

contact

WAR IN ANGOLA—

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—see page 8

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

AFRICA DAY CAPE TOWN



Part of the crowd at Cape Town's great Africa Day rally organized by the Liberal Party

—see pages 4 & 5

contact

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

Free Kenyatta Now!

ON 20th October, 1952, Jomo Kenyatta was detained and was later found guilty of managing Mau Mau.

He was sentenced to seven years' hard labour to be followed by indefinite banishment.

A book* has just been published which throws a flood of light on Mau Mau and on Jomo Kenyatta himself. It is a scholarly and calm book, written by an Englishman well qualified to know the facts.

The author is strongly critical of the colour bar, yet he also criticises Mau Mau. He calls it a "serious disease", and says of the thousands of hard-core Mau Mau that when Kenyatta was arrested "almost the last link with any kind of sanity was snapped. To all intents and purposes these men became lunatics".

But was Kenyatta responsible for this degradation of the human spirit? The author says, "there is still no proof that Kenyatta had any part in the formulation of the really degrading aspects of Mau Mau".

Kenyatta was imprisoned by the British at a time of fear and tension. But now things are peaceful and injustice can no longer be excused on grounds of panic. He has served his heavy sentence but he is still not free. The British continue to keep him a virtual prisoner.

Even if no other factors were involved it would be urgently necessary for such a person to be released now, unconditionally.

But other factors are involved. Kenyatta has become the unquestioned leader of the Kenyan peoples, able, more than anyone else, to bring together varied peoples like the Kikuyu, the Luo and the immigrant races. His sufferings, too, have greatly increased his stature. For whereas before 1952 he was no more than leader of the Kikuyu, now every political leader of any consequence in Kenya has said that he is not prepared to serve in a government unless Kenyatta becomes its chief minister.

Sir Patrick Renison, the British governor, has refused to release him and has described Kenyatta in ridiculous pseudo-theological terms as a "leader to darkness and death".

It is clear that deadlock is complete. Unfortunately time is short. The interests neither of East Africa, nor of Britain in Africa, can afford to allow such a deadlock to continue.

That is why we raise our voice, with many others, and call

"FREE KENYATTA NOW."

*Jomo Kenyatta, by George Delf; Gollancz 1961 R2.10 (£1.5.0d.).

Announcement

IN our report of the Pietermaritzburg Conference we stated that a resolution was passed deploring the ban on the A.N.C., but not at the same time deploring the ban on the Pan Africanist Congress.

We are assured by Mr. Nelson Mandela that the resolution in fact deplored the ban on both organizations.

We have pleasure in giving publicity to his assurance and in letting it be known that the leadership of the Pietermaritzburg Conference is mindful of the shackles placed on both banned organizations.

THE LONG VIEW

WE MUST PERSUADE

ARE more and more White South Africans at last starting to think? If they aren't they should be. The speed with which South Africa's international credit has plummeted to an all-time low since the Commonwealth walk-out has been bewildering. Even before the walk-out there had been signs of a new, get-tough United States policy towards White supremacy in Africa. This line will almost certainly get tougher. In the United Nations the forces marshalled against the Verwoerd regime present a more menacing threat to it than they ever have before—and they are likely to become more menacing, especially over South West Africa.

APARTHEID CONDEMNED

But the one new and quite unexpectedly speedy change which the Commonwealth walk-out has produced has been in the British attitude to apartheid. Many of us were seriously concerned over the statements Dr. Verwoerd made when he came home, and the implications they carried of "no-change" in the British attitude towards us. It was a great relief when Mr. Macmillan made his House of Commons statement and condemned apartheid outright. We would have been content with that statement for the time being, but the British Government itself was not content with it. Mr. Macmillan has had further unkind things to say about apartheid during his West Indies tour and now, for the first time, the British delegate to the U.N. has voted against the Union on a resolution which Britain would previously have regarded as constituting "interference" in our "internal affairs". In a little over a month our isolation from the world has increased immeasurably.

As the isolation grows and they learn something of what the world is going to think of the new republic, are White South Africans beginning to re-assess their attitudes? I

have always been optimistic that the time would come when they would, and there have been two small signs recently, both from the traditionally conservative fastnesses of Natal, that this process is starting.

THINGS LEARNED

At the end of March, just before Good Friday, the day on which, in its cynical fashion, the Government had decided that the city's Group Areas removals should start, the Pietermaritzburg City Council passed a resolution asking for the suspension of the application of Group Areas for the city. On the same day as this resolution was passed a mass meeting, called by the Combined Group Areas Resistance Committee, was held in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall. It was a widely representative meeting presided over by Archbishop Hurley and including speakers from all sections of the community and from the Progressive and Liberal Parties. All this was good, but what was better was the attendance at the meeting of a large body of White South Africans who, I am quite sure, had never attended a "mixed" meeting in their lives before. They learnt some things that night which they won't easily forget.

NATAL CONVENTION

A second hopeful sign is that the Natal Convention, mooted at an inter-racial public meeting held in Pietermaritzburg last October and scheduled to take place this April, promises to gain support from a much wider body of opinion than seemed possible even a month ago. The gathering will not only be representative, in a sense that all races will attend it, but in the variety of White and non-White organizations and individuals who have accepted invitations. There may not be many Nationalists amongst them but there will be many other White Natalians who, a year ago, would never have

Peter Brown,
National Chairman
of the
Liberal Party



dreamed of attending such a gathering.

Last year's emergency started many marginal White people, who had previously supported segregation without much enthusiasm or conviction, wondering whether they could afford to drift any longer. I believe that this questioning is a gathering process which has been given a new impetus since 15th March. Isolation may drive some White people into Dr. Verwoerd's cold embrace but it will drive others to face facts for the first time in their lives and to realize that it is only in joint, inter-racial planning for the future that hope lies.

THEIR BEST INSURANCE

In this fluid situation there is a great responsibility on the Liberal Party to go out and win for Liberalism new White recruits. While large numbers of White people are seeking new roads into the future we must persuade them that only in the Liberal Party will they find the road they want. When apartheid goes, as it assuredly will, we do not want its place taken by a new racialism or some other kind of totalitarianism. What we want is the only possible alternative to these—a common, non-racial and democratic society; one in which we can vote out of office any government which we don't like. This is a time when we should be devoting all that we can spare of our energies to persuading our doubting fellow White citizens that in us, and in nobody else, lies their best insurance for the future.

