

NYERERE OPENS HIS PARTY TO ALL RACES

contact

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as a Newspaper



— Page 4

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Group Areas Victims

● *Two Port Elizabeth families, the Aroonslams and the Coopooos have lost their beachfront cafes because Group Areas permits have been refused them. Both have had to give up their businesses: to the White owners of other beachfront cafes.*

PICTURES:

RIGHT (above): Mrs. Coopoo on her last day in their cafe

BELOW (left): Mr. Aroonslam takes a last look around his sold cafe

BELOW (right): The new owner, Mr. A. Christodoulou, on the stoep of the Coopoo's cafe



contact

47 PARLIAMENT STREET
CAPE TOWN

P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524

Telegrams:

CONTACT Cape Town

CORRESPONDENTS

Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban,
Pietermaritzburg, East London,
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,
Francistown.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,
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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.

COMMENT

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

ON another page a Correspondent points out ways to overcome the government's attempts to throw a blanket over sources of news and to ban open discussion, symptoms of which are the ever-narrowing area of freedom enjoyed by the press. This freedom has been in jeopardy ever since the Nationalists came to power, but the fulfilment of their threats seems now to be only a matter of months. The first step in the new campaign was taken with the banning of *New Age*, the weekly newspaper which has been for years the main organ of the Congress Alliance. Besides its ideological alignment, which we found distasteful and possibly harmful to the freedom movement in South Africa, *New Age* has over the years been among the staunchest opponents of White supremacy, determined to see the system removed and replaced.

New Age has been banned, we believe, not really because it was a "platform for the communists", to use Vorster's words, but because it was a focal point around which a strong body of opposition to apartheid had centred; because it was a menace to White domination no matter what form of political system *New Age* would like to see in its place.

The function of the press in a democracy is to serve the needs of its public and to represent their interests before the world: newspapers may not

be able to make or break governments, but certainly they can be powerful enough to compel a government to change course. In a democracy this role of the press is accepted as normal and healthy, and both government and anti-government newspapers co-exist and participate in the daily life of the nation. In an authoritarian state, however, the role of the press, as conceived by the rulers, becomes something different: it is to support the government, to convince those who oppose it that they are wrong, and to filter the news so that the public reads only what the government wants it to read.

