

contact

TRANSKEI REBELLION SPREADS

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—see page 3

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

**ZWANE
OF
SWAZILAND**

— See page 7



Dr. Ambrose Pesheya Zwane, rapidly rising star in Swaziland's only national movement, the recently founded Swaziland Progressive Party.

Move to Unite Against Verwoerd

Top-level Meetings of "Coloured" leaders

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The fanatical intransigence of Dr. Verwoerd and his immediate followers has done more than stir up his Nationalist Party; it is also helping to accomplish what once seemed impossible among the "Coloured" people of South Africa.

For weeks now there have been rumours of top-level meetings of "Coloured" leaders in Cape Town. The object—to consider and plan a national conference.

This alone is significant, for these leaders, meeting as individuals, represent a wide range of views. Some are well-known bitter opponents of all Verwoerd and his nationalists stand for: others could be described as "conservatives" who have long kept out of politics. All, however, are men of standing in Cape Town, leaders in the church, business, education, politics, and trade unions.

ATTITUDE HARDENS

At the time of going to press, and after two meetings (some African leaders were present at the second) nothing official had been released on the meetings, but a statement is expected soon. What is generally known is that the meetings portend a significant hardening of attitudes towards Afrikaner nationalism. They also indicate:

- A determination to forget inter-racial squabbles and to at last unite all people against the common enemy of White baasskap.

- A realization that promises of concessions by the government, or indications of concessions by government followers too timid to oppose Verwoerd, are worthless.

- A willingness to find common cause

with other oppressed people and with radical Whites in the struggle against the colour bar and for equal rights for all in South Africa.

PROFOUND CHANGES

For many "Coloured" leaders these are profound changes. Over years now they have allowed themselves to be beguiled by the carrot of a "new deal". Some have participated in the spectacle of the Council for Coloured Affairs (we believe none of the members of that council was invited to the meeting); others have waited for good things to come. But hopes, if they could be called that, of reasonable advance have been shattered by Verwoerd's recent statements.

It has become obvious that the way to better things in South Africa will be found only through intensive political struggle; and, that united among themselves and in concert with other oppressed South Africans in a non-racial movement, the "Coloured" people can become a real force in the land.

The call for unity, which might well prove irresistible to people who have taken too much for too long, is likely to evoke a massive response. And those White nationalists who really believed in a "new deal" will have to ponder sadly on the cost to them and all they stand for of their obedience to the whip crack of the Transvaal.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BUSES



Bus strike committee with their legal representatives.

After Six Weeks P.E. Workers are Still Walking

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Thousands of workers at Port Elizabeth are still walking to work six weeks after the beginning of the dispute between the bus company and the people of New Brighton.

The appearance in court of 193 busmen last week was accompanied by the all too familiar confusions: the court room was not big enough, one man had been charged twice with the same offence, the shorthand writer, as an employee of the firm handling the prosecution, was not acceptable to the defence, and, worst of all, the indictment had been altered at the last minute in an endeavour to make sure of a conviction. The defence had no alternative but to ask for an adjournment so as to study the new alternative charge.

Meanwhile efforts are still being made by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry to reach some kind of a settle-

ment. The case against the busmen is only part of the dispute which is between Bay Passenger Transport Service and the people who are determined not to ride on the buses until the one-man peak-hour buses are taken off. Their steadfast determination is astonishing everybody.

Since the police check-up on vehicles without a passenger-carrying licence has been tightened, more and more people are going to work on foot. The Swartkops-Port Elizabeth Railway is carrying 7,000 passengers more per day than it did before the dispute, and the case for a rail-line through New Brighton and Kwazakele, for which provision of land has already been made, has been considerably strengthened.

To add to the bus company's discomfort, there has been a film team here to take pictures of happy Africans gaily riding in their buses to work in celebration of the company's 50 years of passenger transport service in Port Elizabeth. What they have seen has completely staggered them. As one of them is said to have remarked, it must be surely without precedent for a strike (if it be a strike) by bus crews to have 100% backing from the passengers.

TELEPHONE TAPPING

(Continued from col. 3)

urgently the responsibilities of senior officials in the municipality in relation to individual councillors and the Council as a whole.

The Party has accused the special meeting of "completely unjustifiable collaboration with the State in the use of totalitarian techniques".

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PONDOLAND:

RESISTANCE TEMPORARILY HALTED

From "Contact" Correspondent

TRANSKEI: Reports that the Pondos are paying arrear taxes and making extra payments out of gratitude to the government for restoring order in Eastern Pondoland are utter nonsense. The true situation is that a levy of five pounds per taxpayer has been imposed to pay for the destruction of property. Though I have been able to find no official announcement of the levy it is definite that taxpayers are being forced to produce five pounds more than they owe in tax.

On the other hand it is true that certain groups among the Pondos wanting to be on what seems the winning side are calling for the return of the chiefs and are currying favour with the government in other ways.

The East Pondos' resistance has been temporarily halted by toughness and by the mobilizing of police and troops and by the work of probably hundreds of informers.

The men of Eastern Pondoland are either in gaol or working outside the Transkei. But several hundreds are said to be unaccounted for. Perhaps among them there are hardy and devoted leaders whose determination to continue resistance will keep alive until the mass of the East Pondos can recover from the government's use of its emergency powers.

HAS LEFT UNION

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Mr. Sipo Mabala, 38-year-old former branch secretary of the banned A.N.C., and Cape Provincial executive member of that organization, who was due to have appeared in court here this week on a charge of incitement, is reported to have fled the country.

ROW FOLLOWS PHONE TAPPING DISCLOSURES IN DURBAN

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Councillor J. Forsdick, Durban's Deputy-Mayor, believes that telephone tapping by the Security Branch was responsible for the detention of Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, during the state of emergency last year.

And Councillor Forsdick, who was among those who gave the Security Branch permission to tap the municipally-controlled telephone lines, thinks the detention was a good thing.

He was overheard making these statements at the City Hall, Durban, recently, following disclosures by Mr. Roy Rudden of the Sunday Times that at a special meeting on 22nd February 1960, Councillor Forsdick, the late Councillor Gild, the Town Clerk, Mr. W. Howes, and the Telephone Manager authorized the Security Branch to tap the telephones of allegedly subversive non-White organizations and individuals connected with them.

The tapping continued for nine months. Neither the Mayor, Mr. C. A. Milne, nor other councillors

heard of the tapping until long after the meeting.

The disclosures have:

- Caused widespread controversy
- Brought a denial from the head of the Security Branch in Durban although an official council minute states he was at the special meeting
- Infuriated several city councillors who were left in ignorance of the meeting and the decision taken at it
- Led to questions in Parliament.
- Drawn a stinging letter from the Natal Coastal Region of the Liberal Party requesting the resignation of Councillor Forsdick so that public opinion on the matter can be tested
- Brought demands for an inquiry into the matter from certain councillors
- Brought home to many citizens to what lengths the state and those who support it are prepared to go.

The Liberal Party here has also suggested that the Council define

(Continued at foot of col. 4)

Statements withdrawn in Tembu Murder Case

WITNESSES ALLEGE POLICE TORTURED THEM WITH ELECTRICITY

From "Contact" Correspondent

ENGCOBO: The preparatory examination of twenty-one men of the Umtata and Engcobo districts on a charge of having murdered Headman Spalding Matyile and Mr. William Ntambeka opened before the magistrate of Engcobo, Mr. A. S. du Plessis, on 16th February.