Sam Sly

THOUGH Dr. W. E. B. du Bois is thought of as the father of the series of Pan-African conferences starting in 1919, there was in fact a forerunner in 1900. It was led by Bishop Alexander Walters of the A.M.E. Church, whom George Shepperson in the second issue of the new *Journal of African History* describes as "a neglected figure of Negro American history and a believer in the inevitability of a 'Negro Cecil Rhodes'." With him was H. Sylvester Williams, who, like Edward Blyden, pioneer theorist of the "African personality", Marcus Garvey and George Padmore, was of West Indian origin.

MR. SHEPPERSON was the author, with Thomas Price, of *Independent African*, the story of the Nyasaland Chibemweite movement that led to the 1915 rising. In a passage of the greatest interest, in his new article, he describes old links between Negro Americans and Africa—through the separatist African churches, for instance, and the numbers of Africans from South Africa who went to the United States "often in search of an education which seemed to them easier to obtain in Negro American colleges than at home".

This led to a pattern which gave the South African government nightmares of the Negroes' stirring up racial feeling among South Africa's black helots around the time of Union.

The Whites were crazed with this fear over the 1906 Bambata rebellion in Zululand, and over Garveyism in the early twenties. The Bulhoek massacre near Queenstown in 1921 was also linked, because Enoch Mgijima, leader of the "Israelites" whom Smuts' troops fired on (killing 163), was influenced by a small Negro American sect. Shepperson inserts here a note of interest to students of South African literature: "If John Buchan's 1910 *Prester John* is the classic literary expression of this fear, Senator George Heaton Nicholls's hysterical novel *Bayete!* of 1923 shows it in its most frenzied form." I have often felt that *Prester John* would bear close examination as a manifestation and even a part-cause of race attitudes in South Africa. How many White South Africans have not read it at about twelve, with eyes on stalks—the time when race attitudes often start to crystallize.

SHEPPERSON'S article, in text and footnotes, is a mass of information that makes you want to rush to his sources. These include unknown pamphlets and books by people like Dr. John L. Dube, Solomon Plaatje, Bishop C. S. Smith of the A.M.E. Church; great wealth in the papers of John Edward Bruce, Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson and the Schomburg Collection.

Incidentally, a slight repayment has been made by a young White South African known to us, who has had a thesis on "Afrikaner Nationalism" accepted by Howard College, the great Negro University of Washington, D.C., for his M.A.

THE following verses came through the post from Walter Saunders. They express far better than any prose the lunatic barbarity of Verwoerd's pipe dreams.

Officially the sun did shine
It shone with all its might
And all BAD men were told to say
How calm it was and bright,
But everybody knew it was
A dark and stormy night.

2.
Vervloek was sitting sulkily
Because he thought the sun
Should be there when he wanted it
To do a full night's run:
"Providence," he crossly said,
"Must see my will is done."

3.
Plump Appelhams and Spek Vet Nel
Were waddling close at hand;
They wept like anything to see
The failure of their plans
For fatherly stengunmanship
And servile Bantustans.

4.
"If seven BADs with seven Bills
Muzzled the press for a year,
Do you suppose," Spek Vet Nel said,
"We'd get this matter clear?"
"I doubt it," said Oom Appelhams,
And shed a bitter tear.

POSTSCRIPT

Communists were everywhere
As thick as mice in trees,
As plentiful as buttercups
Upon the silent seas:
Communists were everywhere
And round and round did run
But not a single BAD man
Could spot a single one.



Flames of Freedom

Advocate Herbert Chitepo showing the National Democratic Party's new sign. With the banning of the Southern Rhodesia A.N.C. in 1959, it became an offence in that country to give the "thumbs up" sign. But the President of the National Democratic Party, the powerful non-racial movement which has replaced the A.N.C. recently introduced another sign—WAVING the right hand. It means "flames of freedom".

Advocate Herbert Chitepo, executive member of the national council of the N.D.P., gives the sign while addressing a meeting in Salisbury recently.

CAPE TOWN FURNITURE WORKERS

On Strike for Better Pay, Shorter Hours

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The Cape Furniture Workers' strike which has put 1,350 workers—skilled and unskilled—on union pay and which affects production in 34 furniture factories in the Cape Peninsula has now entered its sixth week.

The strike cost the trade union R15,000 (£7,500) a week. The unskilled workers received full pay and the journeyman slightly less than half their normal pay.

The strike was called when negotiations which started last May for increased pay and a shorter working week broke down earlier this year.

FIRST BLOW

At first workers at one factory went on strike. Then the Furniture Manufacturers' Association took action against the trade union and locked out trade unionists in 33 other furniture factories.

Mr. Edgar Deane (secretary of the Cape Furniture Workers' Union and of the National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers of South Africa) told a crowded Cape Town City Hall meeting on Monday, 10th April, "We have ample funds and we can hold out for months."

The meeting was called to explain to the families of the men on strike why the strike had been called.

AUTOMATION

Automation was being introduced into more and more factories at a rapid rate and it was clear that unless something was done to safeguard the workers, many workers would soon be replaced by machines.

SHORTER HOURS

In 1947 something like that had occurred in the furniture industry. To prevent this happening again and to prevent mass unemployment in the furniture industry generally, it had been decided to call for a shorter working week.

And unless a 42 hour working week was agreed to by the employers in any new agreement, the strike would continue.

WORKERS REJECT OFFER

When the strike started the employers had promised to keep the workers em-

ployed if they resigned from their trade union, but all these overtures had been rejected by the workers, said Mr. Deane.

At the start 120 workers out of well over 1,000 workers had resigned. Since then there have been no further resignations.

Mr. Deane said that he pitied the workers who had resigned. "We hold you in contempt and when the strike is over the bosses will hold you in even bigger contempt".

An official statement issued recently by the National Association of Furniture and Allied Workers of South Africa (a White organization) and the National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers of South Africa (a Coloured trade union) says:

TRUE FACTS

"From the employers' side much has been said about the causes of the dispute. The following are the true facts which culminated in the lock-out: negotiations for a new agreement for the furniture industry in the Western Cape commenced as far back as May, 1960, upon proposals from the trade unions that their members be given increases in wages as well as a shorter working week.