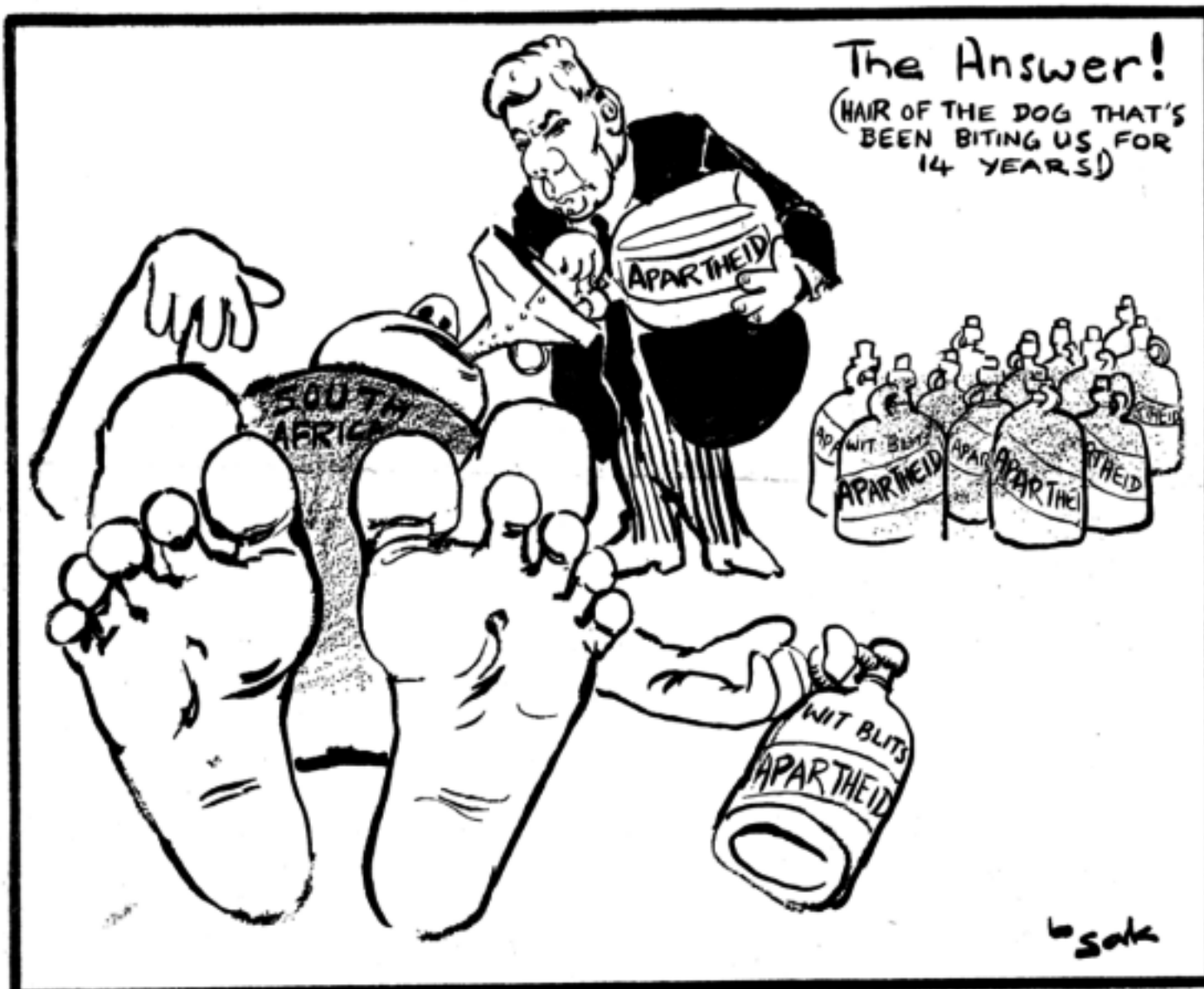
Newspapers which do not abide by these rules are branded as "subversive", "traitorous", "lying", and if they do not change their policy, they are suppressed. Our Correspondent on page 6 suggests that the major part of the English-language press in South Africa is gradually being coaxed and bullied into the Nationalist fold (there are of course notable exceptions): with this happening, the burden of outspoken opposition to apartheid has devolved more and more to the "small" newspapers (of which *New Age* was an example). The ban on *New Age*, and other bans that may follow, constitute serious blows in the defences against apartheid, and show, if it needs be shown again, that the government is prepared, even happy, to use tyrannical methods to kill one of the finest demo-

cratic traditions the world has seen, the freedom of the press, in order to achieve its goals. It has to do so, because if it were to rely on normal methods to implement its policies, it would not be able to.

The freedom of the press in South Africa was won more than a century ago after a long and hard-fought battle against tyrannical British governors: it is now being destroyed by the descendants of people who trekked north to escape British tyranny, and who now find themselves in a position where they can assume the trappings of dictatorship and deprive the country of the basic rights and freedoms to which all men are heirs. One of these is the freedom of the press, the freedom of open discussion, freedom to rally opposition and work to change society. Once these freedoms are destroyed, the whole nation suffers. This is now happening rapidly in South Africa, but even as the forces of tyranny try to make themselves immovable, so the forces of freedom gather strength and prepare for a South Africa where the rights of man will be respected and enshrined in law.

When that happens, the right which any newspaper has to exist will be respected and maintained, even by governments hostile to the policies of certain newspapers. Those who feel that that is an impossibility should recall that even in the United States, which regards itself as the prime defender against communism, a Communist Party exists, and a communist newspaper, *The Worker*, is published regularly, as are other journals which, for example, support Castro and oppose American policy on Cuba. A similar respect for opposition exists in most countries of the free world: this respect does not exist in countries ruled by authoritarian or tyrannical governments (anyone in the Soviet Union, for example, who started a newspaper which openly advocated capitalism, would be lucky to escape the executioner).

