added, "for at the same time compromise will mean the escape of our oppressors from outside intervention."

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ESCAPEE



NDIBONGO

Mr. Manelisi Ndibongo, 22-year-old ex-P.A.C. Langa "task force" leader, who has left the country, with three Incitement Case co-trialists, Messrs. Lawrence Mgweba of Nyanga West, Bam Siboto and Frederick Mampe of Langa.

L.P., U.N.A. MEMOS

OF the many memoranda presented to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld during his visit to South Africa, points made by the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party and by the Durban branch of the United Nations Association are noteworthy.

The Liberal Party memorandum called on the Secretary-General, as an immediate job, to urge the Government to:

- remove the bans on the P.A.C. and A.N.C.
- consult immediately with non-White leaders about extending human rights
- abolish the pass laws.
- ask for U.N.E.S.C.O. aid for a "massive adult education programme".

Finally, they asked for a team of U.N. observers to visit South Africa.

The Durban branch of U.N.A. proved its contention that South Africa "has violated more articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights than any other member state". For example, the violation of Article 25, which says that "everyone has the right to . . . (inter alia) security in old age" is shown by old age pension figures (per annum): Europeans £138, Coloureds £55 10s., Indians £49 10s., Africans £20 5s.

P.E. Bus Lock-out

CREW AND PASSENGERS FIRM

PORT ELIZABETH: On Wednesday, 11th January, the wheels of the buses that transport Port Elizabeth's 100,000 African township dwellers to and from the city moved exceedingly slowly: At 6 p.m. the same day they ceased to move at all and have not moved since.

Two hundred drivers, conductors, and workshop employees report daily for work but are faced with a closed gate and a sten gun.

Trouble? The workers complain that

- The one-man-bus system, whereby tickets are issued at the terminus by a conductor who doesn't ride on the bus, imposes on the driver the necessity for paying attention to the passengers at the back when he should be watching Port Elizabeth's crowded streets at the front. Both passengers and crews dislike the system intensely.

- Schedules are too tight for safe driving.
- Promises to promote Africans to inspector level have not been kept.
- A slight increase in the wage ceiling is requested.

Every effort to get C. P. Attridge, Manager of the 91-fleet Bay Passenger Transport Company, to negotiate has failed. The offer of S.A.C.T.U. to assist in arbitration has been turned down flat. He has not called the advisory committee of Africans, set up by the company and the city council two years ago, to give their help. The fact that the Department of Labour has not taken any steps under the 1953 Settlement of Disputes Act seems to suggest that all is not well on the side of the employers. Attridge insists that the men have

No More Tshisa-Tshisa?

"Congos" Make Plans

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSIKISIKI: The "Congo" (or meeting, "congress")—was started at Bizana early this year.

The nearby locations joined in and the organization was spread through Bizana. To punish the members of *Maziphathe* (self-government) who are suspected to have passed these regulations at their seatings, the tribesmen adopted the *tshisa-tshisa* system by which they burnt down their houses and sometimes killed the householders. The family would be left unharmed, but without food to live on, with no blankets to provide for warmth. In order to be provided with shelter the family would move to a relative.

They do not pay their visits unexpectedly. They write you a letter a week before the day of the attack. A clever man would have long removed everything from his house and disappeared with his family when the "burn-them" gang arrived to destroy the house.

Bizana tribesmen were worried about the silence in other districts, but their movement spread itself southwards and had connections with locations along the coast of the Indian Ocean which are in the districts of Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. Branches were established here. Kraals of headmen who are of royal blood in these locations were burnt to ashes and headmen flew to the Great Place—Qawukeni—for protection, where the police were posted to keep guard over the Paramount Chief's house.

DEATH AT NGQUZA HILL

It was in autumn when a handful of tribesmen at Hlabathi and surrounding locations were gathered on Ngquza Hill, when a helicopter, like a bird ready to perch, moved above their unprotected bodies. They had never seen a helicopter before. It was flying low. White faces could be seen; the exterior bloody colour of it meant death to them. The tribesmen hoisted a cloth, meaning to spell peace, but gunshots from the police

dispersed the tribesmen. Eleven died instantly and some were injured.

The Ngquza incident caused great unrest and hatred between the Government and the tribesmen.

Behind the "Congo" there may be a subterranean movement engineered by highly educated men. The writer says so because of the manner the "Congo" has drawn its constitution. It is drawn in such a way that the Government would take a long time to intervene. The *tshisa-tshisa* system called for intervention by the police; now it will no longer operate. Spilling of blood is strongly prohibited. Peace and unity will give strength to those behind the "Congo", those who could not be seen. No abusive language to any member of any organization, or to any official of the Government or to whomsoever a tribesman meets on the way is allowed. If arrests are made tribesmen should not agitate but allow themselves to be arrested, and if a word reaches "those who could not be seen", the prisoners would be bailed out. The method of removing traitors is known by every member.

In spite of warnings carried by this constitution, tribesmen in the Flagstaff district are doing things in their own way. People are murdered. Houses are burnt. Police vans are flooding the place making investigations and arresting suspects. Again the feared red helicopter is sailing in the air. No one knows what the end will be but the men believed to be at the back of the "Congo" had forewarned the tribesmen to close their meetings for some time or until they heard from them as to the situation.

FOOTNOTE: The Bizana "Hill" or "Congo" centred at Ndlovu Hill, the Lusikisiki, Flagstaff, Post St. Johns "Hill" at Ngquza Hill and the Tabankulu-Mt. Ayliff "Hill" at Ntsizwe Hill are in full control and are well co-ordinated with each other.

S.A.P. v PONDOS

From "Contact" Reporter

Here are some authenticated stories from the harsh police assault on the people of East Pondoland.

● At Mount Ayliff the police went to the house of a Mr. Gcuma to arrest him. He got away in time, but they seized his wife and their child. She was roughly pushed into a police van, and the child was literally thrown in with her. It was injured, and her screams rent the night air. She was kept with the child in cells for ten hours, and then released.

● Mr. Noqholi of Ntlavini location was arrested and literally thrown into a van. He was held by his head and by his feet, and thus thrown, injuring his neck.

Further evidence of the confiscation of motor-cars has come in:

● Mr. B. Mlenzana, of Mount Ayliff, was driving with his daughter-in-law in his motor car. He was stopped by the police and interrogated. Apparently his replies did not satisfy them, for they confiscated the car.

● Mr. X. Mphenduku, teacher at Tela Bantu Community School, also lost his motor car. He was driving a Mrs. Jojo, and was stopped. The two of them were put in cells for the night, then released after some ten hours. The car was confiscated.

● Mr. T. Phangwa has also had his car confiscated.

These confiscations happened in December, and no one knows why the authorities acted in this manner to the people concerned.

illegally broken their service contracts and have now no standing. His only action up to now has been the attempted recruitment of new bus crews and workshop staff from former employees, and men whose applications for jobs had previously been turned down. So far no scab crews have taken the road.

Meanwhile opinion in the townships is hardening on the side of the busmen. On Sunday afternoon a meeting, organized by S.A.C.T.U. and attended by 3,000 people was addressed by Vuyisile Mini, Mrs. Florence Mathomela, and R. C. Ngxiki. It was decided to boycott any attempt to run the service with scab crews, and also not to use the buses of the P.E. Tramway Company which is running a relief service to the Uitenhage Road entrance to New Brighton.