"Then the employers' association countered these proposals with demands that the trade unions dispense with their suggestion for a shorter working week and with the proviso that six operations presently performed by journeymen be reclassified to permit the work to be done by semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

"Only then would the employers accept the demand for increased wages.

"This demand by the employers was unequivocally rejected by the trade unions and three deadlocks ensued."

At a meeting of the Industrial Council for the Furniture Manufacturing Industry of the Western Cape held on 13th February, 1961, the employers' representatives appealed to the trade

BANNED MEN SPEAK

THREE of the prominent leaders banned during the past month from attending gatherings for five years are Mr. Joseph Nkatlo, Cape vice-chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Patrick Duncan, editor of *Contact* and member of the national executive of the Liberal Party, and Mr. Christopher Mlokothi, former executive member of the banned Pan Africanist Congress.

Commenting on his ban, Mr. Nkatlo said:

"When the so-called Suppression of Communism Act was passed some of us warned the country that the Act was a feint intended to mislead the people as to the real intentions of the Government to suppress all forms of effective opposition to its apartheid and racial policies. We pointed out that the provisions of the Act were too wide and that it excluded its victims from appealing to the Courts for intervention.

"We maintained and maintain that an Act which invests politicians with powers that should be given to the Courts was immoral and open to abuse.

Warnings

"All our warnings have been confirmed in all respects, as witness the banning of a confirmed anti-communist, Mr. Patrick Duncan, under the Act.

"The Nationalists are fighting a losing battle against democratic and liberal ideas so I shall not be im-

mobilized for long before I come into circulation again. The day of victory is fast approaching!"

The editor, Mr. Patrick Duncan, was served with an order on 22nd March banning him from attending any gathering for five years.

Since then Mr. Duncan has asked the Minister of Justice in writing for the reasons for this ban. The minister has replied merely that Mr. Duncan attended meetings during the years 1954-1960, "as a result whereof, in the opinion of the minister, there is reason to believe that the achievement of the objects or some of the objects of communism would be furthered if you were to attend any gathering in any place".

"Really quite funny"

Mr. Duncan commented to *Contact*: "If you read this carefully it is really quite funny. Communism claims to build a new earth and a new heaven on earth. The minister has formed the opinion that not only some, but perhaps even all the



NKATLO — MLOKOTHI

unions to end the dispute by accepting wage increases only.

The reclassification of trades was not mentioned and the Unions accepted the offer of the employers.

The following week, however, the employers indicated that the wage increases they had given were subject to the trade unions reclassifying certain types of work.

ACTION

As a result the trade unions were compelled to take action on the basis of the demands which occasioned the original three deadlocks and which included a proposal for a shorter working week.

The statement concluded by saying that "the two national trade unions have geared themselves for a lockout of not less than six months' duration".

[At the time of going to press the strike continues.]

Africa Day Message from Nyerere

Dr. Julius Nyerere, soon to be Prime Minister of independent Tanganyika, sent this message to be read at the Africa Day meeting called by the Liberal Party for 16th April on the Grand Parade, Cape Town:

"On Africa Day 1961 we in Tanganyika send our greetings to the people of South Africa. In a few weeks we shall celebrate internal self-government, and before the end of 1961, our complete independence. At these times we shall re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom and justice throughout this continent. We believe in the dignity and equality of man regardless of race, colour or creed; we cannot remain indifferent to the struggle which is going on in South Africa to establish this principle there. We send our good wishes to all those, of any colour, who struggle and suffer in this cause."

objectives might be furthered if I were to attend any gathering in any place. Good grief!"

Mr. Mlokothi, in a letter to *Contact* says:

"The undemocratic and unrepresentative White minority Government of the Union of South Africa has found it necessary to silence the true and the most representative leaders elected by the democratic majorities of the peoples of South Africa.

"Suppression of opposition"

"It has done so under most undemocratic legislation aimed at the suppression of effective opposition in our country under the guise of suppressing the spread of Communism.

"There are only two alternatives from which the oppressors must choose. They must either choose an unconditional surrender to the majority of our people in the country or face disaster in a boisterous ocean of African nationalism that is sweeping the entire continent like a hurricane.

"To ban us from attending gatherings does not mean that our ideas are banned.

"We are determined as never before to resist with all our might the imposition of an undemocratic rule on us by a clique of self-styled guardians. No amount of weapons, not even atomic weapons, will stop our march to freedom."

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AFRICA DAY

10,000 at Liberal Party Rally

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: More than ten thousand people from all parts of the Cape Peninsula and from as far afield as Worcester, streamed to the Grand Parade, Cape Town, to-day (16th April) to a rally called and organized by the Liberal Party.

At what must be the largest political meeting the Western Cape has seen for many years an excited and enthusiastic crowd listened to speeches made by representatives of the Liberal Party, the Coloured Peoples Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the newly formed Coloured National Convention Committee, the African General Workers' Union, and former members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress and an Anglican clergyman.

Calls for action were made by all speakers and for the people of South Africa to be prepared to take part in nation-wide demonstrations on the eve of the proclamation of the republic.

Messages were read from the Chief Minister of Tanganyika, Dr. Julius Nyerere (see page 3), from banned members of the Liberal Party, Messrs. Patrick Duncan and Joseph Nkatlo, and from Liberal Party branches throughout the country.

Loud cheers greeted a demand by the Chairman, Mr. Peter Hjul, Cape Chairman of the Liberal Party, for the lifting of the ban on the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. and the ending of the state of emergency in Pondoland.

After opening the meeting, the Chairman called for a minute's silence to honour Chief Lutuli and Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, those who had given their lives for the freedom of Africa, and of those who had died last year at Sharpeville and Langa.

Many speakers mentioned amid cheers the name of Chief Lutuli.

Explaining the meaning of Africa Day, the Chairman said: "Fellow Africans, we meet here this afternoon to observe Africa Day. This is the day set out by the 1958 All Africa Conference at Accra for celebrating independence of African states and the freedom of the African people. And that Conference said that an African was 'Anybody who lives in Africa, calls Africa his home and believes in the freedom of all people, is an African—whether he be black or white or brown. . . .'"

Coloured Peoples Congress

The first speaker was Mr. Reggie September, of the Coloured Peoples Congress.