That the Nationalist government is now busy depriving its subjects of one of their few remaining rights, is another crime in the eyes of humanity: and the greatest punishment that Nationalists could suffer for it would be the restoration of all civil liberties to their subjects, and that, no doubt, is what they most fear.



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TRANSKEI "FIREARMS SQUAD" ALLEGED TO USE TORTURE

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Since the end of August a small police camp just out of sight and earshot of Willowvale, Gcalekaland, has been the base of a new Transkei police unit known locally as the Firearms Squad.

Ostensibly engaged in disarming the citizens of the Bantustan-to-be, the squad's three White and five African policemen seem more intent on tracing the political roots of persistent rural sabotage against Betterment Scheme fencing and government dipping tanks.

Fencing Cut

In July six or seven miles of fencing between Weza and Nqadu locations (the latter the site of Paramount Chief Zwelidumile Sigcawu's Great Place) were destroyed and a week's visit from the 15-van Mobile Squad followed. Though between 50 and 100 residents were held for questioning none was charged. The Firearms Squad followed on their heels and in more than two months' activity has brought four people to court, including Mrs. Khalepile, middle-aged widow who was sentenced to six months jail for being in possession of a pistol she claimed to have belonged to her late husband.

But the Firearms Squad works on. Daily one or other of its Landrovers is to be seen bringing a suspect or two to its camp. Here the suspect is "held" for questioning having been told to

bring mealies and cooking pots and personal effects with him. He sleeps in the open and is questioned daily and after a week or so is told to make his own way home, however distant.

But what is agitating the people of Willowvale are the stories of "third degree" methods being used at the camp.

- A clerk told me he had heard screams from one of the group of cottage tents when walking near the camp.
- Released suspects have spoken of being assaulted when blindfold in such a way that no bruises are left.

STATEMENT BY PRISONER

THE above report was received from a *Contact* reporter visiting Willowvale during November. It has been held back pending receipt of a statement from one of the Firearms Squad's prisoners, which is now in our possession. Of its 19 paragraphs, Nos. 13-16 read:

13. "When I got to their camp, which is just outside Willowvale, NOT the police station (I know), I was questioned about the 'paper' the whole night. I repeatedly explained that I got it from some schoolchildren I did not know, who told me that it had news about 'Inkululeko' (freedom). I was blindfolded and assaulted until I was dazed. Then I was told that if I did not tell the truth I will go without food and water for days.
14. "I am unable to point out any

particular spot where they assaulted me because I have no open wounds or cuts. Also, even the parts that were swollen had died [down], while I was at their camp for four days.

15. "During my stay there, they would assault me in the early morning, afterwards tell me to cook my mealies, as they will not waste government food on a dog like myself. Then again they would assault me in the evening.
16. "On the fifth day they released me and said that I must never tell a soul about what happened there otherwise they would take me and lock me in jail indefinitely until I die there."

The maker of this statement describes himself as "about 60 years of age".

Intimidation

Others affected by the presence of the Firearms Squad are

- Traders who say that fear of the squad's activities are keeping their rural customers away from the village;
- Herbalists who are rumoured to have been threatened with loss of their "papers" to practise if they do not inform on political suspects;
- The population as a whole, barring the inevitable government stooges.

The people of Willowvale are oppressed by the knowledge of the sinister little camp outside their village and the coming and going of its police vans. An attorney told me that legal attempts to have held men released would probably prove futile as Proclamation 400 could be invoked against them at any time and they could then be detained legally.

Personal Files

THE Commission of Enquiry into the medium of instruction in Bantu Education Primary schools in the Transkei has finally reported, and its report is being "translated and finally prepared in both official languages before it was printed", says Mr. Willie Maree, the Minister of Bantu Education, and employer of two of the three commissioners. What is "finally prepared"? It might be instructive to see the original draft and the final version. Not that the commission can have gone far wrong, if one is to believe the extracts summarized by Mr. Maree in a speech at Germiston on 29th November. The vital question, it will be remembered, was whether or not mother-tongue instruction up to Standard VI was harming the education of African children, who, until Bantu Education got into its stride, were taught in English after Standard II. Transkeian opinion must be something like 99% in favour of the English language as the medium of instruction as early as possible, two of the strongest reasons being that it opens the door to the world's knowledge, and, even more practically, that it enables South African to converse with South African across the multiplicity of language barriers in our multi-lingual country. The commissioners have almost turned themselves inside out trying to justify the mother-tongue instruction principle and yet to meet these arguments. As Mr. Maree quotes it, they have produced a wonderful Irishism: "If the mother-tongue is not a suitable medium of instruction then it must either be developed to become to suitable medium or the people must adopt another mother-tongue."