The remarkable thing is that by the use of the extra trains which have been put on the Swartkops-P.E. run, and by inspanning every available lorry and taxi (pirate and legitimate), the majority of the city's workers are getting backwards and forwards to work.

At 6.45 one morning a group of uniformed drivers and conductors, having reported to the sten-gun, were seen playing cricket on a nearby vacant lot.

The odds are that before long bus-manager Attridge, if he wishes to save his £100,000 worth of plant will have to play ball as well.

"Unpleasant and Downright Bad Mannered"

HANS ABRAHAM PROVOKED DAG AT UMTATA DINNER

From "Contact" Special Correspondent

PRETORIA: While Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations was in Pretoria after his trip to the Transkei, a Liberal Party delegation had an opportunity to talk to his adviser on African affairs, Mr. H. A. Wieschhoff.

In the course of the interview, Mr. Wieschhoff confirmed that newspaper reports of Mr. Hammarskjöld's speech at Umtata were false, and said that Mr. Hans Abraham, Xhosa Commissioner-General, had been "unpleasant, provoking, and downright bad mannered" to Mr. Hammarskjöld.

On 10th January the newspapers published remarks which Mr. Hammarskjöld was reported to have made in



ABRAHAM

the course of a speech at a dinner given by Mr. Hans Abraham in Umtata. From these remarks it appeared that Mr. Hammarskjöld approved of apartheid.

Mr. Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party, immediately sent a telegram to Mr. Hammarskjöld expressing his shock. Fifteen Pretoria Liberals and others signed a letter to the same effect, and requested that either Mr. Hammarskjöld or his secretary see a Liberal Party delegation about the press statement.

The next morning, Mr. Wieschhoff telephoned the Liberal Party office in Pretoria and agreed to meet a delegation that evening in the lounge of the hotel where the U.N. party was staying.

That evening the Liberal Party delegation went to the hotel. Mr. Wieschhoff came down to the lounge and gave the delegation an extremely sympathetic and friendly interview lasting about ten minutes.

The delegation told him that the remarks attributed to Mr. Hammarskjöld had created an extremely bad impression among non-Whites.

Mr. Wieschhoff replied that the United Nations group had been so upset by the report that they had issued a denial of the story that afternoon, in spite of their rule of never replying to press reports.

The delegation asked him what had really taken place in Umtata.

PROVOKING

Mr. Wieschhoff replied that in his speech at dinner, to Mr. Hammarskjöld,

Mr. Hans Abraham had been so "unpleasant, provoking and downright bad-mannered" that the normally cool and unruffled Secretary-General had lost his temper and "given Abraham back better than he had got from him"—something he would never normally have done in view of his responsibility of remaining absolutely neutral.

Mr. Wieschhoff added that he could not understand how the completely misleading press report had originated seeing that no reporters had been present at the dinner.

One of the delegation suggested that it had probably been a government hand-out to S.A.P.A. (South African Press Association). Mr. Wieschhoff rather heatedly complained that he had seldom come across such treatment by any press in the past.

Asked about a statement attributed to him in which he was reported to have said in Durban that Mr. Hammarskjöld was in South Africa in his personal capacity, and about which a leading article had appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail*, Mr. Wieschhoff threw up his hands and exclaimed that he had not even been in Durban during the tour, still less had he made such a statement.

While the visit of Mr. Hammarskjöld and his party to Pondoland was being discussed, one of the Liberals suggested that one should not perhaps be too impressed by the government-appointed chiefs as they were widely regarded as government stooges.

NOT MISLED

Mr. Wieschhoff smiled at this suggestion and said, "You must not fear that we have come here as babes in the wood, ready to believe everything we are told. I have for the past thirty years studied everything on South Africa. I could get my hands on, from learned journals to *Africa South*. We have a very good idea what your situation in

What was Reported

Later, speaking at a dinner given in his honour in Umtata last night by the Commissioner-General for the Xhosa tribal unit, Mr. J. H. Abraham, and Mrs. Abraham, the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, said: "I admire the spirit in which you do your utmost to help your friends (the Bantu) to achieve the goal which you have set for yourselves. I admire your spirit of confidence in your future. I hope you will achieve your destiny as you see it."—("Cape Times.")

this country is. We will not easily be misled."

He added that he was well acquainted with the Liberal Party through mutual friends, and had hoped that Alan Paton could have seen him during the latter's visit to New York recently, but it had been impossible to arrange.

In the course of the interview two members of the Security Branch and six uniformed police officers entered the hotel lounge and ostentatiously took the table next to that occupied by Mr. Wieschhoff and the Liberals, very obviously hoping to overhear the conversation.

In this they were probably successful,



HAMMARSKJÖLD

for Mr. Wieschhoff did not trouble to lower his voice when expressing his scorn for Mr. Hans Abraham, or showing that he refused to be misled by the South African political situation.

At the end of the interview, Mr. Wieschhoff left for a cocktail party given by Dr. Verwoerd.

Call for Swazi Self-rule Within Five Years

From "Contact" Special Correspondent

MBABANE: Swaziland's only political party, the Swaziland Progressive Party (see *Contact*, 10th September, 1960), is engaged in an active struggle for immediate self-rule. The Party is conducting a country-wide tour to rally support for its policies.

On 11th January the Mbabane branch of the Party held a well attended meeting, addressed by Mr. J. J. Nquku, Chairman of the S.P.P., Dr. A. P. Zwane, General Secretary, and student leader, Mr. Dumisani Dlamini.

GOVERNMENT ATTACKED

The 1961 *Contact* Freedom Calendar was used to illustrate the march to independence by colonial countries in Africa.

Mr. Nquku, in the course of his speech, attacking the set-up in Swaziland made these points:

- White officials live luxuriously on the sweat of Swazi people.
- Government spends £70 a year for the education of a White child, £28 for a Coloured child and only £5 on an African child.
- Swazis live in pondokkies unfit for human habitation while White officials live in mansions and in addition have free prison labour to clean them.
- There are discriminatory immigration laws in Swaziland: advertisements are put in papers for White people to come to Swaziland and yet our brothers cannot come.

"We want self-rule and justice now!" he said.

NON-RACIAL PARTY

Dr. A. P. Zwane delivered his address mainly on policy:—

"We are a non-racial party. As far as the Party is concerned, we are all Swazis. It is close adherence to this policy which will make us a powerful force which cannot be stopped, even by an atom bomb.

"The S.P.P. wants to rule now,

because 'Whites only' government has failed; there is still misery in our country.

"The S.P.P. prefers 'Self government



NQUKU

with danger to servitude with tranquillity."

Dr. Zwane compared the position in Swaziland with that in Kenya where the fertile lands are farmed by White colonists and only scrub land is allotted to the children of the soil.

He ended his address by making a specific demand for independence within five years.

Mr. Dlamini reiterated the non-racial slogan, and said, "Whites must stay with us as men of the land and not as rulers. We want their wisdom and they want ours. There is plenty for all in Swaziland."

The following resolution was passed unanimously:

"This house resolves that the colour bar in all forms must disappear now: in the Civil Service, in economic life, in politics, in education and in social life.