He said: "We rededicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom in Africa and particularly in South Africa.

"I call upon all people to be ready at the end of May, ready for action."

He explained that the Pietermaritzburg Conference of African people had called for nation-wide demonstrations on the eve of the declaration of a republic.

The crowd roared approval as he said, "We are no longer prepared to tolerate Group Areas, Job Reservation, apartheid on buses, trains and in the post office—we are no longer prepared to accept second class citizenship."

He declared that in the struggles to come, the Coloured people would stand with the Africans against the government.

Fr. MacBride

Fr. MacBride, who works among the poor of Kensington, Cape Town's worst slum, said that his Christian calling made it necessary for him to make a stand for the freedom of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Liberal Party

The next speaker was Mr. Hammington Majija, member of the Cape Liberal Party provincial committee and from Engcobo in the Transkei, where his family and friends are active opponents of Bantu Authorities.



MALINDI—"Freedom can be won by peaceful means but . . ."

He drew attention to the soldiers at the end of the Parade, and said, "We have come here not to fight but to speak.

"We are here as Africans, no matter what our colour or race, to strive for freedom. We fight for the liberation of all the people of our country."

He attacked certain chiefs in his home area for pretending to represent the people when they were in fact no more than stooges of the Nationalists.

"When a chief is with his people and opposes the government, De Wet Nel says that he is the enemy of the people and deposes him or banishes him.

"This government has committed suicide—it did so when it started its apartheid"—and the crowd roared agreement when he added—"We are just waiting for it to die."

Mr. Malindi

Mr. Zollie Malindi, a former member of the banned A.N.C., then took the platform.

"It is only a matter of time before all the countries of Africa are free and we in South Africa will be free.

"Freedom can be won by peaceful means, but the people of South Africa reserve the right to retaliate if the government uses violence against unarmed people."

He then went on to explain the significance of the Pietermaritzburg Conference, and called on the meeting to be ready for action at the end of May.

Messages were then read by the Chairman, from Dr. Nyerere, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Nkatlo and the Sharpeville and other branches of the Liberal Party.

The crowd greeted warmly these expressions of solidarity.

The Chairman then called for the lifting of the ban on the A.N.C. and P.A.C. and the ending of the emergency in Pondoland.

Coloured National Convention

The next speaker was Mr. Norman Daniels, representing the newly formed National Convention Committee. It was the first time a representative of the organization had spoken in public.

Mr. Daniels opened by saying that freedom does not come about automatically; it was necessary for every person who believed in freedom to work for freedom.

"We realize the power we will have if we organize. We will then take our rightful place beside others who are fighting for freedom."

"We will and can unite, although our community has been split by differences.

"We must unite to end a system which tells us where we will be born and where we will be buried.

"We fought in two great world wars. We fought for a better world, and what reward have we got?" (Loud cheers.) "We have got second-class citizenship, everything is inferior."

African General Workers' Union

Mr. Caleb Muse, of the African General Workers' Union, repeated the call for action and said amid loud cheers:

"A day is coming when the government will fall to its knees. The government is going the wrong way and we here are going the right way.

"We must sympathize with the government . . . we are only waiting for its burial day."

Congress of Democrats

The speaker for the Congress of Democrats was Advocate Albie Sachs, addressing his first public meeting for five years—he had been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.



NORMAN DANIELS—"We must unite to end a system which tells us where we will be born and where we will be buried."



PETER HJUL, Liberal Party Cape Chairman. He said, "When the call comes . . ."

He said that many Whites were afraid to side with the oppressed people because they were afraid that when there was an African majority they would be chased into the sea.

He called on the meeting: "If Whites abandon the policy of White domination would you still want to drive them into the sea?" The crowd roared back "NO!"

He attacked colonialism in Africa, and said amid cheers, "Tshombe is a traitor to Africa. He is the murderer of Lumumba", and concluded by declaring, "Whites who oppose Verwoerd have the chance to show their opposition now. It is up to Whites to show their opposition by supporting a National Convention."

Mr. Pajane

The next speaker was Mr. G. Pajane, formerly a member of the banned P.A.C., and at present standing trial for incitement.

"Sons and daughters of the soil! Promote the idea of African nationhood through freedom from White imperialist and foreign domination. Let us move forward to a United States of Africa and the development of the African personality.

"We African nationalists recognize only one nation in Africa—the African nation—irrespective of race, colour or creed." (Loud cheers.)

"We are not anti-White—but we are opposed to White domination. We who are politically oppressed, economically exploited and socially degraded by White imperialists from Europe, will see to it that White domination is crushed never to rise again."

His speech was greeted with deafening cheers as he concluded, "Forward to the ideal of a new Africa reborn from White domination. Forward ever, backward never! Tomorrow the United States of Africa"

Liberal Party

The last speaker was Mr. J. C. A. Daniels of the National Executive of the Liberal Party, and business manager of *Contact*.

"Hold yourselves in readiness! The time is fast approaching when you will all be called upon to act. To act for a new South Africa, a free South Africa, a non-racial democratic South Africa where all shall be free and equal.

"We have no hatred, no bitterness, no malice, but we do have a determination that cannot be broken—a determination to see our land free, ourselves free and equal citizens of our land. Forward to a free, non-racial South Africa."

After Mr. Daniels's speech the following resolutions were adopted:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

Knowing as we do the growing weakness of the Nationalist Government and the justice of the cause of



Chairman, took the chair at the meeting. for action you will be ready."

full freedom in South Africa, this meeting and all organizations represented here resolve:—

- that we will strive to the utmost to



MAJJA—"This government has committed suicide. We are just waiting for it to die."

ensure that the Nationalists' Whites only republic has a short life

- that in its place we will work for a truly non-racial democracy, so that South Africa can proudly take its place among the nations of the world.
- that for the new South Africa a constitution will be drawn up, by a National Convention representative of all the people of our country, based on the universal Declaration of Human Rights.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

This meeting demands that all Africa be freed from colonialism and White domination. We express our solidarity with the millions of brave men and women of our continent who are struggling to—

- consolidate the independence of the already free states of Africa, and
- ensure that the whole of our continent is free and united.

LONG LIVE AFRICA.

Amid loud applause the Chairman then announced that the meeting was over.