Two Crown witnesses refused to adhere to their statements incriminating others since they allege that these statements were extorted from them by beatings, and by the application of electricity to their bodies.

One witness, Mr. Gawuleteta Rabula, described being taken to the stables behind the Engcobo gaol, being blindfolded, and being given electrical shocks on his feet.

The second witness, Mr. Matekana Mduna, showed a small wound above his right temple caused by a nail which penetrated his scalp when he was thrown to the ground by the force of an electrical shock.

A third witness, Mr. Lewis Majija, a teacher of 24 years' service, quoted the actual words used to him by a policeman, Sgt. de Beer, previously unknown in the district, who threatened him before applying electrical shocks to his body: "I am going to reduce your weight by ten pounds in two seconds." (Mr. Majija is a somewhat heavily-built man.)

Mr. Majija also withdrew his statement.

With Sgt. de Beer was another unknown policeman, "Bantu Detective" Gajane.

The Crown also handed in confessions made by eight of the twenty-one accused, but, from medical evidence, it was alleged that two of these, Messrs.

Dingane Majija and Edward Kala, had also been beaten in the stables behind the police station.

It appeared from the evidence of Dr. F. J. Kunz, medical practitioner, that the eight whose confessions had been handed in had been brought to him for examination two days after the statements had been made.

Questioned by the defence attorneys, Mr. R. S. Canca of Idutywa, and by Mr. L. F. Gibson of Engcobo, Dr. Kunz stated that blows, with the fist might not be visible two days later, and that electric shocks normally left no marks.

The Assistant Magistrate, Mr. H. E. Hooper, stated that the eight were brought before him on the 4th February, the day of their arrest, and that he took down their statements.

Questioned by Mr. Gibson, Mr. Hooper stated that he took down the statements between 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. The police sent for him from his house. "I was told," he said, "that the matter was urgent."

Mr. Hooper read out the statements, after which the Magistrate granted the request of the prosecutor, Sgt. W. Marais, for a remand to 3rd March.

FOOTNOTE: Although the murder of Matyile and Ntambeka was prominently reported in all South African newspapers, little has been written of the allegations of torture by witnesses and accused in the preparatory examination. In fact, the brutal arrests in Tembuland, mass round-ups, beatings and now elec-

trical torture, have been allowed to pass almost unnoticed by the South African press. From reports direct from Tembuland, *Contact* learns that every able-bodied man in areas surrounding the site of the murder, an area comprising 11 locations, was rounded up and screened. One of these men, who was later released, reported hearing screams of pain in or near the Engcobo police station for eight hours following the round-up.

FEROCIOUS POLICE REPRESSION IN NEW AREA

From "Contact" Correspondent

LADY FRERE: As severe as the large police actions near Engcobo have been the similar actions at Lady Frere, Cala, Macibini in Emigrant Tembuland, the area of the top collaborator, Chief Kaiser Matanzima. The police action at Lady Frere follows the hitherto unreported murder of Headman Sitolotolo Nogilana of Rwantana Location, Lady Frere, a member of the Amahala Tribal Authority under Chief Manzezulu Mtikrakra at Mbinzana.

At Lady Frere on 18th February I was told that the sequence of events was this: On 2nd January a party of men killed three sheep belonging to this unpopular Ncotoza headman and challenged him to emerge from his hut. On 3rd January six men, said to have been in the sheep-killing party and marked by one Nogilana, were arrested. That night Nogilana was murdered. Medical evidence heard on 17th January revealed that the murder had been even more ferocious than that of Headman Spalding Matyile. On 4th January the death was reported to the police who arrived powerfully reinforced from surrounding districts in eighteen vans. They arrested sixty, including young boys. On 5th January twenty-four were released, on 15th January nine more were arrested. After questioning by rumoured third degree methods at Bridge Camp and Bolotwa police stations, forty-five were finally charged. Seven were said to have made confessions. The preparatory examination at Lady Frere was continuing at the time of writing.

At Macibini, Glen Grey district, on

17th January, twenty-one vans of police arrested over a hundred, many on charges of non-payment of 1960 poll tax (no similar tax raids have taken place in the past). Everywhere quantities of "dangerous weapons"—including agricultural implements—were confiscated. Thirty-one of these Macibini residents have been charged with public violence and are to appear in court on 16th March.

A similar raid by six police vans, some with registration plates far from the Transkei, combed Cala and its surrounding area in the first week of February.

In Cala the case of Mrs. Ntwana and the other arrested women has stirred local feeling.

On 16th February the *Natal Mercury* reported that twenty mobile watch vehicles left East Pondoland and had arrived in convoy at Tsolo, north of Umtata, where about twenty police vehicles made an extensive raid on 12th February and made many arrests. The *Mercury* quoted an unconfirmed report that a headman had been recently murdered in the district.

Call to end A.N.C.—P.A.C. Ban



AN appeal for the removal of the ban on the A.N.C. and P.A.C. was made by the Transvaal Secretary of the Liberal Party, Mr. E. Wentzel, when he and other party speakers addressed 800 people from the Johannesburg City Hall steps at a meeting on 9th February.

Verwoerd's oppressive actions, he said, were being carried out under the cloak of uneasy calm since the banning of these two organizations. "Do you," he continued, "want Africans to organize above ground in lawful political organizations like the Congresses, or do you prefer the plans which are made in the shadows of the night. You cannot ban the ideas which inspired those Congresses."

One peculiar feature of the meeting was that the U.P.-controlled Johannesburg City Council permitted it only if non-Whites did not speak. It was then decided by members of all races in the party to hold the meeting with non-White members displaying placards with such slogans as "U.P. Gags Opposition". Chairman of the meeting was Mr. Jack Unterhalter who protested against the ban on non-White speakers.

"Iron Grip" on Pondos

From "Contact" Correspondent

EAST LONDON: In East Pondoland police parties continue to strike at various areas. Police vans filled with prisoners are still to be seen heading for the jails.

The military camp outside Lusikisiki is still there, but the numbers of police and troops have dropped.

A White resident told me how, on the roads around Lusikisiki, although police and troops had teemed on the day of Mr. Hammarskjöld's visit, they disappeared just before Mr. Hammarskjöld's arrival in a convoy with Minister De Wet Nel and Mr. Hans Abraham.

An hour after their departure the troops were back for all but Dag to see.

A fair assessment of the East Pondoland situation at the end of February, 1961, would be to say that the people

are in about the same state as that of the people of the Cape Town townships at the beginning of May 1960 (i.e. after the brutal police beatings and shootings during the 1960 Emergency).

The police repression has been far tougher than I expected.

Despite the wild mountainous terrain, the scattered nature of the homes of the Pondos, it is true to say that the police have an "iron grip" on the mass of the people of East Pondoland.

To obtain this grip they have treated the people shamefully, and the remembrance of the harshness and the cruelty of the police action may turn the apparent short-term success of this Algeria-type pacification into a long-term disaster for Afrikaner and White nationalism in this area and in the whole of the Transkeian territories.