"This house denounces any action of any authority whose intention is against the will of the Swazi nation."

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SWAZILAND

Total land area: 4,000,000 acres
Total Population: 240,000.

Land for Whites: 2,400,000 acres.
White Population: 6,000.

Land for Africans: 1,700,000 acres.
African Population: 230,000.

contact

Centre of Power

WHERE is the centre of power in South Africa? Is it in Parliament, which assembled again last week?

Is it in the Nationalist Party?

Is it in the Police or Army?

One thing is certain, and that is that it is not in the will of the people.

In democratic countries, the power of the government is centred on the support that government has from the people. This support is tested at regular intervals through elections. If the government loses support of the majority, it loses power.

In countries which are not democracies, the government rules by force, terrorizing people into obedience. If elections are held, they are either fraudulent or else conducted in such a way that people are afraid to vote against the government.

This happens in countries such as Spain and the Soviet Union.

It also happens in the Union of South Africa, where people have been deprived of their right to vote by the fraud of race discrimination.

South Africa, therefore, falls into the same category as Spain and the Soviet Union. It is a dictatorship, not of class or Party, but of race.

Power in South Africa lies with the weapons the White supremacists have at their disposal: a brutal police force, a well-equipped army, a barrage of propaganda.

We are led to believe that Parliament makes the laws and holds the power. In fact, Parliament is a debating chamber in which the bad grammar of the

law writers is corrected. Parliament is the respectable front behind which Verwoerd and his henchmen operate. Power lies in the police, the army, and the support Verwoerd has among the great majority of the voters in this country.

How does one oppose Verwoerd and bring his power to an end?

To give the answer is easy, to carry it out extremely difficult.

The answer is to organize a campaign of such size and such strength that the power of the Nationalists will crumble before it.

Contact hopes that this will happen soon, because only when the power of those who believe in race superiority is smashed, will it be possible for South Africa to be happy.

Transkei Leads the Way

MILLIONS of South Africans live in the Transkei. This large and lovely part of our country has had a past of conquest and reconquest, through which its people have themselves progressed, and have given their children to help build South Africa.

When the *Mendi* went down in 1917, sons of the Transkei died in her; many died in the Western Desert twenty years ago, and thousands more have given their lives in the service of our country and its people.

It has been said that scarcely a brick has been laid upon another brick without the sweat of the African people; and to this the people of the Transkei have made a mighty contribution.

These are the people who lost their parliamentary rights in 1910, their non-racial vote in 1936 and their "separate" M.P.s in 1960.

With their birthright as free men taken from them, they have been given to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development who, without their consent, has tried to impose a

A NEW example of lying by concealment was a lengthy and eloquent article on the resistance in Pondoland which appeared in a London weekly. The writer had so many facts in it, that he must also have known the facts about opposition to the so-called "rehabilitation (of the land) scheme" as a key factor in the resistance. But to have mentioned this would have cast a shadow over his clear depiction of good Pondos and bad Boers. He must have decided that their rejection of the Boers' attempts to improve the Pondos' soil, stock and crops might reduce the stature of his Pondo heroes in the eyes of his readers, so he left it out. The result was that an otherwise valuable article became worthless in the minds of all who detected the lie, or later found it out and saw they had been tricked.

Sometimes there are really unfavourable facts that a writer has to decide whether to include or not, but it happens that the rejection of the "rehabilitation scheme" is not one of them, if properly examined. A friend whose "letter from the country" I reproduced recently, writes this week:

"The Rehabilitation Scheme seems to have become a flop, as far as I understand. The coming together of the people (in rural villages) is a good idea but the various regulations are a curse. Since most of the things in it are bad, people will reject even what may seem good and for their benefit, for they are always suspicious." And this is taking the scheme at face value. The strongest, almost instinctive, reaction against it is due to its being enforced undemocratically on a democratic-minded people.

To have left this out was to have lied by concealment. The lie is by no means redeemed by the fact that the truth itself would have strengthened not weakened the democratic case. This writer did not serve us, as I believe Angus Wilson will.

system of government on them that they reject.

So far their story is largely the story of many regions and groups in South Africa, but now it begins to differ.

For the Government's answer to their rejection was to use violence on them, in the mass and individually.

If the Government ever had the moral title it claimed to rule the Transkeians, that title went in the months of March to December, 1960, and onward, when in East Pondoland and beyond, the pretence of co-operation was followed by the reality of force.

We salute our fellow countrymen in East Pondoland, Tembuland and in all the Transkei, where they are now leading the mass of the people in the fight against the oppressor.

The First Battle

IN two parts of the nearly-dead Central African Federation the political battle is in sight of being won.

Elections take place in Nyasaland soon, and when they do there is no doubt of their outcome—Dr. Banda will lead his great Malawi Congress Party to victory and the way will be clear towards freedom.

RHODESIAN S.B.



Three members of the Southern Rhodesian Special Branch (seated at table) take notes at an N.D.P. meeting in Salisbury.

No Answer:

THE Western Cape Group Areas Board is at present deciding whether a large part of Noorder Paarl will be White or Coloured. Mr. L. C. Bruwer, principal of the (White) Paarl Training College just outside the area, pleaded that his college would suffer if the area were to be declared Coloured, and mentioned the new sports field he was laying out. Right inside the area is the (Coloured) Athlone Training College, which would disappear should the area be declared White.

Mr. A. H. Broeksma, Q.C. (for the Paarl Coloured Ratepayers' Association): "If you, as an educationalist and a Christian, must choose between a sports field and the confiscation of the Athlone Training College, what would you do?"

Mr. Bruwer: "I don't know what to say to that . . ."

The Answer:

At a Green Point, Cape, Provincial Council by-election meeting, the Progressive Party candidate, Mr. Rupert Hurly, was asked a question from the floor:

Questioner: "Would you allow your daughter to marry a Native? I want a straight 'yes' or 'no', none of your oratory."

In Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Kaunda's powerful leadership is bringing the country to the brink of freedom.

In Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Nkomo's National Democratic Party will compel the hard-headed Whites, led by Sir Edgar Whitehead, to make democracy a fact.

It is necessary to stress the importance of political advance because until the political battle is won it remains impossible to bring about the reforms so badly needed—the redistribution of wealth, the extension of free universal education, the fruitful participation of all in economic development.

Freedom from colonial and minority rule is the first battle in a war—the war against poverty, ignorance and disease.

Once the burden of oppression is removed leaders can devote their time and energy to the uplift of their people.

The task they face in central Africa, and in Africa as a whole, is enormous.

We have every confidence that when freedom is won, the leaders in central Africa we have mentioned, will fulfil to the best of their power, this duty to the people of the countries they will soon rule.

Mr. Hurly: "Yes, definitely, if that is her choice when she turns 21. Because of the social conventions existing in this country, she would have to take the consequences of possible social ostracism, but in the eyes of the World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church, a man or woman has the right to marry whoever they want to."