He appealed to the people to go home quietly to show the government that the people were law-abiding.

HE CALLED FOR ALL TO HOLD THEMSELVES IN READINESS. "IF THEY STOP ALL MEETINGS FROM NOW ONWARDS REMEMBER THAT WHEN THE CALL COMES FOR ACTION YOU WILL BE READY. IF THEY TAKE ALL OF US AWAY, THE CALL WILL STILL COME. WE ARE DEALING WITH A BEATEN GOVERNMENT: IT ONLY NEEDS A PUSH."

Basutoland

KHAKETLA FORMS NEW PARTY

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Mr. B. M. Khaketla, who holds the Health and Education portfolios in Basutoland's Executive Council, has just launched a new party — the Basutoland Freedom Party.

The party will seek to counter the "totalitarian" Basutoland Congress Party, of which Mr. Khaketla was deputy-leader until he resigned a few months ago.

In an interview with Mr. Khaketla, he told me that he and the Freedom Party would strive to co-operate with the chiefs and with the administration in leading the territory to responsible government.

MANIFESTO

He gave me a copy of the party manifesto, signed by himself and Messrs. J. T. Mokotso, O. P. Phoofolo, National Chairman of the Congress Party until expelled, C. T. Chakela and Ramatekoa Lebina.

The document is largely an attack on the Congress Party.

Here are some extracts from the manifesto:

"VITUPERATION"

● "There is a marked tendency now for the (Congress) party to regard criticism and opposition from within as a sign of sabotage. Strenuous efforts are being made to rid the party of any

members who show independent thought, who dare to criticize the actions of the leadership."

● "One of the cardinal principles of the B.C.P. which has been to work with the chiefs has been radically departed from. Most of the district councils which are dominated by members of the B.C.P. are at a standstill because no attempt is being made to bring about a spirit of goodwill and co-operation between the chiefs and the councillors. The amount of vituperation hurled at the chiefs (in the Legislative Council) would raise the back of an angel."

● "It has now been made clear that the leadership wants to dictate how party members shall worship. This is not freedom but dictatorship of the worst kind."

● "We have been opposing foreign dictatorship, but we are now being actively prepared to submit ourselves to another form of home-made dictatorship. Even this modicum of internal self-government we now enjoy has made some of our political leaders power-drunk."

The manifesto appeals to those who fear the "new tyranny" to join the Freedom Party. It says also that the new party will try to inspire the confidence of overseas financiers and technicians whose money and skills are needed so urgently by the Basuto people.

Ambassador Leaves after Pro-apartheid Speech

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: German opposition to apartheid is growing fast. *Contact* learns that it lay behind the sudden "promotion" of the German ambassador, Dr. Hans Ulrich Granow. He left South Africa about 10th March, and is now a roving ambassador, although he had been expected to stay here a good deal longer.

Just before he was due to return to Bonn as a legal expert in the Foreign Office last year, Dr. Granow had a heart attack in Nairobi. He returned to the Union, and made a good recovery. The heart attack had, however, prevented him from taking up his new post. When he recovered it was decided that he would stay on in South Africa as ambassador.

Speech on Springbok Radio

Then, like some other ambassadors, he made a speech on Springbok Radio. Like his predecessor in the embassy, Dr. Granow had developed a big feeling for the Nationalists, and for apartheid. His speech reflected this feeling.

Reports of this speech went back to Bonn where they were received with a certain degree of shock.

The West Germans were shocked because they have been growing closer, over the latter years, to the new independent African governments. Bonn had to do business with the Germans. On their side the Germans are under no illusions as to the feelings of these African governments for the apartheid government. They know that there is no greater liability for anyone wanting good relations with the new Africa than a warm friendship with Dr. Verwoerd. That is why Dr. Granow's well-intentioned speech shocked them, and why he was moved so fast.

Verwoerd's Bonn Visit

All this happened before Dr. Verwoerd's ill-fated announcement that he would visit Bonn, the West German capital. The fate of this visit showed even more clearly that the Germans

intend to have nothing to do with apartheid.

After announcing his intention to visit Bonn, Dr. Verwoerd, *Contact* learns, sent a message asking whether Chancellor Adenauer would see him. The reply came that Adenauer very much regretted, but he would not be available. The same question and answer were made with regard to Ehrhard, the West German economic chief, and three other ministers. None were "available".

Then came the commonwealth break, and Dr. Verwoerd's wise decision to hasten back to South Africa and to cancel his plan to visit Bonn.

Just to make sure that no one was under any illusions, Bonn leaked to the correspondent of the *London Times* that Dr. Verwoerd's decision not to go to Germany had been greeted there with relief.

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Malawi Congress Party

S.A. Branch Send Salute

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The Malawi Congress Party headquarters here have sent a telegram to Messrs. Henley Chipembere and Katoba Msopole who are serving 3-year sentences in gaol.

Mr. Chipembere is the Treasurer-General of the Malawi Congress Party and Mr. Msopole the Karonga District organizing secretary.

● "Greetings from Nyasas in South Africa to freedom fighters. You are recognized as freedom fighters of Malawians with the great Kamuzu.

"Never mind, you will spend fifteenth April Africa Day in gaol. KWACA."

Mr. Nkavamba Kaunda, head of the Malawi Congress Party in South Africa, said that after the election of an African majority in the Nyasaland Legislative Council, Chipembere and others would be free again.

No meeting had been called on 15th April but the day should be respected as an important date.

He said, "We are going to break up Welensky's 'stupid' Federation." He finished, "We want independence within the Commonwealth."

AID FOR BASUTOLAND

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Basutoland may soon get technical aid worth more than R6,000,000 (£3,000,000) from various international agencies. Two international missions have just visited the territory to study development projects prepared by the Basutoland Government.

ROADS

A four-man team from the International Development Association in Washington went to Basutoland in response to an application for a R6,000,000 loan—spread over 12 years—to improve about 400 miles of existing roads and to build new ones. This road plan is based on proposals made by a special British mission which reported last year on what should be done to develop the three protectorates.

The I.D.A., an off-shoot of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, was recently created to help under-developed countries with loans on special terms.

The second mission, which also visited Basutoland this month, consisted of two members of the Food and Agricultural Organization, and a member each from the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund (U.N.I.C.E.F.).