DR. PETER TSELE DIES IN PRETORIA

EARLY in the morning of Thursday 16th February, in the Pretoria General Hospital, died Dr. Peter Tsele, one of the best known political leaders of the Transvaal.

Dr. Tsele was a political stormy petrel, but all who knew him respected his devotion to the cause of freedom in the broadest sense.

A brilliant scholar, he matriculated at Kilnerton, and worked for the Transvaal Native Education Department before going to Fort Hare. He got a medical degree at Wits., where he became an executive member of the S.R.C. He served his housemanship at Pietermaritzburg, returning to practise in Atteridgeville and later Lady Selborne, Pretoria. He was a staunch youth leader and an admirer of Anton Lembede. He broke away with the Pan-Africanist Congress, but later formed his own Pan African Freedom Movement. Politically he was very active and was a tireless fighter for the freedom of his people.

contact

Out of the Commonwealth

LET us help cut off the apartheid government from all its sources of strength. If we do this, we can shorten its reign of terror and poverty and death in our lovely country.

One of the links that help give strength to the Union government is the link that binds South Africa into the Commonwealth. A chance has now arisen for this link to be broken.

In London next month the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth are to meet. Dr. Verwoerd will be there, and will wish to know whether the new South African Republic will be accepted as a continuing member of the Commonwealth. If only one country were to object, then, because no votes are taken, that one country could succeed in getting South Africa's application for re-admittance refused.

For some reason which is difficult to understand Messrs. Harold Macmillan and Duncan Sandys of the British Government have been trying to lobby Commonwealth prime ministers to get them to promise not to vote for South Africa's exclusion. Mr. Sandys is able and a good talker, and he returned to England believing that he had succeeded.

But the United Front thought fast, and sent round delegations to interview Commonwealth governments. *Contact* hopes very much that they had success.

Prime Minister Nehru is under the strongest obligation to do something. On 13th February he was reported as having said that South Africa had adopted the same racist theory that plunged the world into war under Hitler. Believing this he surely has a duty to take the first step that will exclude this foul

racist government from the multi-racial Commonwealth, and also help the freedom forces within South Africa to deal with the apartheid government by weakening it.

No Phoney Sharpevilles Please!

THE *Sunday Times* of 12th February carried a story that opposition groups inside South Africa were organizing demonstrations for 8th March to coincide with the Prime Ministers' conference in London.

Contact does not believe this report. Its fanciful details remind one of the sort of things the police look for but never find. They remind one of Mr. Swart's "poisoned wells".

One of the reasons why we do not believe the report is that there are in fact no important plans being made in time to produce such a demonstration. And another reason is that such a demonstration would be so futile.

You can't produce Sharpevilles to order. In March 1960 a crowd in holiday spirit, demonstrating for freedom, was mown down by the South African Police in a brutal massacre. The imagination of the world was captured. But the world's imagination would most certainly not be captured by a stage-managed, synchronized, synthetic Sharpeville. If there were to be such a thing, Dr. Verwoerd might well gain sympathy from the assembled Prime Ministers. He would appear as a victim of a frame-up, while the organizers of such a macabre event might well have innocent blood on their hands, blood spilt merely to provide cynical politicians with a talking-point.

The Murder of Lumumba

THE murder of Patrice Lumumba has shocked the world, and it is right that the world should be shocked by murder.

The manner in which Mr. Munongo, Katanga Minister of Information, announced it, has led most observers to believe that it was organized by the

government of Mr. Tshombe, and probably at the request of President Kasavubu, who arranged for the transfer of Mr. Lumumba from the Leopoldville area to Katanga. The elaborate story, thus, about his escape and murder by villagers, would in this case be a sordid trick.

Equally sordid is the cynical way that international commission has tried to use the noble national feelings of the people of Africa and Asia.

If proof were needed one can find it in the enormous, carefully-planned and brilliantly-executed plan carried out by the Russians to use his death to achieve two points of Russian policy.

Firstly, it is clear that the Russians wish to finish off Mr. Hammarskjöld's career and to replace him at the United Nations with somebody more likely to favour the Russian line. Secondly they wish to extend their grip on the Congo.

They have done much to achieve both plans by having helped organize the world-wide outbursts against the Belgians that have hit the headlines during the past week.

It is to be hoped that Africa will not allow itself to be used by clever Russian exploitation of the death of Lumumba.

Mercy—"for Europeans only"

THE non-European victims of a road accident outside Greylingstad, between Balfour and Standerton, were delayed for two hours in getting to hospital last week. 'Our ambulance is for Europeans only,' the Town Clerk of Greylingstad explained." (*Cape Argus*, 1st February, 1961.)

This news item needs no comment.

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

Southern Consulates

SOMEONE has seriously proposed that South Africa and the White supremacy Southern States of the United States should open consulates in each other's area. Apparently the two areas share many interests, according to Mr. John R. Parker, secretary of the Association of the Two Souths.

Another thing that they share is that within a few years the oppressed people in both areas will have their full rights.

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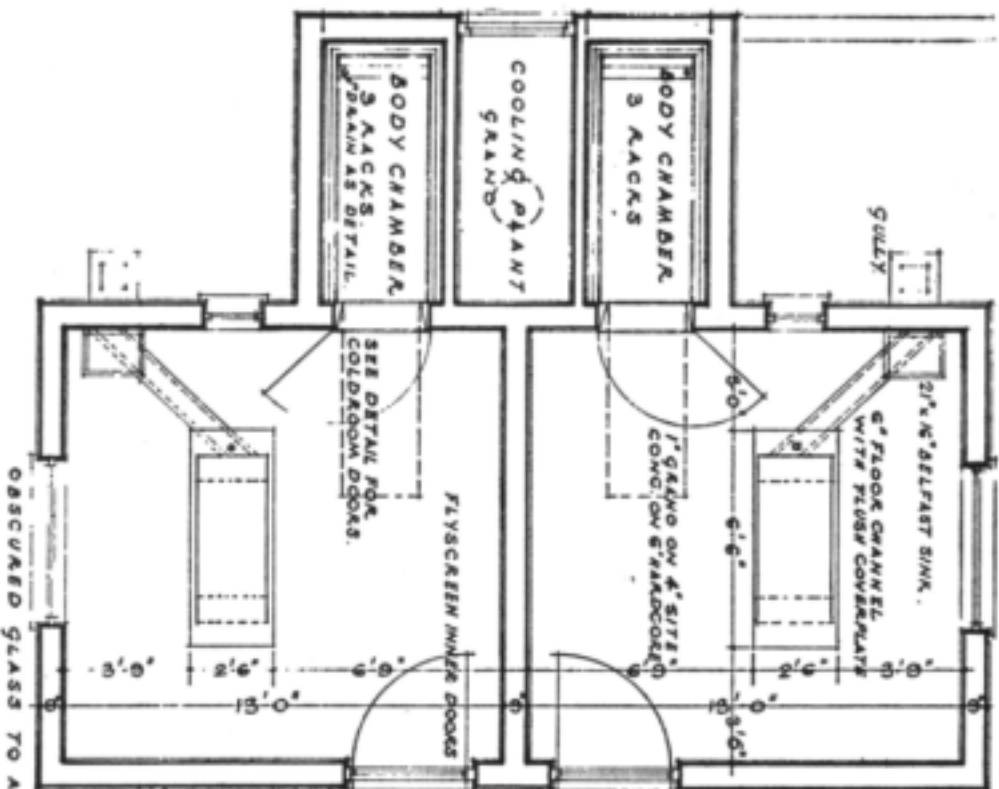
P.O. BOX 1979
CAPE TOWN

All political comment in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by R. Vigne and T. Holmes, 4th Floor, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

SEPARATION TO THE BITTER END

WE reprint below details from the Architects' Department of the Cape Provincial Administration drawing No. 69/88, to show how a segregated mortuary is planned.