I WONDER how much Natal in the early 'twenties affected Angus Wilson. He was here from the age of 8 to 11, and left in 1925. The only echoes I can remember in his books, are the short story of a Durban family party, "Union Reunion", and Mrs. Sands's no-good brother in *Hemlock and After*, who knew all about Rhodes. Wilson is a very civilized fellow: Gaitskellite socialism, scholarship, theatre, public work, good food: not over-common pursuits in South Africa. Another childhood visitor was Cyril Connolly, also a critic in the "posh papers". His father was stationed at Wynberg Camp, where Connolly remembers: "chameleons in the garden and squashed apricots; on Sundays the Regiment had church parades and there were smells of pine and eucalyptus, paint blisters and hot tar. . . ." John Wain comments in *The New Republic*: "So after all, Mr. Connolly's aesthetic sensibilities are one of the by-products of the Boer War. A strange thought!"

Sam Sly

ANGUS WILSON, who lived here as a child, has returned in his forties to gather material for a long article on "The Europeans in South Africa". He is a warm, sensitive, lively, acute person, and I think his article will be like that. It will tell where the Whites are wrong, grant that others would act as they do, express sympathy for the suffering in store for them, but allow absolutely no excuse for their continuing to oppress or to acquiesce in oppression.

In Africa and the world at large, racial domination and communism are Angus Wilson's political enemies. Though he is not without pity for those adherents who "know not what they do", his condemnation of racial domination will be clear. His toughness may not please the new High Tory *Sunday Telegraph*, where the article is to appear, nor his softness the liberal *Observer*, where he usually writes. It will certainly please me, because I believe that a man who feels pity for a hated enemy and is not afraid to record it is one who believes in truth. I think we must consider truth a weapon in our hands, not a handicap to us. As Hotspur told Glendower: "Tell the truth and shame the devil." The people who pretend there are all heroes on one side and all brutes on the other, who conceal inconvenient facts, who add 0's on to casualty figures and retouch photographs to accentuate horror, or lie about germ warfare or dum-dums—they are not serving us when they do so. The truth about South Africa is mighty enough. It doesn't need to be framed in lies, which weaken our case, not strengthen it. Our government trades in lies: they should match the truth against their lies, and see which wins us friends and help. If we lie as they do, we shall deserve, and fare, no better than they.

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW

IN TERMS OF ACTION



*Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party*

MR. HAMMARSKJOELD has come and gone. We must now wait to see what the results of his visit will be. That it will have results I have not the slightest doubt.

It has been a disappointment to us in the Liberal Party that our official delegation was unable to see Mr. Hammarskjöld. It has been a disappointment to us that Chief Luthuli and Mr. Sobukwe and Dr. Steytler and other leading opponents of apartheid should not have seen him either. But it would be foolish to think, because his visit here was confined almost entirely to meeting Government representatives and officials, that he goes away from here not knowing what apartheid really is. Some people say that the best way to find out what apartheid really means, to really have one's eyes opened, is to spend a week surrounded by those who say they believe in it and who try to make it work. Mr. Hammarskjöld has had this experience.

Mr. Hammarskjöld's main task, as I see it, was to persuade Dr. Verwoerd to start modifying his views and to plead with him to show some willingness to move South Africa in the direction of making the provisions of the United Nations Charter mean something here. He came here knowing as much as, and probably more than, most of us who live here know about apartheid. His task was to try to talk into Dr. Verwoerd some appreciation of the Union's position and to make it quite clear to him that international pressures against South Africa at U.N., particularly with the growing influence of the Afro-Asians, would increase steadily unless the Union showed at least some willingness to come to terms with world opinion.

Programme Strictly Circumscribed

Mr. Hammarskjöld had a strictly circumscribed programme during his tour, and very little opportunity to move outside it. Most of his time was spent in consultations with the Prime Minister. We will soon know what success he has had in his efforts to make him see reason. What are the prospects? Very slim, if the Prime Minister's recent reactions to the rumblings in his own Party mean anything. He is not pre-

pared to listen to the arguments of his Cape colleagues in favour of direct representation for Coloured people — which is logical seeing that the arguments they use are very little different from those used by the opposition parties against the original removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll — and he has been quick to ensure that his lieutenants should blast as "traitors" those Afrikaner churchmen who subscribed to the statement issued in December by the World Council of Churches.

Will He Deviate?

It is on the cards, then, that Mr. Hammarskjöld has not persuaded Dr. Verwoerd to move at all. But whether he has or he has not it seems reasonable to expect that those who oppose apartheid will, in any event, benefit in the long run. If Dr. Verwoerd changes his direction, what will his supporters say? His great strength with them is the illusion of his infallibility, the promise that he has "the answer", the irrational conviction that he can give security where nobody else can. If he deviates now, will not he and they be lost? And if he does not deviate, if he turns a deaf ear to all the Secretary-General's arguments? What then? The United Nations and the Commonwealth will know that argument is useless and will

think more in terms of action. What action? I do not know. All I do know is that it would be idle to suppose that the rest of the world will sit back and let apartheid flourish. That is inconceivable. And it would be idle to suppose, whatever Dr. Albert Hertzog may think, that any state can survive in isolation in the Atomic Age.

Mr. Hammarskjöld's tour may not have followed the course we would have set for it, but nothing but good can come from his visit.

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HOUGHTON TO NALEDI

"My dear," says a Houghton socialite to her friend with genuine wonder, "I can't understand why Natives breed like rabbits when they can so ill-afford it."

LET us take an imaginary train trip with Africans as they file out of town on their way to their bleak homes in the South-Western areas of Johannesburg. The train is the 6.15 p.m. from Faraday to Naledi — the "all change!" station.

Naturally, the people are as jam-packed as sand on the beach. The more experienced ladies have already taken off their stockings and buried them in their fantastically fashionable handbags. Most of the coaches have no windows, which is just as well because it's stifling inside. And at each station more people will push their way in. *Fuduwa! Ka libone!* (Push them back with your buttocks!)

It's 6.20 and the train hasn't pulled out yet. People start complaining. "What's the time?" "Stop pushing, you b ——" "If you don't want to be pushed why don't you buy your own car?" "I tell you, by the time we get to Dube, Ghana will be closed." (They refer to the beerhalls as Ghana probably because they are the only places where they can drink and be safe from the blood-splattering batons and steel-cold handcuffs of the police.)

With a rude jerk the train pulls out. Bodies sway painfully with the impetus. Some people are seated, some are standing even on top of the seats. These trains are usually "Standing Room Only". But everybody wants to go home. Can't wait for the next train. It will be too late by the time you reach your destination. And the tsotsis . . . well. It may not be pay day, but what an optimistic bunch they are! They always

think you have money on you. That's why everybody wants to get home early.

AN old woman is standing with a bundle of washing on her head. Next to her is a young boy sitting down and talking enthusiastically to a much older girl who does not show the least interest in what he is saying. An old man nearby wants to tell the young boy to give his seat to the burdened old woman. But he dare not speak. From his eyes you can read what he thinks of the younger generation! No manners. They have absolutely no respect for old age. The boy will probably tell him that he also paid his fare. He might even pull out a knife and tell him to mind his own business. So the old man keeps quiet and allows his eyes to speak for him.

A baby wails in the compartment. "Shaaraap!" a male voice shouts back angrily. But you feel at once that the anger is not directed at the crying baby. He is just angry that a small baby like that should be crowded in a train. Or perhaps he may think that the baby is hungry and the mother has nothing left in the bottle for it.