CONTROL T.B.

The Basutoland authorities have asked these world bodies for technical assistance—equipment, materials and technicians—worth R200,000. The aid would be used to control tuberculosis and to improve food production, particularly the production of more high-protein vegetables.

Britain is expected to contribute a further R100,000. A government official in Maseru told me that it was hoped that the aid would start to arrive towards the end of the year.

(Unicef and the W.H.O. have already provided Basutoland with considerable aid.—EDITOR.)

All political comment and headlining in this issue is, unless otherwise stated, by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Liberals



They sometimes hold meetings like this one in Johannesburg protesting at the banning of leading Liberals Patrick Duncan and Joseph Nkatlo, but



sometimes they go out into the veld, away from police, passes and race laws. The picture was taken at a picnic, as was



this one of young Liberals just wondering what it's all about.

Another Modder B Story

WE have received another account of life in the Modder B compound, used as a prison during the State of Emergency last year.

Mr. Richard Ramaphakela was there from 11th June until 4th August, 1960. His story follows as he told it to our reporter:

"I was standing at a street corner in Johannesburg. A S.B. detective arrested me.

"Checked in at Marshall Square. Emergency regulations. At Marshall Square they asked me no questions.

TO MODDER B

"They let me sleep in a cell with many others on 9th June. On Friday, the 10th, they brought me to the barracks for fingerprinting. I was alone. They took me back to Marshall Square. Put me in a cell. More than 50 people. Arrested for passes. Some others under Emergency. On Saturday, 11th June, they took me to Modder B. On my prison ticket it said my crime was Act 91, my sentence 'Detainee. Date 11.6.60'. My date for discharge a blank.

"I went in a truck with about 20 Africans. The Africans were arrested for Pass Offences. Not charged yet.

"The same detective that arrested me was standing at the gate at Modder B. He said they must give him my paper. He took the paper and wrote something (I don't know what he wrote). After he was finished he said he would send a Native detective (for questioning). A Native detective was standing and came to me and said, 'Hello, Richard.' He also knew me. He asked me no questions. They went away.

"We went to the office in Modder B, the reception office where they issued me with a card. No. 268.

TO THE CELLS

"They searched us. We dressed and then to the cells. In the cell there were 80 people. It was a mine compound. The beds were in tiers and made of cement. There are 56 beds. Instead of putting 56 people in the room they put 80. . . . The majority of these were for passes. Quite a lot had been beaten. They put up in the cell from 3 o'clock. We were taken out at 5 a.m. and from 5 a.m. we sat in the open space outside. We got soft porridge then. At 10.30 a.m. we got grains of mealies for lunch. No bread. At 3 o'clock soft porridge.

"When they changed we got soft porridge with beans or soft porridge with a carrot on top. A whole cooked carrot.

"No one is supposed to stand. When you stand the police beat you and tell you to sit down. If you ask to pass water, he says, 'Sit down'.

THE BUCKETS

"There were six buckets in the cell, sometimes five. Lavatories were a few yards away. If we were sitting outside they did not allow us to go to lavatories. We used to stay outside until after 3 p.m. when we got soft porridge and then go in.

"The cell was about 24 feet by 18 feet.

"I was arrested on the 9th of June and was released on the 4th of August. The detective (African) never came to question me.

"One week after my arrest I was told to go to court. When we arrived at court I found that a Native detective was also there. Ngwayi was his name. When we were standing in the court, he spoke to two White detectives and a plainclothes policeman. The detective said to the plainclothes White policeman, 'This is an A.N.C. chap. That man says so.'

'WE DON'T CHARGE YOU'

"'What date did you arrest this man?' The detective said to White detective, 'No, I did not arrest him.' He gave the name of the detective who caught me. (I do not remember his name.) After giving the name the White plainclothes man said to me, 'We don't charge you. We keep you here. It is another law. If that law comes off and when we find the law is passed, we will release you. But first we must keep you

here. We will give you three plates of food a day and four blankets.' I never received that four. I said, 'I have children to support. I am paying rent. You say you are keeping me for how long?' (I don't know.) 'Are you going to give my children three plates a day? I have three children, 8 years, 3 years and 2 years.' He replied, 'We have nothing to do with outside things.'

"On 26th June people wanted to know

0/26/60		Gevangenis Prison
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GAOL CARD

why they don't charge them (many people had been charged under Emergency Regulations). They wanted to ask the chief of the gaol.

"We were sitting in a line in the yard. I was at the end. They have a small gate and the big gate is at the other side. I heard people making a hell of a noise. I left that side and went near to the big gate. I stood in front of the people at the gate and asked them what the trouble was. They said they wanted to see the chief but the police did not want to go and call the chief. I tried to stop them from making a noise and told them to sit down. While I was telling them to sit down a group of police ran in from the small gate.

BATONS BROKEN

"I was left standing at the gate. The police were hitting the detainees with sticks. The batons were broken down the middle after they had finished. Two boys were killed from the police beating on the same spot. One died in hospital. More than one hundred were injured. A few were taken to an outside hospital, the rest were treated inside. Many wore bandages over their heads and limbs for many days afterwards in the cells.

"When they stopped beating them the chief arrived.

"When the chief came he told us all to be silent. The chief was with an assistant. The assistant said, 'Why did these people not tell me their complaints when I passed this morning?'

"The big chief says, 'All that happened here, I have nothing to do with.' That was the end of the beating and nothing was said about it again.

DYING EVERY DAY

"People were dying nearly every day. In the morning we heard reports that a person had died in the cells or the next cell and so on. We do not know how many people died but one died nearly every day. The cause of the deaths was the cold. A person had one blanket on the cement. No mats or mattresses. Nothing. Men were sneezing and had colds. (It was winter time.)

"During June or July when we were sleeping we heard a noise outside and the following day heard the police say there were some detainees who ran away. One who was short tried to climb the wire and they shot him. That is what we heard the police say. We did not see this. There were many still left when I was released.

"I was released with 206 people on the 4th August, and not one of us had been charged."

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Shocked at heavy sentence

SIR,—Like your Pretoria correspondent I was shocked to hear of the sentence of three years' imprisonment imposed on Stephen Tefu for attending a meeting after having been prohibited from doing so under the Suppression of Communism Act. Perhaps I should not have been shocked. There comes a time in the history of governments due to die when their acts assume monstrous proportions.