STANDARD DUAL RACE
MORTUARY BLOCK.
WITH 6 BODY RACKS AND COOLING PLANT.



N.D.P. LEADER SPEAKS TO JOHN TAKURAH

BULAWAYO: After the close of the N.D.P.'s mammoth meeting which was held on Sunday, 22nd January, and was addressed by the President, Mr. Joshua Nkomo and some of his lieutenants, I was approached by the medium-built, moustached Organizing Secretary of the National Democratic Party in Matabeleland—Mr. S. K. Moyo.

"Are you the *Contact* man?" he enquired. "Yes, sir," I replied. "Right; now I would like you to come and see me this afternoon at my place. I have something to give you so you can give it to you *Contact* and *Contact* to the world." "Alright sir, I'll do that," I replied to his request.

When I called on him that same afternoon, Mr. Moyo, soon after I had entered into his little grocery shop which is situated at "The New Bar"—a beer garden near Nguboyenja Township, started walking to and fro across the floor—dictating to me as he did so:

"The will of MAN is to be done. Why? It is because we were created by God Almighty so we could and should enjoy the effects of the African sunshine. God also meant it that we should 'graze in the green pastures' of our Mother Africa."

Mr. Moyo then attacked colonialism and demanded that THE LAND be given back to the people—and not to remain in the hands of a particular people. "THE LAND—from which we receive the wealth and everything else that we are supposed to be enjoying, is



MOYO

to be and must be returned to us for our own benefit," said Mr. Moyo.

Mr. Moyo continued: "It is a well-known fact that the peoples of Africa—like any other people from differing countries and continents, never applied to God the Almighty that they be created. He did his will and gave us THE LAND as an offer—an offer for His realization of our creation. We therefore demand that the land of our birth be returned to us."

Mr. Moyo, cutting short his dictation, drew the attention of the people of Africa to the task that they have got to undertake in order to regain their wealth and freedom. "Oh, sons and daughters of Africa, we have to have the right to harvest from the land in which we put our energy, efforts and time," Mr. Moyo concluded.

PETER BROWN takes

. . . . THE LONG VIEW



Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party

I HAVE not commented before on the support of the delegates from the two Dutch Reformed Churches for the findings of the World Council of Churches in December, nor on the upheaval this has already caused in Nationalist Party circles and which it now threatens to cause within the churches themselves. It would be quite wrong to do so here. It is clear enough that some leading Afrikaner churchmen and some of their lay supporters are re-examining their attitudes to the solution of the problems of our society and they should be allowed to go on doing so without being given pats on the back which can only embarrass them. I commend them for their courage and leave it at that.

The recommendations of the World Council of Churches did not go as far as some of us would have liked but, taking into account the broadness of

Churches' Part in the Freedom Struggle

the opinion represented, they went a good deal further than many of us would have expected. They highlighted once more the vital role which the Christian church can still play as the conscience of South Africa, and particularly as the conscience of White South Africa.

EVER since the days of Dr. Philip the church has been in one way or another in conflict with the prejudices of White South Africa and, since the Nationalist Party came to power and set about reinforcing those prejudices with its stream of discriminatory laws, the "English" churches at least, and a small but growing number of Afrikaner theologians, have come into increasing conflict with the state. The record of the "English" churches over the last century and a half is one of which they have every right to be proud. Their achievements in the field of evangelization, their almost single-handed pioneering of education for the African people, their logn drawn-out battle to bring up-to-date medical facilities to remote corners of the Union—this record of devoted service is something which nothing can take away from

them. And the record of their leaders since the Nationalist came to power is one of which any organized South African group could be proud.

How much lower would our moral stature have been if there had been no Father Huddleston in Sophiatown; if there had been no Bishop Reeves in Johannesburg; if the Catholic Bishops had not decided, when threatened with the loss of government subsidies they had enjoyed for years, that they would keep control of their schools whatever the cost; if the American Board Mission had not fought so tenaciously to keep alive the kind of Adams College it had spent a century building up—until a hostile Government, in callous disregard of all protests, closed that great institution; if there had been no Archbishop Hurley continually to remind the City of Durban and its people of the excesses of apartheid and especially of the excesses of the Group Areas Act which they fathered; if there had been no Archbishop de Blank, whose fearless outspokenness raises a tingle of grateful appreciation in hearts in many a humble African home even if it may sometimes offend the sensibilities of some of his White supporters!

NOTHING can take away from the Christian church the story of its past achievements in South Africa but its future could very well be jeopardized by the deadweight of the conservatism of its own White members. There is much that one can criticise in the way it has conducted its internal affairs. Too often it has too easily adapted itself to the prejudices of its White members. This has not passed unnoticed and everywhere one hears nowadays of young people of colour who have come to reject the Christian faith because they say it is a religion "For Europeans only".

If Christian values are to survive when apartheid goes it will be because they have been given validity in the lives of the African people and because there was a sufficient body of White Christians in South Africa who visibly practised what they preached. We live in difficult times and they will become more difficult. We are lucky that, when we will need them most, we will have with us the Hurleys and de Blanks and those others of all denominations who stand out against all race discrimination.

S.W.A. PETITIONERS IN NEW YORK

By a Reporter

HOW are the five young South West African freedom fighters getting along in New York? I was fortunate enough to be able to meet two of them some days ago in the office of the American Committee on Africa, 801, Second Avenue, New York 17.

I met Mburumba Kerina, who has been there perhaps the longest, and Jacob Kuhangua, whose courageous journey across Africa to freedom has been told in *Contact*.

They are neatly and well dressed and cared-for, and they are happy in New York. Mr. Kerina has married, and the photo shows Mr. Jane Kerina with their first baby, who bears a startling resemblance to its father.

The five young men who are working together in the South West Africa People's Organization are Messrs. Kerina and Kuhangua, Mr. Ismail Fortune, Mr. Sam Nujoma, and Rev. Marcus Kooper.

They are in close touch with developments inside South West Africa, and membership in Swapo is growing fast, both in Ovamboland, in Windhoek and in the various mines and factories of the territory.

Typical of the way the people of the territory think of them is this letter: Oranjemund.

We are giving thanks to God because He has chosen five young men and led them safely all the way from S.W.A. to New York. Sam Nujoma and J. Kuhangua described the slavery that is the contract labour system.

The Union Government cannot help us in any way.

We want to see South West Africa and the Union separated.

The Africans can expect no help from the Union Government which exploits and oppresses them and makes inhuman laws to justify what it does.

For this reason God made these men, and gave them power and knowledge to rebuild our country, to organize Swapo. Swapo is the most effective movement active in South West Africa among the workers who are called Natives.