But the train rattles on. Noisy and uncaring. It negotiates a turn and the people balance against each other and benches. Tara-tara. Tara-tara. The train rattles on. The train is taking them home. But others in the train, especially the women, are gripped with a nameless fear.

"HELLELUJA, Amen. And God said to Abraham . . ." a sten-torian voice booms head and shoulders above the heads of all other voices in the train. Every train seems to have its own Bible-puncher. Some of the people listen, others jeer and boo. But most are indifferent.

"Who does he think he is telling us about the love of God in such a criminally over-crowded train?" someone asks. But nobody seems to know the answer

for nobody answers. Yes, nobody seems to know the answer when it comes to the question of religion. A pity.

Next to the face of the Bible-wielding man can be seen other faces. Faces of young boys and girls gorging themselves with oranges, naartjies, apples or peanuts that they have bought from the young, dirty urchins who sell in the trains. With their mouths full of these delicacies they discuss the more important things in life for people of their ages. "Say, Jack, I hear Max is throwing a shindig to-morrow night at Orlando". And another answers: "Yes, Biza. Midnight party. And all the bright boys will be there. Come along and I'll buy you a bottle of moonshine."

No matter how crowded the train is there will always be somebody trying to read the afternoon paper. He'll fold it until it is the size of a handkerchief and read on. And there will always be questions directed at him. "Hey, broer, wat sê hulle van ou Lumumba vandag?" (What's the latest on Lumumba?) Of course, by Lumumba he really means the Congo.

After New Canada station people begin to alight in scores at each stop, but there is still no visible dent in the density of human bodies pressing against each other inside. And there will be a mad rush to be among the first to pass through the ticket barriers. Young boys jump out of the train the minute it pushes its nose next to the platform.

BY the time you reach home you're so tired, you wonder why you don't drop with exhaustion. There are only two things that matter at the moment: food and sleep.

The wife, who is probably a bread-winner herself, gives you a hurriedly prepared meal. The staple is usually a heaped plate of hard porridge and a cupful of sour milk or a piece of meat often without vegetables. Of course, there are some who can afford a decent meal each day of the week. You find them mostly around the Dube area. But



By CASEY MOTSISI

the steak-and-porridge type are legion!

And it is these people who are responsible for the crude observation that Africans "breed like rabbits". What else is there for him to do after polishing off his third-rate supper? He has no radio to sit back and listen to. He cannot take his wife to the cinema because money is tight. Why, he might even be two or three months in arrears with his rent!

So is it any wonder that he usually peels off his clothes and hops into bed no matter how early in the evening it is? And there, in the shaky privacy of his doorless bedroom, he tries very hard indeed to find consolation in the arms of his wife. Consolation from a world which harries and frustrates him at every turn.

"My dear," says a Houghton socialite to her friend with genuine wonder, "I can't understand why Natives breed like rabbits when they can so ill-afford it."

"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.

Liberal Leader Jordan Ngubane

Consistent Course to a Non-racial Society

ONLY political "insiders" know how deep and dividing are the differences in the extra-parliamentary movement in South Africa, how eroding the suspicion where today's leader may be tomorrow's enemy and yesterday's opponent today's uneasy ally. There is name-calling, smear and betrayal, all made more intense by the dangers of opposition in a country sliding into totalitarianism.

In the clash of personalities, principles and policies, a well-known name is that of Jordan Kush Ngubane—a controversial (some say enigmatic) figure. His passage through the African National Congress Youth League to the Liberal Party vice-presidency and a position close to the Pan-Africanists has caused criticism, enmity and mystification. The picture is confusing, it appears contradictory.

Yet Jordan Ngubane is the most consistent of men when the pattern of his behaviour is examined in the context of his beliefs.

YOUTH LEAGUE

He was a leading member of the A.N.C. Youth League—yet he broke with the A.N.C. He helped "build up" Chief Albert Luthuli yet he broke with him. He has been attacked for anti-Indian pronouncements and attitudes—yet he has saved, at grave personal risk, Indians from African violence; his best friend is an Indian; he is a welcome guest in many an Indian home.

At times friends have been concerned about his apparent ties with the "angry" and militant Pan-Africanists. His liberalism has been called into doubt. Yet no one who knows him well can doubt his integrity: he remains a popular vice-president.

He was born in Ladysmith in 1917 of semi-literate parents. His father was a man of character. Tiring of his slave existence he ran away, saw active service in South West Africa, and returned to the Union to become a policeman. He was, his son recalls, a natural liberal who deplored racism. Mrs. Ngubane, on the other hand, was anti-Afrikaner, an attitude she impressed so deeply upon her son it was a long time before he could break down the language block caused by the feeling that Afrikaans was the "language of the oppressor".

CLASHES

His childhood is significant. It was marked by sharp clashes with young Afrikaners—racial insult was, of course, the cause. Ngubane, a sensitive, gentle man hated—and still hates—physical conflict, but he stood his ground. The effects are still apparent. He recoils from discrimination but is not deterred by it. He reacts sharply to White patronage, relaxes completely with only a few White friends (and then becomes an amusing, warm companion). Paradoxically, one of his earliest friends was a young White next to whom he lived in his early teens. It was then, too, Ngubane met White families poorer than his own—"In some homes they ate mealie pap and had sacking instead of blankets while we ate 'European' food and had blankets".

Perhaps this is why Ngubane never oversimplifies. For him no situation is simple, no slick analysis sufficient. He will spend hours probing, and analysing.

His early education was at a Methodist school. From there he went to an "intermediate school". He was an outstanding student.

ADAMS COLLEGE

At Adams College, his attitudes, then somewhat anti-White (he recalls) were tempered by conflicting impressions... a woman Afrikaans teacher whose pleasantness broke his language block and softened his views towards her

"group"... the Christian humanity of Professor Brookes, his insistence on the individual's dignity... a radical graduate from Natal University who was contemptuous of colour prejudice and the conservative conventions... a young White woman who invited the colour conscious, shy, student to tea—an unorthodox act.

by
David Evans

At Adams, Ngubane entered the exciting and confusing world of literature and philosophy—Voltaire, Descartes, Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Cardinal Newman—to arrive in a "doctrinal bog". Then came Hegel and others and the conviction no religion held the monopoly of truth. An avid reader, he met and befriended another "bookworm", Anton Lembede, whose short, passionate, brilliant life has been so significant in the African National Congress. Lembede has been called the father of Africanism.

Later Lembede went to the Free State where his dislike of Afrikaner nationalism was to be sharpened and given point. Ngubane joined *Ilanga Lase Natal* under Dr. Dube, a powerful political figure. Later he went to Johannesburg to help edit *The Bantu World* and there met Lembede again.

Against Communism

With Mr. A. P. Mda and others they "midwived" the new militancy in non-White politics, given form in the A.N.C.Y.L. with its manifesto and later its radical plan of action. It was in those years they developed their distrust of communism. Ngubane says bluntly he has always opposed the policy of the end justifying the means, communist absolutism and infiltration techniques.

The Youth Leaguers wanted to confront race oppressors with what he calls "the reality of disaster" by militant and implacable campaigns (this attitude can be seen in the behaviour of the P.A.C.). They were critical of "moderation" and manoeuvring.