I am not commenting on the action of the court whose judgment in any case is subject to review, but on the law passed by our government which makes such sentences possible.

EDWARD ROUX,
Johannesburg.

Let them become Communist

SIR,—I read E. N. Christopher's letter in your issue of 23rd March, and I don't know what he is talking about. I would like to know why he says that people are tired of waiting for U.N.O.

Everything needs time. If they like to turn communist why don't they do so? What do they know about communism? There must be a reason why the whole world is fighting communism. Russia is just looking for manpower, that's all. It would like to have the whole world for its purposes.

I personally don't think that U.N.O. is useless. But even the best organisation is a bit hopeless if there is no co-operation.

By the way, I think that U.N.O. has been told quite a few lies about our South West.

I am not a politician, but I have my ideas about the situation in S.W.A. and in South Africa.



E. P. KAURISA,
Windhoek, S.W.A.

S.A.B.C. downright lies

SIR,—That really was a timely warning which you published about the S.A.B.C.

If "apartheid" was just, the world's teeming millions would support it. The S.A.B.C. could then use honesty to advertise its "good neighbourliness". But "apartheid" is unjust, the S.A.B.C. uses plain, downright lies and omissions to ram "apartheid" (or "good neighbourliness" or "self development") down the throats of angry listeners.

It is good to see that the people (judging by the volume of letters in the daily press) are angry about this. Perhaps now some will realize that by following Verwoerd and Graaff they are sound for disaster.

The S.A.B.C. *Radio Newsreel* is worth-

less to those who listen to the perfectly unbiased B.B.C. *Radio Newsreel*.

Africa Survey on Springbok Radio is such blatant indoctrination that they do not even bother to hide that fact.

A YOUNG NON-RACIALIST,
Cape Town.

You side with Lumumba...

SIR,—In *Contact* (23rd March) I notice that you side with Lumumba and his allies against the so-called imperialist stooges. In the first place, why "take sides" in every detail of current affairs? Why not state the facts and leave readers to make their own inferences, as other newspapers do? I am not now talking simply of this particular case; but in every single thing without fail that you say, you show clearly which side or opinion, you support.

To get back to this subject of imperialism—how do you judge how "good" a government is? I personally judge it by how well it runs the country. And the peace and economy of Katanga is, as far as I know, reasonably secure—in the main Congo there has been chaos, massacre, famine and disease ever since it attained its independence. Why then was Lumumba, in your eyes, such a grand leader and martyr? Was it because, in the so-called name of freedom, he chased the Whites out, and with them the country's whole economy? Was it because he and his army slaughtered so many thousands of Baluba? Where have your ideals of non-violence gone?

One of your favourite catchwords is "Freedom". Do you think that those in the Congo are any freer than those in Katanga? And what exactly do you want freedom from? From the extremism and the atrocities of Verwoerdism? In this case, I am entirely and wholeheartedly with you. Or do you wish for freedom from European civilization, as Lumumba did?

Since your ideals are essentially Christian, you do not wish for a non-Christian civilization.

You want European civilization; but surely in this case the Whites must be the leaders until the Africans have had the chance to learn European civilization.

F. C. HOLROYD,
Grahamstown.

Katanga is in a state of civil war. We want freedom from oppression, freedom based on democracy.—Editor.

Against Kerina

SIR,—Please allow me to reply to the biased predictions made by Mr. M. Kerina, leader of the South West Africa Peoples Organization in your paper of the 23rd March.

In his brief but exaggerated statement Mr. Kerina claims that S.W.A.P.O. is the largest political organization in South West Africa. As far as the truth is concerned, S.W.A.P.O. is almost unknown in South West Africa. In Windhoek, where he claimed that they have their headquarters, S.W.A.P.O. is completely dead.

To be supported by tribal chiefs, like chief Hosea Kutako, does not mean that your organization is the largest. Mr. Kerina might be interested in the fact that he so-called Bantu Authority was introduced through the tribal chiefs.

While Mr. Kerina is claiming to be working for the liberation of the people of South West Africa, he is living from the forced labour of his fellow countrymen. The money he is getting from "Uncle Sam" (American Imperialist and Capitalist) is coming from the copper mines at Tsumeb and the diamond mines at Oranjemund where the so-called members of S.W.A.P.O. are working under the most inhuman conditions and are living under the breadline. Is Mr. Kerina working for the benefit and liberation of his people or

To all readers of "Contact"

Let us have your views

- on the kind of South Africa and Africa you want
- on the political struggle in your area
- send a photo of yourself if you like and please keep your letters short.
- always send your correct name and address

is he selling South West Africa to the American Imperialist?

It is now time for Mr. Kerina to state whether he is supporting American economic exploitation plan or not. We all know that America will continue to support Mr. Kerina as long as they know that their interest in S.W.A. is protected. Is Mr. Kerina now in the position of biting the hand which is feeding him?

HITJEVI VEIL,
Windhoek, S.W.A.

Stop Congo in Bechuanaland

SIR,—Bechuanaland is one of the countries where some fundamental principles of democracy are trampled underfoot.

The percentage of literacy is very low and the wages are lousy beyond description. A man with a family earns R3 a month and he is still expected to pay tax. The government should subsidize tribal schools and build technical colleges in the Protectorate, curb exploitation of the wage earner and assure him a good wage and satisfactory working conditions; stop Adam Smith's policy of *laissez-faire* by which the workers' hours of work are determined by his employer

LET US ALL UNITE

SIR,—What is done to us is more than we can tolerate. I am still young but the wagon I pull is too heavy for me. I appeal to the sons of Africa, especially the future parents. I do not forget my brothers who are Coloureds; come and join us. Gentlemen, unity is strength.

LUNDI JONGWANA,
Langa.



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freely; level up the excessive inequality of earnings between Blacks and Whites; institute the policy of one man one vote; then most probably a Congo might be avoided when we get self-government, but if these are not acquired by the time we get independence then a spirit of revenge which is innate in us all will be evidenced in violence.

PROPHET OF THE LAND,
Mahalapye, B.P.

In darkness

SIR,—My objection to the government's censorship is this: The public will not get knowledge from the writers of books. The government hopes to keep the public in darkness with censorship and interference in education.