We hope that they will be able to



MRS. KERINA AND CHILD

appear in the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Yours in the struggle,
F. S. HAMULUNGU.

The young men in New York are working closely with Michael Scott and are determined to maintain a truly neutralistic attitude in Africa. They have criticized another South West African petitioner who went to Peking and made violently anti-Western speeches while he was there. This petitioner is one of the few members of the South West African National Union, and as a result of these speeches relations are not good between Swapo and Swanu. It is, however, hoped that the breach will be healed soon.

The Swapo leaders were impressed by the speech made by Mr. Niehaus, leader of the United Party opposition party in the territory, in which he called for consultations between Black and White, and stressed that the time left to make a settlement agreeable to all was exceedingly short.

I Revisit the Town of Freedom

By NGIFUNA INKULULEKO

RECENTLY I revisited that dear town, Vryheid, in Northern Natal. It's still the same old place, with the Nats. lording it there as securely as they do all over the Union. There is nothing remarkable about this. What is significant, however, is that they are able so to lord it in a province in which they are at their weakest.

The last time we looked at this town (*Contact*, 8th October 1960) we spotted the contradiction between the town's name (Vryheid—Freedom) and what actually goes on in it.

There are other contradictions: the town preens itself on its religion: "Insofar as religion is concerned the town leaves nothing to be desired." (Mayor J. D. Malan in his message in the Souvenir Programme published on the town's 75th anniversary, 1959.) But last year two schools, the Evangelical Teachers' Training College and the St. Joseph's College, Inkamana—both at Vryheid—made it known that they would close down. The Evangelical College did so last December, and Inkamana was to have followed suit this year when its registration as a private school was renewed this month (January). I am told that the school can continue provided it moves to a Bantu area and not on a European-owned farm, as is the case at present.

Two other private schools—this time in nearby Newcastle—have not fared so well either. When I was there nobody seemed to know what the future had in store for St. Lewis Bertrand's, a girls' school run by the Dominican Sisters. I gathered that St. Lewis (as it is affectionately called) was operating under two stiff conditions laid down by the civil authorities: students from outside Newcastle need entry permits, and have to be Catholics. I interviewed the principal, but she said she was not authorized to give me the information I wanted.

Just a mile away from St. Lewis stands what was once known as St. Bruno's Training College. The Govern-

ment stepped in, and in 1958 it closed down. The buildings are said to have cost £41,000 to put up; now they are lying there unused—tall, stately, and rather proud when seen from afar.

Here is something for those brave people to whom I doff my hat, the "sit-inners". One morning (4th January) I was in town with a lady. We went up High Street to shop at Minott's Snack House. There a bespectacled gentleman, instead of serving me, politely directed me to another counter where an assistant told me that non-Europeans were served at her place. I protested, and she said I should leave the shop if I did not want her to serve me. "I've lots of customers," she added.

When I had left, nothing had been done about the swastikas mentioned in *Contact*. They were still decorating the road that goes past the Saw Mills.

The trouble with Vryheid is that its people are content to let things go their present way. If they are not, then they have yet to be heard. There has been just one lonely voice—that of an Anglican priest, the Rev. Burridge, whose words and deeds emphasized a point fundamental to Christianity, namely love of neighbour. Although he has worked at Vryheid for only four months, he during that time sized up the situation very correctly: the rulers of this country have failed to accept the non-Whites as persons who feel and think and have aspirations like any other human beings.

You want to know how Vryheid views the non-Whites. Then read again the Souvenir Programme and learn that in Vryheid, which is "situated in Zululand, there is an abundance of excellent native labour".

S.R. CONSTITUTION AGREEMENT

Sandys' Triumph Unites Old Foes

From ROBIN FARQUHARSON

PLAYING the middle against both ends is a respectable political tactic: seldom has it been more effectively employed than by Mr. Duncan Sandys. His achievement of an agreed revision of the S.R. franchise has been a literal nine days wonder and a personal triumph. He has managed to unite in its support three groups which are usually seen at one another's throats: Whitehead's authoritarian United Federal Party, the semi-liberal Central Africa Party, and the African-nationalist National Democratic Party.

The only thing these parties normally have in common is the unwieldiness of their names, which makes it necessary to conduct many discussions of S.R. politics among forests of initials.

To see U.F.P., C.A.P. and N.D.P. singing Sandys' praises in unison is a gladsome and unwonted sight. Yet perhaps the agreement is not as surprising as all that. Like every good compromise, it provides a slice of pie for everybody.

(1) The N.D.P. is still far indeed from its goal of universal franchise: one can understand the revolt of Mr. Takawira, the party's publicity director in London (who has called the agreement "diabolical") and of Mr. Mawema. But Mr. Nkomo has been able to discipline these two without trouble and to flourish a genuine prize—fifteen African seats in the S.R. parliament, all of them, in the present state of things, likely to be safe for the N.D.P. While the N.D.P. remains the only African party, the twenty per cent of upper-roll voters (mostly European) allowed to participate in the elections for these seats will have little influence, while twenty per cent of lower-roll voters (mostly African) will have considerable effect in a close race between two European candidates. Finally, the Declaration of Rights may hasten the elimination of discriminatory laws, of which S.R. still has an enormous number.

(2) The C.A.P. is much the weakest of the three parties: yet paradoxically it has got more exactly what it wants than either of the others, as centre parties sometimes do. The franchise is qualified, as it would like: the Declaration of Rights is in full accordance with its policy; and the general spirit of the agreement ("concessions, yes, but for heaven's sake nothing drastic") is completely in accord with the C.A.P.'s well-meaning timidity. Electorally, it

may not help the C.A.P. very much, but then you can't have everything.

(3) The U.F.P. can look at the agreement with modest pride and sincere satisfaction. With luck, the changes will cost them nothing of real importance, and bring two substantial benefits (a) continued control of the S.R. parliament and (b) freedom from British interference. Fifteen African M.P.s are numerous enough to look impressive, too few to have much independent power. There will not be anything like enough of them to block constitutional amendments (which require a two-thirds majority). The Declaration of Rights will not prevent the government from doing exactly as it pleases with regard to "defence and public safety, law and order, public health or morality".

But unless the U.F.P. is spectacularly unlucky, the presence of fifteen Africans in parliament and of up to twenty per cent of African voters in European seats will mean that the racist Dominion Party will be excluded from power. That is Whitehead's gamble: that by accepting the N.D.P., till now so persecuted, as junior partners in government, he will be able to buy off their opposition cheaply and at the same time use African votes to defeat his D.P. rivals.

That he has taken this gamble marks a change in his tactics, and a major one: whether it will be accompanied by any change in his principles is another question entirely. The Dominion Party is the only significant group that has refused to join in the game, and has received no share of the spoils. In fact if Whitehead's calculations work out, they may well lose a number of seats on the upper roll, as well as finding that they now would need thirty-three not twenty-six seats to control parliament.

But, if the agreement goes through,

there will not be very much that they can do. The election or referendum to be held on the Sandys agreement in June will be their last chance: if they are defeated then, the electoral changes will mean that they have precious little chance of ever forming a government. And the chances of any effective revolt or putsch by the D.P. while in opposition are not bright: whereas it would have been difficult for Britain to quell a declaration of independence by an S.R. government, whether D.P. or U.F.P.