LUIA, LADY FORBES was in South Africa in 1961, giving talks on her life in South America. She was a South African by birth, a Juta of Cape Town,

if I remember the gossip columns right. Her talks were found amusing by many people—they consisted of travellers' tales that made Peru, or Chile or whatever country she told of, the scene of events and places which can be called fabulous, in the correct sense of that word. From South Africa she has journeyed back to America and is telling equally strange tales about us. A friend in Pennsylvania writes: "Her thesis is that the present government is most Christian in allowing the Africans and Coloureds to govern themselves in their own states, like the Transkei, and democratic in quieting pro-communist agitators like Paton and various Anglican bishops". She is said to lead off with colour movies of the Kruger National Park, a few African housing settlements and a shot or two of a black doctor working in a Cape hospital (the last-mentioned probably ten years old). The lectures are given free.

This is the achievement of the South African Foundation: that pro-apartheid lectures and interviews are now respectable. Scarcely a week passes but that the local press reports a U.S. Senator Ellender, a Canadian Trade Commissioner, a German editor, or an obscure retired British official with a knighthood, saying "we like apartheid". The early nineteen-fifties saw a crop of anti-apartheid novels, travelogues, and political books. It looks as if the 'sixties (or for as much of them as apartheid survives) will see a pro-apartheid crop. Who knows but that Luia, Lady Forbes isn't putting together a MS even now?

THE Commissioner-General of the Transkei, Mr. Hans Abraham, about whom a very interesting story would have appeared in this feature last week had it not been for the Editor's misgivings, said in public on 24th November at Queen's Mercy, Matatiele District, what he has long been saying in private: that the African people of the Transkei must beware of "Liberals and agitators", who will get them into trouble. The Liberals he described as "wolves" trying to take the positions of the chiefs. No doubt fearing the effect of a visit paid by some Liberal organizers to the area just before the occasion of this speech—the installation

of the young Chief Jeremiah Moshesh, head of the Maluti Regional Authority and senior chief of the Transkei's Basuto—Mr. Abraham also told the assembled Basuto that the Liberals were stirring up ill-feeling between the Hlubi and the Basuto, by saying that the Basuto had taken the Hlubi's land. (My correspondent at Matatiele writes: "This is not true. There is no substance in the accusation.") The officials' fears were possibly the reason for the fact that Chief Jeremiah did not deliver the written speech he had prepared for the installation, though my correspondent suggests that "the government did not want to encroach upon the time for speeches by Messrs. Abraham, Froneman and Young, the B.A.D. big brass present". Other points that the Basuto audience noticed were that the main party sat at an "L"-shaped platform—Whites on one leg of it, Chief Jeremiah in the middle, and his African councillors along the other leg. When Mr. C. B. Young went to Chief Jeremiah he walked across to him, saying he wanted to meet the chief on the chief's ground. The impression given to some was that the chief was not good enough to enter the Whites' ground. In addition, the platform was built by the Magistrate's Court staff the previous day, yet the impression was given that the Queen's Mercy people built the platform as part of their welcome of the government people.

PROFESSOR CHARLES BOXER, professor of Portuguese History at London University, is a frequent visitor to Africa, usually to the Portuguese territories, whose history he probably knows better than any man living. He was a regular soldier in the British Army before his remarkable scholarship in Portuguese history called him to university life. He therefore had a right to express the opinion that is quoted of him after his return from Angola, where he was in the early days of the anti-Portuguese rising: "The Portuguese ran all right, but what is worse, they ran when they didn't have to!"