ZACHARIAH THIPA,
Matatiele, C.P.

I am a stooge

SIR,—You know what? I am a stooge number one, but recently somebody made me fed up. Some privileged citizens of our land are too provocative.

They have turned the words "Master" and "Madam" into "native" titles. One hears such things like this: "What is your name, my boy?" asked the Madam. "My name is Joseph," replies the "Native". "Now say, my name is Joseph Madam," demanded the madam.

"My name is Joseph Madam," corrected the "Native".

Now is the word Madam a surname? Then comes master. "What is your name, my boy?" "My name is Joseph Master". "Joseph whom?" "My name is Joseph Lephelo, Master."

Now what is the difference between Joseph Lephelo, Q.C. or B.A. or Esq., and Joseph Lephelo "Master" or "Madam"?

I am still stooge and optimistic to see such irresponsible references ended.

SAMUEL T. J. MOTSEPA,
Johannesburg.

God made no mistake

SIR,—It is long that non-Whites have been oppressed in this country. We must struggle hard to loosen the chains from our necks and show the oppressors that God made no mistake in creating non-Whites on earth.

M. MAGODA,
Cape Town.

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Mr. D. K. Naik addressing the N.D.P. report-back meeting. Interpreting is Mr. S. K. Moyo, N.D.P. organizing secretary for Matabeleland.

Southern Rhodesia

N.D.P. REPORT-BACK MEETING

From JOHN C. TAKURAH

BULAWAYO: Leading members of the National Democratic Party in Bulawayo have reported back to their followers after the special congress of the Party last month. (See *Contact*, 3rd April.)

Mr. Magadzire, committee member of the Iminyela branch in Bulawayo said at a special meeting, that the special congress had resolved many problems facing the party.

It had been decided to launch a major campaign in the country areas to recruit members and to open branches in the reserves. And Southern Rhodesia would

be divided into six regions each having a full-time organiser.

Speaking at the same meeting, Mr. Stephen Nkomo, younger brother of the Party's President, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, attacked imperialists for the manner in which they were depleting the mineral resources of Africa.

Mr. Nkomo said that African workers were not allowed to form themselves into workers' associations.

He criticized the Federal and Southern Rhodesian governments for allowing South Africa to send trucks through the country to Katanga where they are used by Tshombe's government to transport soldiers in their struggle to keep the yoke of imperialism on the necks of the people.

The most vigorous speech of the day was given by the new vice-treasurer of the B.A.T. branch of the Party in Bulawayo. He is lightly-built businessman Mr. Don K. Naik, a student of Economics and Political Science.

Telling the people why he had joined the National Democratic Party, Mr. Naik said that he had done so because of the principles on which the Party was based.

"The N.D.P. is the only Party which is based on the principle of 'one man one vote' and is the only Party which is completely non-racial in spirit and practice."

The last speaker at the meeting was prison graduate Mr. Joseph Msika, member of the N.D.P.'s national council.

"They say that Africans in Southern Rhodesia have the patience of a donkey. But we will not be ridden any more now. We will shake our backs and throw to the ground those who pretend to ride on us."

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To The Manager
P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

War in Angola



Thousands attacking over 500 mile front

By an Observer

IN our last issue we suggested that the Portuguese were losing control in Angola. All the news that has since come through confirms our forecast and indicates that the rebellion against Portuguese colonialism is massive and well organized. Thousands of rebels are in the field (*Cape Times* 15.4.61).

UNIFORMS AND GUNS

Territory affected by the rebellion stretches from Cabinda, north of the Congo river, to Bocoio, 500 miles away in the south. The pattern is simple: groups of soldiers wearing the U.P.A. insignia (União dos Povos Angolanos — Union of Angolan Peoples) attack towns, isolated estates and villages. They attempt to kill all the Portuguese they can find. They are armed with long knives as well as with automatic arms.

No independent journalists are allowed in the affected area. All that is known has come through Portuguese sources. Reading between the lines it appears that some 300 Portuguese have already lost their lives.

Portuguese public opinion is appalled, and Dr. Salazar has reshuffled his cabinet, sacking six ministers and taking the key defence ministry himself.

We append below some hard information, relating it to a map of Angola. The information is from *ABC Diario de Angola*, a Luanda daily, and from other newspapers.

Leopoldville. Capital of Congo. Headquarters of U.P.A., whose leader is Ruy Ventura, alias Roberto Holden, alias José Gilmore.

(A) *Cabinda.* Capital of Cabinda Enclave. Attacked. (*Cape Times* 15.4.61.)

(B) *Buela.* "Savagely devastated", also African villages nearby. (*ABC* 21.3.61.)

(C) *Cuimba.* Reoccupied by government forces, and by the population. (*ABC* 21.3.61.)

(D) *S. Salvador do Congo.* Capital of Portuguese district of the Congo. Father Angelo, Capuchin priest, killed with others (*ABC* 28.3.61.)

(E) *Madimba.* Three men and one pregnant women killed on an estate. (*ABC* 28.3.61.)

(F) *Songo.* Portuguese administrator arrested one "Garcia" who called himself "President of the Republic of ex-Portuguese Congo". Garcia had a radio, and used it to call for arms. (*Cape Times*, 15.4.61.)

(G) *Ambriz.* Rumoured attacked. Rumour not confirmed. (*ABC* 21.3.61.)

(H) *Quitexe.* Reoccupied and slowly returning to normal (*ABC* 21.3.61.)

(I) *Quibaxi.* In Portuguese hands. (*ABC* 21.3.61.)

(J) *Ucuia.* First attacked 11th April. At least 13 Portuguese killed, including the administrator. Reoccupied. On 13th 30 men were left in occupation. Then the main attack came. Thousands of men attacked in the heaviest attack of the war of liberation. Scores of attackers, it was claimed, were killed, while four defenders were injured. (*Cape Argus*, 13.4.61; *Cape Times* 14.4.61, 15.4.61.)

(K) *Estate of Margarido, in Dembos.* Twelve killed. (*ABC* 28.3.61.)

(L) *Bocoio.* Portuguese foil planned attack. (*Cape Argus* 13.4.61.)

District of Portuguese Congo. One hundred and sixty-four killed up to 28.3.61, according to a Luanda journalist. (*ABC* 28.3.61.)

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