Whitehead no longer has any incentive to plan any such thing: he has got almost all he wants, at the price of really very moderate concessions. If, after experience of this small contingent of African M.P.s, he can be persuaded eventually to introduce genuine



SANDYS.

democracy in S.R., then congratulations for Sandys will really be in order. In any case, things are brighter now in S.R. than they have seemed for a long time.

If Sir Edgar has really learned his lesson, then the riots of July will not have been in vain.

Ovamboland another Transkei?

From a Reporter

THE once peaceful reserve of Ovamboland in South West Africa is becoming another Transkei, and the South African Police are operating on a larger scale than ever in recent history.

The Police claim that they are searching for firearms and other dangerous weapons.

The cause of all the trouble was the refusal of the people to accept Bantu Authorities.

Many African members of the Security Branch are active in mingling with the people and trying to find out who the leaders are and what they are planning.

One interesting development is that the Union and Portuguese Angolan authorities are collaborating closely. "Troublemakers" on either side of the border are often deported to the other side in an effort to isolate and disable them.

Some missionaries have taken the side of the authorities and have attempted to interfere with the people. They feel so insecure as a result that they have been given police protection.

Engela Mission Station is now guarded by 14 White and 10 African police.

Similarly, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's place at Oshikango is heavily guarded by police.

In another area of South West Africa, the Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemouth, much political interest has been caused by a speech there of a SWAPO member, Tarah Johannes.

Mr. Johannes has eloquently given voice to the great grievances of the Ovambo workers at the mines, and has succeeded in enlisting their support for the "five young men" who are serving their country by petitioning at the United Nations.

Sam Sly

THE Mendi tragedy is unknown to probably 75% of South African schoolchildren, and perhaps only a slightly lower percentage of adults.

If my readers are in the informed percentage they may profit by the reminder that the screw-steamer H.M.T. Mendi was accidentally rammed by a liner, S.S. Darro, off the Isle of Wight at 5 a.m. on 21st February 1917. The Mendi sank in 20 minutes in pitch darkness and freezing cold, and of her 894 souls, 633 were lost. Of these 615 were members of the last batch of the S.A. Native Labour Corps to cross from Plymouth for service in France, and the others officers and crew. Of the way these sons of South Africa lost their lives, Marischal Murray, a quiet and wholly accurate writer, says simply in *Ships and South Africa*, that there were "several deeds of wonderful chivalry".

The histories of the labour battalions that served in the last two world wars should be written too. I have never succeeded in finding more than a mention or two of them in the existing war histories.

But the Mendi is a story on its own. Before the pace became too hot for mild jaunts into historical research, I did some work on the Mendi, and one day, if the pace cools, I will do some more. But even the youngsters of 18 who survived the wreck would be in their

sixties to-day and their memories should not be lost while I delay. I have the full stories told by three of them: Mr. Koos Matli of Vlakkfontein, Mr. Payi Mkutu of New Brighton, and the late Dr. Hertslet of Cape Town. But none of these recalled anything at all about the greatest deed in the Mendi disaster—the speech of the chaplain and the men's response.

As this issue of *Contact* covers the fortnight in which the Mendi's forty-fourth anniversary will be commemorated, Sam Sly's contribution is an appeal that any person who can confirm or give the source of the chaplain's story will please do so to *Contact*.

Newspapermen have "done" the Mendi in various anniversary features over the year, but I have not traced

the chaplain's story further back than an article by John Philip in *Nongqai* of April 1948. (It is also referred to in a Mendi poem by J. S. M. Matsebula which may have been written earlier than this.)

The bare story is this: As the ship went down, a chaplain (whom Philip calls Rev. Wauchope Dyobha) exhorted the men with these words:

"Be quiet and calm, my countrymen, for what is taking place now is exactly what you came to do. You are going to die, but that is exactly what you came to do. Brothers, we are drilling the death-drill, I, a Zulu say you are all my brothers. Swazis, Pondos, Basuto, we die like brothers. Raise your war-cries, brothers, for though they made us leave our assegais in the kraal, our voices are left with our bodies."

The story ends that after a moment of silence the men sang and danced on the tilting decks as they went to their icy deaths.

I don't swear to the story. For one thing there was no "Dyobha" in the ship, though there was a chaplain, the Rev. Isaac Williams Wauchope, who was a Xhosa, not a Zulu.

And I have left out some phoney details. Yet there were plenty of other deeds of heroism in the Mendi if this one turns out to be groundless.

I have a feeling it comes from somewhere.

Who can tell me where? The only reward I can offer is to share my Mendi notes with the teller, if he wants a copy of them.



West African troops en route to East Africa aboard the "Mendi", 1916-1917.

TSHOMBE MIGHT GAIN FROM A CONGO CIVIL WAR

By a Reporter

WITH the murder of Patrice Lumumba the danger of civil war in the Congo has been greatly increased. If a serious war were to come, the position of President Tshombe, president of Katanga, would be strengthened, for the West could not manage without allying itself in some degree with him.

To do so might bring military benefits, but would certainly also bring great political liabilities, for President Tshombe is known throughout the Afro-Asian world as the greatest stooge of all.

To what extent, in fact, is President Tshombe a stooge? The answer is that he is to a great extent a creature of the Belgians, but that he is showing signs of increasing independence, even from them.

He is enough of a stooge to do real business with apartheid. President Tshombe—as reported in *Contact* (19th November 1960)—went so far as to deport two P.A.C. leaders back to Cape Town whence they had fled. His links with the apartheid government are growing, as the following facts will show:

On 6th January a South African Air Force Dakota arrived in Usumbura, capital of the Belgian trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi, with eleven officers in South African uniform on board. They appeared to be members of a purchasing mission, for they bought several Harvard airplanes on behalf of President Tshombe.

A few days later six light planes from Pretoria, four of which were Piper cubs, flew into Katanga through Bechuanaland, and are now at the military camp at Kolwezi.

They have been painted with the colours of President Tshombe's government, and with its insignia, which is: three copper crosses cast with rounded edges in the manner of the pre-European Katanga copper ingots.

These planes are used for observation and for strafing from a low level. Ammunition is short, and the practice is to drop hand-grenades on the enemy.

For some weeks after the planes arrived the pilots had not been able to discover the right height from which to drop the grenades to ensure their bursting on the ground at the moment of impact.

I was informed by a senior British journalist that eighteen students of the University of Cape Town had gone to Katanga to fight for President Tshombe's government.

President Tshombe is dependent on the copper companies and also on the White adventurers who have been recruited in South Africa and Kenya by the various recruiting agents who have been going the rounds. At the same time he has been demonstrating a degree of independence of the Belgian government. In late January, for instance, the senior Belgian representative in the Congo, the consul, had tried for twelve days unsuccessfully to see President Tshombe.

As it was at this time that Patrice Lumumba is said to have been murdered, there may have been special temporary circumstances which made difficulties for the consul. But such a refusal to see Belgium's top man in the Katanga demonstrated a degree of independence which surprised many observers who had begun to see in President Tshombe nothing but a stooge.

To strengthen his position, President Tshombe is replacing Belgian officials with Katangese officials, particularly at the higher levels of the administration.