Soon Ngubane returned to Natal to enter the most controversial phase of his life. The then President of the Natal Native Congress was Dr. Dube, ailing, his grip weakening. Ngubane wrote an article, "Who will succeed Dr. Dube?" and advocated—Albert John Luthuli. A storm resulted and some of Ngubane's friends boycotted his wedding reception.

BREAK-UP

Ngubane worked for the break-up of the N.N.C. He wanted it absorbed by the A.N.C. He helped start the Youth League in Natal which smashed the N.N.C., and the I.C.U. headed by Champion, a man Ngubane distrusted and who had done much to weaken the power of African political opposition. The Youth League wanted Luthuli to lead the new A.N.C. But Champion shrewdly switched his allegiance to the A.N.C. and pushed himself for the leadership.

"This was embarrassing. He wanted to lead. We had Luthuli in mind but I feared Champion would crush him at

this stage. I reasoned that if we let Champion lead he would eventually 'hang' himself. I was accused of a *volte face*. But I advised Chief not to stand. He didn't—and Champion won. But we got a Youth League majority on the executive and eventually forced him out in 1951 and made Luthuli leader against great opposition. I was then president of the Y.L. and made Chief's election a question of confidence in me."

Six months later the defiance campaign was launched with Luthuli's backing.

The Government deposed Luthuli from the chieftainship. "Later we made Chief's part in the campaign the subject of a vote of confidence at the national conference. With the Y.L.'s backing he became national president of the A.N.C."

Opposed Charter

Ngubane's controversial break with the A.N.C. cannot be entered into here. It can be said though that he felt the Congress Alliance was becoming Communist-dominated, he objected to the sending of Congress representatives to Iron Curtain countries, and saw a distortion of rank and file A.N.C. aspirations. He opposed the Freedom Charter as vague and capable of too wide an interpretation. He felt that Chief Luthuli was not aware of developments in the organization and said publicly (to the sorrow and anger of many Congress supporters—and the consternation of many Liberals) that he was being "used" by Communists. His antipathy to the Congress of Democrats—the White organization which runs parallel to the A.N.C.—remains.

LIBERAL PARTY

It was a logical next step to join a body which espoused the African cause but lacked the ingredients he objected to. But another factor influenced Ngubane into joining the Liberal Party. In 1949 he had been appalled by the inter-racial riots and at great personal risk he had hidden Indian citizens from angry African mobs. He was convinced that non-racialism was essential in a party before freedom and not afterwards only.

What of his alleged Pan-Africanism? Ngubane has not moved from his desire for radical, uncompromising pressure on the Government. He saw in the Pan-Africanists the core of an organization capable of winning mass support and campaigning on lines similar to those proposed in his Youth League days.

He is a friend of Robert Sobukwe, jailed P.A.C. leader. At the same time Ngubane (who deplores some of the attitudes of some P.A.C. leaders) believed it would be dangerous to ignore such a movement. He believed pressure should be exerted upon it by democrats to ensure it remained democratic and did not become racialistic but at the same time its power should not be curbed.

Ngubane is married and his wife Eleanor is deeply interested in and important to his political behaviour. She is an important stability factor whose shrewdness, intelligence and perspective cannot be under-rated.

ZULU NOVEL

Ngubane's achievements include a novel in Zulu, *Uvalo Lwezinhlonze* (Terror in the Frowns) the study of a struggle between man and wife in tribal

society. It is regarded as a classic by many. A novel in English about Cato Manor is in the hands of his agents in New York.

Some of the most significant stories about Ngubane cannot be told now—nor would he have them told for he is not much concerned about his public image. The stories would show that Ngubane believes methods are as important and must be as ethical as aims: he does not believe in "selling" even those whose politics he dislikes.

Novelist, journalist, shrewd observer, planner, intellectual, Ngubane has had political power and lost it, perhaps to gain it again. To be fair he has never seemed concerned with personal power but seeks to influence those in power—or close to it—whether it be a Pan-Africanist leader or a Sabra "intellectual".

Admired

In Natal he is regarded with suspicion by some. It is also true to say he is regarded by others with admiration and by the majority with respect. Ironically, he would probably be hailed in the Western Cape or Transvaal.

History and the imperatives of opposition play strange tricks—parties split and reform, merge and realign. And it may be as South Africa trembles on the rim of revolution Jordan Ngubane will find himself once again in a position of power. The question is, would he want it?

One thing is certain: he would not abuse it. He is bound to remain the same: questioning, humane, unorthodox and Liberal.

Nominated to City Council

Mrs. Eulalie Stott, foundation member of the Liberal Party and a member of its Cape Provincial Committee, has won a nomination contest to the Cape Town City Council. She was nominated as one of a ticket of three by the Ward 12 Ratepayers' Association. Mrs. Stott, who is also national president of the Black Sash, will bring to the council—in addition to her constituents' interests—a determination to improve the lot of Cape Town's 110,000 Africans, with whose needs and hopes she has, with more than words, long identified herself.

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Symbols to be Used in Nyasaland Election

BECAUSE many of the people who will take part in Nyasaland's first general election under the new constitution in a few months' time will be illiterate, symbols will be used to help them vote for the candidate of their choice.

This is one of the recommendations made by the constitutional working party appointed to work out arrangements for holding the election. The party's report, published on 12th January has been accepted by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, but he has introduced several suggestions of his own as well.

FOR LOWER ROLL

Symbols will only be used for the lower of the two voters' rolls, on which most of those registered will be Africans. They will elect 20 of the 28 elected members of the new Legislative Council.

The working party recommended that a series of about 25 easily recognisable symbols depicting objects "which have no tribal, political or other associations" should be prepared before nomination day, and that each candidate for election should draw from a hat the symbol by which he would be identified.

The Colonial Secretary, in accepting the report, has ruled, however, that it will be permissible for candidates to be identified by their own party symbols at the election if they so wish. On election day, voters on the higher roll, who will elect eight members of the legislature, will ballot in the normal way, by marking their voting paper in private and depositing it in a ballot box.

Voters on the lower roll, after being identified, will be given a blank ballot paper, and will place it in the ballot box marked with the symbol of the candidate of their choice. There will be a separate ballot box, appropriately marked, for each candidate.

MALAWI SLOGAN

In the latest issue of its Newsletter, the Malawi Congress Party launches its election campaign with the slogan "Vote for Kamuzu and the Cock". Kamuzu is the Party's leader, Dr. Hastings K. Banda: the Cock — denoting the dawn and African awakening in Malawi — is the Party symbol.

"Let us," says the Newsletter, "start canvassing now, not for individual candidates but for the Party." It then urges members to say to everyone they meet, "Vote for Kamuzu and the Cock".



Part of the crowd, estimated at 30,000, at the N.D.P. mass meeting. More than 500 people joined the Party after the meeting.

Nkomo Speaks to 30,000 at N.D.P. Mass Meeting

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: Southern Rhodesia's non-racial National Democratic Party gave its greatest demonstration of strength yet when a crowd of 30,000 gathered at the Harare Stadium, on 8th January, to hear the Party's President-General, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and other N.D.P. speakers.