By Jacob Bam

GIVE AND TAKE

The New African

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RURAL "BANTU TOWNSHIPS"

Strictest Control by B.A.D.: Along Lines of City "Locations"

By a Correspondent

THE regulations under which towns are being established in the Reserves make it quite clear that the residents are not to enjoy any but the most rudimentary powers. This is made clear in the *Government Gazette Extraordinary* (16th November) in which township regulations are laid out.

The effective control of a town will lie in the hands of a Manager, who is appointed by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. There are also to be Township Councils, consisting of elected and "selected" members. The Councils' powers are limited to such matters as supervision of sanitary arrangements, slaughtering of animals, traffic control. The Councils will also establish a "community guard for the preservation of the safety of the inhabitants of the township, the maintenance of law and order . . ." The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner can, however, deprive a Council of any of its small powers.

Ethnic Groups

The towns are to be established on ethnic lines for the different "national groups" among Africans, and permission is needed for an African who is not a member of the appropriate "group" to reside there. Chiefs will have official representation in the towns and the Councils.

The residents of the towns will be subject to regulations such as the following, and the Councils will not have the power to change them:

● "No person shall gamble in the township with cards, dice, coin or instrument of hazard or any game of chance." (2: 26, ii.)

● "No person shall light any fire in any street, road or thoroughfare or other public place or on the commonage save

with the prior permission of the manager and in accordance with any directions of the manager in such permission contained." (2: 32, i.)

● "No person shall, save with the written permission of the superintendent, keep in or introduce into the township any—

(a) cattle, sheep, goats or pigs;

(b) horses, mules or donkeys;

(c) poultry." (2: 39, i.)

● "The manager, superintendent or any of his assistants or any other authorised employee, may at any reasonable time, having regard to the convenience of the occupants, enter without previous notice upon any premises whatsoever for any purpose connected with the carrying out of these regulations . . ." (2: 42, i.)

● "No person shall refuse to permit the manager, superintendent, assistant or authorised employee to enter his premises." (2: 42, ii.)

Public Meetings

● [Permission must be obtained for meetings] and, any person or body of persons desiring to convene, hold or conduct a meeting or assembly of Bantu persons within the township, must apply in writing for permission:

"Such application shall state particulars of the nature and purpose of the meeting or assembly, the subject to be discussed thereat and the time and place where such meeting or assembly is to be held." (6: 2, i.)

● "If during the progress of any meeting or assembly, any subject matter other than that referred to in sub-regulation (1) of regulation 2 of this chapter is discussed, the member of the police or authorized employee under whose supervision such meeting or assembly is held, may order the chairman to adjourn the meeting or assembly and to leave the chair and order persons attending such meeting or assembly to disperse." (6: 4, ii.)

On the evidence of these regulations, the wide powers vested in the Manager, and the inability of residents to change the regulations under which they live, it will be impossible for normal democratic procedures to develop. The towns will be little more than rural "locations".

Tanganyika

TANU OPENS DOORS TO ALL RACES

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: For eight years the Tanganyika African National Union, while racial in composition but following a non-racial policy for the country's progressive development, had shut its doors to non-Africans simply because its far-sighted leader, Dr. Julius Kambarage Nyerere thought, and with him many members of the TANU felt the same, that the movement for the independence

of Tanganyika must be led by Africans.

Now that the aim of independence has been attained and the country has moved another step forward in becoming a Republic with Dr. Nyerere as executive President, the National Executive of the Tanganyika African National Union decided that the time had come for the Party to look to the future rather than to the past.

Accordingly a special meeting of the National Executive towards the end of November decided to recommend to the

annual conference of TANU to be held in January that it should take in non-African citizens of Tanganyika as members and that the Party's Constitution be amended accordingly. At the same time, the National Executive decided that a "political amnesty", as Dr. Nyerere termed it, should be accorded to "rebel" TANU members.

The National Executive's decisions were explained to the press by Dr. Nyerere himself on 27th November.

Dr. Nyerere said when the Party was first formed in 1954 it was purely an African Party, but non-Africans did play a part, however small, in supporting TANU's aspirations for complete independence. While it was racial in membership, the Party had a non-racial policy. So much emphasis had been put on the "non-racial policy" aspect that many people overseas thought that Party membership was open to all races.