To sum up, it seems clear that of all the Congolese regimes that of President Tshombe is the least independent, but that even in the Katanga the urge towards African freedom is so strong that, for African nationalists, it is a case of tails I win, heads you lose.

Cape P.A.C. Men in Tanganyika



Escaped P.A.C. men in Dar es Salaam. L. to R.: Messrs. L. Mgweba, B. Siboto, A. Mampe and M. Ndibongo.

Cover Picture

Swazi leader—Dr. Zwane

From "Contact" Correspondent

MABANE: Dr. Ambrose Peshoya Zwane is a young leader with the determination of a Tom Mboya; he speaks simple Zulu with a clarity that can be likened to that of Chief Albert Lutuli. Despite his short spell of office, the people of Swaziland have begun to look upon him as the messiah of Swaziland. He has the continental spirit in him; he thinks of Swaziland as part of South Africa and of Africa as a whole.

Dr. Zwane is a staunch Roman Catholic and he believes with the psalmist: "Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity". His attitude is that colour has no place in human affairs.

In an interview he explained that land hunger is the foremost problem facing the party.

"Swaziland," he said, "was taken in a most unjust manner from the Swazi chief's control."

He reiterated the ardent desire of his party to raise the Paramount Chief Sobhuza II from the position of an ordinary "Native" Authority to that of a true king with land over which to reign.

"This is how we had our land taken from us," he said. "It was in 1906 when Swaziland was divided into two portions by the High Commissioner who employed Orders in Council in doing this. Two-thirds of the land was given to the settlers; one-third was called Crown Land. The Crown Land was reserved for the use of the Swazis. In actual fact no land remained for the Swazis."

"These things were disclosed at a meeting of Swazi chiefs held on Thursday, 21st November 1907. Lord Elgin (who was Secretary of State for Colonies) was in the chair, and Mr. A. G. Marwick was interpreter.

Among the chiefs who were present that day were Malunge, Longongo, Manikiniki, Josia Vilakazi, Nehemiah Vilakazi.

"Chief Josiah Vilakazi acted as the spokesman for the chiefs and this was his reply to the sad news: 'We are aware that to date Chief Umbandeni did give rights for grazing purposes, for mining purposes and for many other uses, but the arrangement that has been told us to-day does not give us joy at all, because the amount of the rights we share with the White man is greater in his case and less in ours, and we expected that we should have the greater portion. In saying this we bear in mind the intention that Chief Umbandeni had in his mind when he gave those concessions and that intention was that, on the expiry of the periods for which the concessions were given, they would revert to him; but now under this arrangement it is proposed to give to the White man a large proportion of the country to be his in perpetuity.'

"If to-day," concluded Dr. Zwane, "the land occupied by the Swazi has increased slightly, it is because the Swazis have been taxing themselves very heavily to buy back what was rightfully theirs."

A KOREA IN THE CONGO MUST BE AVOIDED

By the EDITOR

THE murder of Patrice Lumumba has brought much nearer the possibility of a Korean-type war in the Congo.

If there were to be such a war it would be a disaster.

Africans would suffer through the clash of ideologies for which they are not responsible.

Apartheid would get a new lease of life, for it is difficult to imagine the Western powers doing without the help and the bases which would be so eagerly put at their disposal by Dr. Verwoerd.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States would suffer, for to neither is the Congo of the highest importance, and it is in the interest of neither to become involved in war in that theatre.

African countries would be brought face to face with the necessity of choosing between the East and the West with incalculably dangerous

results for Africa. The development of the continent, now proceeding at a fair pace, would be set back many years.

It is absolutely necessary, then, for this threat of war to be faced, and for some sort of new settlement to be made.

At this great crisis of African history Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has, with great statesmanship, produced a plan. His plan involves the withdrawal of the diplomatic missions of all the powers from the Congo, and for the strengthening of the United Nations' technical aid. It is a plan, in fact, for the neutralization of the war there.

We believe that all the powers should give the most careful consideration to this plan, for something like it is necessary if the cause of all Africa is not to suffer a tremendous defeat.

EXPEL S. AFRICA—A.A.P.C. CALL

The expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth and the condemnation of South African police brutalities were among the main points made by the steering committee of the All African Peoples Conference, which concluded its four-day meeting at Dar es Salaam on Monday, 30th January.

Monsieur Abdoulaye, Guinea Resident Minister in Ghana and Secretary of the conference, accused the United Nations of "guarding" the homes of Colonel Mubutu and protecting the Belgians who should, he thought, be evacuated.

Mr. Oscar Kambona, Secretary General of the Tanganyika African National Union and Minister of Education said that it is a "hopeful time. It is not so long ago that our continent was painted with all the colours of the rainbow, but not to beautify us, but rather for the gratification of those who did the painting".

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Dag, The Imperialist Stooze

SIR,—Did the people, particularly the Africans, who yelled to meet Dag really understand the purpose of his visit?

Dag did not come here to look into the rights and wrongs of apartheid or any other form of repression or intimidation by the White Imperialists and White Capitalists. The question of apartheid policy had already been decided by the United Nations which voted by an overwhelming majority to condemn apartheid. The "Big Shot", "Big Baas" Mr. Dag only came here to inform Dr. Verwoerd of the above decision and to ask him whether South Africa was prepared to do anything to modify its racial policies—that was all. Therefore there was no need for Mr. Dag to see Chief Luthuli, Duma Nokwe, R. Sobukwe, N. Naicker or George Peake. Talks or interviews with political leaders would not affect his mission nor would talks with the "Bantu Stooges", the sell-outs or African communists and agitators.

U.N.O. in its Charter of Rights declares itself to be the protector and the guardian of the weaker countries. I for one have nothing against U.N.O.'s principle. But in practise the opposite takes place. Those who are up to date with the daily events in Africa will agree with me when I say in 1950 U.N. was used by U.S. capitalists to compel the North Koreans into exploitation by the West. Although the plot failed dismally the war claimed a lot of lives and great suffering to the Koreans.

In 1956 the U.N. again used the U.N.O. to execute their plans, and as a result Colonel Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal and threatened the Western interests in the Middle East. In 1960 again the U.N.'s role has been exposed by the treachery of the U.S. and the Western pseudo-democrats in the Congo and Premier Lumumba has been ousted by the stooges of the West. On the strength of the events I have listed above I call upon all freedom fighters not to take Mr. Dag's visit as an effort to end apartheid. To me it seems as if Dag is a partisan in world affairs. This has been proved by his attitude when he refused to accept the Bible from an African pastor with that marked passage, "Look not upon me because I am Black". Dag accepted those words, he did not look upon the pastor as he was black.

F. L. M. MAKANA,
Duncan Village, East London.

Sir Roy, The Mazambani

SIR,—I was very surprised to hear that Sir Roy, the Mazambani, was preparing numerous, numerous guns. What are those guns for? Does he want to kill the elephants in our holy land? Or else human beings?

I would like to know whether he is still preparing those guns. To say clearly, logically and convincingly. I certainly agree with those people who say **White people must stay in our motherland as men of the land and not as rulers.** But, in the case of Sir Roy the Mazambani he is not even wanted in our motherland as a man of the land. He must go back to his country very soon. Sir Roy has not got any ability to say the right thing and to say anything in the right way for the children of the soil.