This was the second meeting under the Southern Rhodesia Law and Order (Maintenance) Act 1960, and was the biggest ever in the history of Southern Rhodesia. The new law requires written notice from the convener four days before the holding of any public gathering of any political organisation, political party or any other gathering of a political nature. The notice has to set out such information as time and place of the meeting, purposes and names and addresses of intended speakers.

Despite this difficulty all roads leading to the Harare Stadium, where the meeting was held, were jammed with cars, bicycles and pedestrians.

In his speech, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, commented on the forthcoming Southern Rhodesia constitutional talks, saying that they would indicate whether Southern Rhodesia is going to progress in peace and harmony or whether bitterness and strife were to be the order of the day.

Commenting on the meeting the *Central African Daily News*, said: "It established beyond all the shadow of doubt being cast by its opponents, that the N.D.P. is a party representative of the majority of African opinion in Southern Rhodesia. More importantly, it should be borne in mind that in terms

of number alone, the N.D.P. is the strongest political party in Southern Rhodesia. No other party would be able to get the spontaneous response from Harare and Highfield men and women, as it had yesterday, or to get 20,000 people at one meeting. The fact which should be discussed is whether or not one agrees with the N.D.P., or whether or not its policies are the best for the country. The question of its being representative can no longer be disputed."



Mr. Joshua Nkomo addresses the meeting.

Durban S.B. Want to Know who Helped Detainees' Families

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: The Security Branch in Durban is grilling former Emergency detainees inquiring about who kept their families during their detention, and why they had agreed that this should have been done.

One of those who had been interviewed by the Security Police told me that he was puzzled by the nature of the questions which they had asked.

"They wanted to know where my children were schooling during the Emergency, and wanted further to know what kind of food they had been eating, who had supplied them with it, and why I had agreed that they should accept the assistance."

Others who were asked similar questions refused point-blank to reply to them. Another said, "A Security Sergeant tried to make an appointment with me but I treated the request with the contempt it so richly deserved. I have the right to choose where my kids will school, and I have the right to say whom I can turn to for support in times of need. The Police have nothing to do with that," he said.

It is not thought that the Police intend instituting criminal action against the bodies set up during the Emergency for detainees' family relief for they were all registered in terms of the Welfare Organizations' Act.

However, others believe that this is a routine check by the S.B. to keep an eye on the many non-political people who felt it their human duty to assist those whose families were made destitute by the Emergency.

"One would think that with the amount of family ruin which the State of Emergency wrought, the authorities would be reluctant to reopen old wounds," said another person who had done considerable relief work then.

As usual, the Police refused to comment why they were questioning these people.

POLICE CONTINUE PASS RAIDS

DURBAN: In spite of repeated assurances from the Minister of Justice and the Commissioner of Police, General J. du Plooy, that "Police will go easy on pass raids", many people continue to suffer under the Pass laws in Durban. Pass raids continue in earnest as before.

An average of 20 men appear daily before Mr. A. Fenwick, a Special Magistrate in the Durban Native Commissioner's court to face charges under the many provisions of the Urban Areas Act. These are charged usually under Sections 10 and 12 of the Act, and some automatically for "failing to produce passes".

Sentences, which average £5 or 16 days' imprisonment or strokes, are seldom paid as invariably the victims are men from the nearby country districts surrounding Durban. Their explanations that they were not seeking work in the city but had intended to

come for week-ends only cannot help them against their convictions.

The Act specifically states that anyone who is in a proclaimed area for more than 72 hours without a permit is liable to conviction. The onus is on the person himself to prove that he was there for less than 72 hours.

TWO REASONS

I have been told by several of those found guilty that they could not prove when they had come to Durban for two reasons:

- They normally use buses — tickets do not state the date of issue.
- They are, in any case, not given a chance to explain as they are sometimes arrested at bus queues when they are about to return to their homes.

Squads of Durban's Security Corps

raid for liquor and passes at places such as the three men's hostels in the city, outside beerhalls, and Cato Manor.

When I interviewed Major C. E. Fourie, the District Commandant of Police for Durban, he told me that the Police "arrest only the Tsotsis and won't-work. When a man does not have a pass we give him a chance

"All that he has to do is prove his good offices. We then merely investigate his background — but too often they have abused this privilege by either disappearing or by not producing their reference books at the nearest Police station — as they had been ordered to.

"As for those who come from areas outlying Durban I can tell you that they often claim that they have been in the city 'for a few hours only' when, in point of fact, they have been here for months. For these the laws are plain. They must be arrested."

Saluted Anthem

A GROUP of blushing and embarrassed junior policemen looked on as their commanding officer, a Durban Major, stood ramrod stiff, and executed a correct military salute when the people stood up at a meeting to sing the anthem, "Nkosi sikele' iAfrika".

A few minutes earlier the Major had served a notice on the conveners of the meeting banning it. This was a meeting called by residents of Cato Manor to discuss the intended renewal of the beerhall boycott.

The crowd quietly dispersed — and so did the Major and his men.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

THE PROGRESSIVES

SIR,—I have returned from holiday to find my December 17th and 31st copies of *Contact* waiting for me.

The first contains a four-page indictment of the Progressive Party Franchise Report and Policy. I do not support a number of conclusions reached in that indictment nor the manner of their presentation. My attitude, and Liberal Party attitudes, to the Progressives, are certainly critical, but they have always been friendly and I hope they will continue that way.

The second issue contains Mr. Molteno's reply to my criticisms of the Commission Report, and its reception by his Party Conference. Some of my objections to both remain unanswered.

1. If the proposed Senate and Bill of Rights will effectively guarantee individual and group rights, what is the point in limiting the franchise? However many people of whatever colour have the vote, they will not be able to infringe those rights.
2. If the answer to this first question is that qualifications themselves will produce a "responsible" electorate, neither the Commission nor the Progressive Party has produced any evidence to support this view. Extreme racialist opinions in South Africa are held as often, if not more often, by people of high educational standards on both sides of the colour line, as they are by those with little or no education.
3. The Progressive Party has disregarded an important factor in the Franchise dispute. It is that, whatever its merits, universal suffrage has become the universal demand in the non-Communist world; the vote in 1961 is what Professor Edgard Brookes recently termed "the badge of manhood". The African people in South Africa want it and are determined to get it and, under these circumstances, to hold up a qualified franchise as a final and unalterable objective here, is quite unrealistic.
4. Why did the Progressive Party raise the qualifications recommended by the Molteno Commission? In particular, why did they raise them in the face of the clear indication by all three non-White members of that Commission, that what they really believed in was universal suffrage?

PETER BROWN,
National Chairman,
Liberal Party of South Africa.

SIR,— "Liberal Progressive's" letter (*Contact*, 17th December, 1960), cannot go unchallenged.

As a present member of the Liberal Party of South Africa, I must say I am very happy that "Liberal Progressive" is a "former member of the Liberal Party".

Having read the Molteno Report I seem to have a hazy idea that the non-White members of the Molteno Commission were not too fond of a qualified franchise. I know of at least one non-White who "counts" and demands universal franchise—ex-Chief Luthuli. I know many more Africans who demand universal franchise. I am in their goodly company—but I suppose we don't count, because "Liberal Progressive", like the Progressive Party, gives me the impression that he "knows better than the native does what's best for the native".