MICHAEL P. MPHAISHA,
Petauke, N. Rhodesia.

The Nasty Now

SIR,—Africans had faith in the coming of Hammarskjöld who told them that he came as an adviser not as a master.

Let us forget about the U.N.O. and face the nasty now. We must plan nationally for the defence of the nation and create industrial co-operation and national unity.

THE MODERN AMOS,
Cradock.

Contact Sellers Report

SIR,—Last month I had to sell all my copies and I remained with nothing for myself. Please send me one or only the calendar. It is a shame that an agent could not have the Freedom Calendar.

W. M. MNISIE,
Mbabane, Swaziland.

SIR,—They buy them like hot cakes. *Contact* publishes nothing but truth; such papers are demanded in these crucial and searching days.

NOKRAUZANA,
Transkei.

SIR,—It may interest you to know that on the first day three copies were sold to town councillors, all of whom have previously held mayoral position in our town.

D. C. Q. MATIWANE,
Estcourt, Natal.

And a Swedish Reader remarks: *Contact* is a really splendid paper, e.g. what I read recently about the Progressives.

No Intimidation in Nyasa

SIR,—There is no truth in what they say in the capitalist newspapers concerning intimidation in Nyasaland.

I arrived here from South Africa last year to study the situation because I was so-worried about the so-called intimidation. I have met many leaders and I was a guest of Messrs. H. B. Chipembere and M. W. K. Chiume at their home in Limbe for nine days. We of course discussed many problems concerning how the enemies of the Malawi use this word intimidation as their slogan to justify their provocation. I deny emphatically that there is intimidation. I have travelled the whole Northern Province, in town and villages, but I have seen young boys and girls every day singing the songs of the Malawi Congress Party; and Dr. Kamuzu in every verse as the only saviour and messiah. In these songs the enemies of the people say there is intimidation as the only weapon of the party.

So far as political parties are concerned, there are of course many leaders of different parties but they have no followers and I have not even seen one leader addressing the people except only the mighty Malawi Congress Party.

To my fellow-Malawians living in South Africa I say that the Malawi is in great form; an intensive campaign for raising funds for the next general election. Follow suit in doing so for your country. Send your donations now, without delay.

There is no sleep here. The stupid Federation is recognized as dead, and dismiss intimidation as sheer nonsense manufactured by the imperialists and stooges because they have no followers. Kwaca-Malawi.

R. WISDOM MKORONGO,
P.O. Nkata-Bay, Nyasaland.

The Murder of Lumumba

SIR,—I accuse Mr. Hammarskjöld of being partly responsible for the brutal murder of Mr. Lumumba by the Provincial Government of Katanga. It was Mr. Lumumba who, as Prime Minister, invited the U.N. into the Congo to restore peace and order. When Mr. Kasavubu tried to oust Mr. Lumumba Mr. Hammarskjöld said that the U.N. would not interfere in the political rivalry of the leaders, yet when Mr. Lumumba wanted to use the Leopoldville radio-station to communicate with the people, he was driven back at gunpoint by a U.N. soldier. The United Nations failed to prevent the arrest of Mr. Lumumba by the pro-Colonialist General Mobutu. The savage beating of Mr. Lumumba took place under the very eyes of the U.N. forces at the Katanga airport. Is that restoring peace and order?

We hope that the U.N. will by all means bring to justice those who are responsible for the death of the Prime Minister of the Congo.

H. M. ALLIE,
Retreat, Cape.

No Secret Ballot

SIR,—According to your article in the issue of 25th January on the Nyasaland Election, voters on the lower roll will be deprived of the protection of the secret ballot, as although plain voting papers will be used, anyone who is in the polling station will be able to see how each voter votes.

E. H. BYSSHE,
P.O. Kwelera.

- | | |
|------------|---|
| CONTACT | ● How's the freedom struggle near you? |
| READERS: | ● Send your name and address. |
| YOUR VIEWS | ● A photograph will be welcome. |
| PLEASE | ● Keep your letters short — but do write. |

PIGGS PEAK EXPLOITATION

SIR,—The factory in which I am working is one of the worst I have ever seen in my life of 22 winters. But I will just quote a few lines from the log book which was published in 1958. "... Foresters, foremen and labourers have a magnificent outdoor life. Six days per week logs are sent to the factory which never stops production. . . . However the majority of the Swazi labourers are unspoilt by civilization. The traditional two squares of material—one round the waist and the other round the shoulder—have not wholly given way to jacket and trousers and the peacock-like male regularly halts his lope along a forest path to fish out the treasure of comb and hand mirror from his clothing and arrange his woolly hair. The labourers, recruited from all parts of the Protectorate, are housed in single or married quarters and supplied with adequate rations and medical services. Within a short time they are able to accumulate wealth previously unknown to their station."

That is how the factory-owners look at the Swazis. In the first place I'm shocked to learn that civilization spoils people. So it makes it clear in our minds that if we do not behave like them we are not spoilt.

They speak of good housing, which is pure falsehood. There are "twin beds"; top and bottom. You find that the one that sleeps in the top bed has a wife and the lower one has none. Eight occupants in one room with four "twin beds". This is not civilization as far as I know; and it is unhygienic.

As for rations. If you want to send your rations to your family you have to get a permit from the Camp Manager. Is that civilized? Permission to send home your own ration?

I deny the accumulation of wealth. When we re-opened after Christmas 50 Swazis were discharged without notice. The superiors said that it was an act of theirs called "reduction of staff". But strange enough, no sooner had they done so than they employed newcomers. What sort of a reduction is that? They expel one who gets £9 per month and in his place employ three people at the rate of £3 in five weeks. Does that concur with the accumulation of wealth previously unknown to us?

HOWLER,
Piggs Peak, Swaziland.

Luthuli and Sobukwe

SIR,—I agree with Mary Louise Hooper (*Contact* 28.1.61) that Luthuli and NOT Sobukwe is the leader of the African people in South Africa who commands the respect of all peoples. He has suffered a lot and has sacrificed a lot for our just cause.

INDIAN YOUTH,
Durban.

SIR,—Sobukwe is fighting for a non-racial democratic South Africa. He identifies himself with the entire struggle of the continent of Africa, in contrast to Luthuli, who stands for South Africanism, which is in reality shamefully sectional. Mr. Luthuli is confused or just being clever. For more than eight years as leader he has not educated the African masses in the political sphere, while Sobukwe, being in leadership for only a year, has displayed his capability.

EX-P.A.C.,
Natalpruit.

SIR,—I hope that my learned friend in the U.S.A. will understand that Sobukwe is not a toy leader. The success of the anti-pass campaign by P.A.C. last March was through the capability of his leadership.

A. M. PANTSU,
Germiston, Tvl.

SIR,—*Contact* has always encouraged racial discrimination in its columns and has popularized the now banned P.A.C. *Contact* claims to be an independent journal and works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. But to me and a lot of people with whom I have conversed it seems to be on the same road to achieve destruction of the minds of South African citizens rather than their construction, as those who have walked it to the extent of placing people at the disposal of the trigger-crazy South African police in that murder-festival in Sharpeville and Langa.

DAMN-WORKER,
New Brighton, P.E.

This correspondence is now closed.—
EDITOR.