That there may be non-Whites in the Liberal Party who do not believe in universal franchise does not strengthen "Liberal Progressive's" case, it is only an indictment of the political views of such non-Whites.

"Liberal Progressive's" (what is a Liberal Progressive, anyway?) presump-

tion in asking non-Whites to make sacrifices is unbounded. Does he perhaps not know that for the last 301 years non-Whites have sacrificed life, land, wealth and birthright? What else would he like them to sacrifice—their political conscience to the idol of White domination?

COLLINGWOOD AUGUST,
London, England.

SIR,—One does not blame the Progressives for not finding a yardstick for merit though it was surely somewhat naïve of them to think they could do so. But one does blame them for continuing, after the publication of the Molteno Report, to claim that their franchise scheme is based on merit.

A brief study of existing conditions should convince anyone that this is not so. A non-White child who, for example, manages to pass Std. III in the face of every conceivable difficulty may have great merit. The White child who is helped in every way possible until he finally scrapes through Std. VIII may have none, as his teachers can testify. Mr. Molteno evades the issue with a vague and unsubstantiated prophecy that education for all non-Whites up to Std. VI is now in sight.

He also suggests that the income qualification of £300 is quite low. In *The Economic Implications of Political Democracy*, published in June, 1960, Dr. Sheila van der Horst gives average wages for Africans in manufacturing industry, mining, farm labour, etc. Between the years 1957 and 1959, these ranged from £41 to £157 per annum.

It is high time that the Progressives began to realize that their proposed franchise scheme discriminates sharply against non-Whites. Nor are arguments against it to be dismissed with their now familiar: "We are going to put all that right."

REALIST,
Grahamstown.

SIR,—Your commentary on the Progressive Party franchise and constitutional policy and on the Interim Report of the Molteno Commission, in your issue of December 17th, are riddled with misrepresentations. This is quite understandable, since without the factual inaccuracies, the commentaries themselves would have lacked substance. Typical of this distortion is the following reference to the Commission's First Interim Report:

"The majority wanted, as is shown elsewhere, a communal or racial senate. But Dr. van der Ross says: 'The idea of communal representation at any level is unacceptable'."

In fact the majority recommended against the separate representation of racial communities on communal rolls in the Senate, and in favour of the election of Senators by voters on the common roll, with additional provision to ensure that each Senator elected should receive at least some measure of support from voters belonging to all communities. This is the exact opposite of a "communal or racial senate". Nor is it "shown elsewhere" that what I have just said is incorrect.

Nor, again, did Dr. van der Ross dissent from the majority recommendation on the Senate as you imply. On the contrary, he, like both the other non-White Commissioners, was a party to such majority recommendation.

MISS MARGARET MACKENZIE,
St. James, Cape.

[The Senate would be elected by people voting in racial groups; as the Molteno Report says (p. 26), "... (the proposal) does involve the racial classification of voters for the purpose of Senate elections."—Editor.]

To all readers of "Contact"

- 1960 was "Africa Year". 1961 is "Year of Struggle" in South and Central Africa—let's hear what you have to say about it.
- Let's have facts as well! Tell us about political developments in your area. Other readers are interested!
- Always send your correct name and address with your letter.
- Send a photograph too if you like.
- Keep your letters short—but keep on writing!

Klu Klux Klan education

SIR,—Lumumba is an embezzler we are told but Van Riebeeck was a hero. We know Van Riebeeck was sacked for theft in the East so why the evasion in our history classes?

And why were the Trekkers always right and God-fearing whilst the tribes are accused of constant plunder? We know the cattle of Van Riebeeck were obtained by plunder. Does the Education Department take pride in brain-washing?

Treachery was committed by Dingaan when he brutally slaughtered 79 Boers, so why was it not treachery when the police did the same at Sharpeville?

Really, the Education Department deserves high praise for its efforts at brain-washing which it copied from Nazi and Communist "re-education".

Can any history teacher answer my queries? I challenge anybody to give proof that the Education Department is honest in its aims. It is not. It is trying to produce a Ku Klux Klan type of White South African.

DEMOCRATIC SCHOLAR,
Cape Town.

Belgian stooges?

SIR,—I would like to know what are the United Nations forces doing in the Congo? I understand that when Mr. Patrice Lumumba requested the United Nations to intervene and restore order in his country, he did so on the understanding that the international body was a neutral body capable of restoring peace and order in his troubled country.

But to my surprise, what is now happening in the Congo is contrary to what I believed and understood.

To any fool it is quite apparent that

the U.N. is being used in the interests of the Western imperialist powers whose only ambition is to see to it that the legal government headed by Mr. Lumumba and representing the real interests of the Congolese people is replaced by stooges like Mobutu and Kasavubu who externally are Africans but internally are Belgians.

The people who have been active in supporting the downfall of the Lumumba government are the real enemies of the African people, and the problems confronting the Congolese can only be solved by Africans themselves, for once we bring in foreign powers to meddle in our affairs the result is a whirlwind.

To manage or mismanage our affairs must be left in the hands of the African people alone.



C. MLOKOTI,
Nyanga, Cape.

Luthuli not Sobukwe

SIR,—I should like to record from the far away United States a vigorous protest against the choice of Robert Sobukwe over Ex-Chief Albert J. Luthuli as one of the "leaders of Africa" in your recent 1961 African calendar.

I should like to ask which man has devotedly and untiringly furnished wise, courageous leadership to Africans of South Africa since 1952? Not Sobukwe!

Who spent a year in the Treason Trial? Which man has been beaten in and outside of jail, and been banned three times by the South African government? Not Sobukwe!

Who was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize last year? And whose name is known around the world as the symbol of the South African Freedom struggle?

Here in the United States we say: Not Sobukwe, but Luthuli.

I would like to say that I am surprised and pained at *Contact's* choice of an untried young leader like Robert Sobukwe, as fine as he may be, over a tested, respected and world-admired South African leader, Chief Albert J. Luthuli.

MARY-LOUISE HOOPER,
San Francisco, California, U.S.A.

[No slight was intended towards any of the leaders omitted; each made a vital contribution towards the struggle for freedom in Africa; each has the respect and admiration of this newspaper.—Editor.]

LEADERS MUST HELP SWAZIS

SIR,—Your correspondent in Bremersdorp reports (*Contact*, 17th December, 1960) that "Swazis need leaders". I fully agree with him.

Yes, we badly need help here in Swaziland. We are leaderless. Those who are supposed to lead us are our oppressors, yet they are real Swazis. It is strange to find that when one has eaten to his satisfaction he thinks that his children need no food.

Just because one of the leaders has sufficient money to buy himself a wonderful car and so many splendid articles, he thinks he can keep us on amahewu. I am shocked to learn such.

The Swaziland government should give us a free press where we can put our views. We want a newspaper in which we can freely speak politics. The so-called *Voice of the Swazis* does not allow politics. It is only for useless news that cannot help us.

Leaders must bury their jealousy and selfishness. We want serious people who will stand for their mother country as do many outstanding African leaders.

So dear leaders, help us in the ways in which you see we need help.

If you allow us to suffer this terrible blow of oppression, whom will you lead?

Down with amahewu business!

HOWLER,
Pigg's Peak, Swaziland.