In 1958 the TANU National Executive wanted to open its doors to non-Africans but decided that the time was not opportune. "There had never been any dispute on the principle but the only dispute was the question of timing," Dr. Nyerere said.

"Restlessness"

Elaborating on the "amnesty" decision, Dr. Nyerere said that unless an amnesty was offered, those outside TANU could never play a full part in the country's politics, nor could there be a truly democratic election.

These far-reaching changes in TANU should help strengthen the rank and file of TANU members who in recent months have been showing signs of restlessness over many problems facing the country. At the same time they should help instil confidence in the minority communities—Asians, Whites and Arabs—who are not of indigenous origin, that their future lies with TANU and that by becoming citizens of Tanganyika—a condition precedent to applying for and becoming members of TANU—they too can contribute to the building of a truly prosperous Tanganyika in which the colour of the skin will be of no account.

SWEEPING REFORM IN TANGANYIKA CITIZENSHIP LAW

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Tanganyika has decided to grant citizenship rights to persons of "African descent" who are connected by birth or residence with certain countries on or adjacent to the African continent, including South Africa.

Under the existing Citizenship Act (1961) passed by parliament just before Tanganyika was declared an independent sovereign nation on 9th December, 1961, citizenship is conferred on a number of persons other than indigenous Africans of Tanganyika by a process of registration in the case of commonwealth subjects or by naturalization in the case of persons other than those belonging to commonwealth countries. In addition, Tanganyika citizenship is also conferred on citizens of independent African countries on a reciprocal basis, that is provided such countries are prepared to reciprocate with Tanganyika.

"African Descent"

There were, however, no powers or provisions in the existing citizenship laws of Tanganyika which empowered the Minister for Home Affairs to confer citizenship status to persons of "African descent" from a number of countries



KAMBONA

which are not independent nations within Africa as well as islands adjacent to the African continent.

Accordingly, the Home Minister, Mr. Oscar Kambona, moving an amendment to the Tanganyika Citizenship Act in Parliament last month told members that it has been Tanganyika's policy "that our unity should serve in some way or other to help other African countries to get rid of colonial rule and to get the whole of the African continent united".

One of the ways of contributing towards this objective was to confer citizenship rights on persons resident in Tanganyika and hailing from Angola, Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and the São Tomé and Príncipe Islands (all under Portuguese colonial rule), the Comores Islands (off the East African coast), French Somaliland, Spanish Sahara, Fernando Po, Rio Irani and the Moroccan enclaves) and the Republic of South Africa.

Fulfil Conditions

The Minister assured members that there should be no fears of getting Tanganyika over-populated by registration of such people because firstly, applicants would have to comply with the other conditions laid down for the acquisition of Tanganyika citizenship.

Secondly, the Minister said it was unlikely that the number of such applicants admitted to Tanganyika citizenship would be enough as to affect the "wellbeing" of Tanganyika citizens.

All such persons will be required to take an Oath of Allegiance to the President of the Republic of Tanganyika.

LEBALLO RETURNS FROM UNITED NATIONS

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Mr. Potlako Leballo, former National Secretary of the now banned Pan Africanist Congress, arrived here last Friday in a special chartered aircraft from Salisbury on his way back from the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Petitioners

At U.N. Mr. Leballo addressed the General Assembly and was one of the petitioners before the fourth Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations on South West Africa. Mr. Leballo petitioned the U.N. on South West Africa together with the Rev. Michael Scott, who represented the Africa Bureau, London, and Mr. Sam Nujoma, representing the South West Africa People's Organization.

When Mr. Leballo testified before the Trusteeship Committee a total of twelve petitioners had been granted hearings on the question. Mr. Leballo in his

petition said he was representing the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa.

He said the fate of the people of South West Africa was inextricably interwoven with that of the people of South Africa. The African people in South Africa had no moral duty to obey discriminatory and repressive laws and, deprived of their leaders, many of whom have been arrested and imprisoned, the Africans might resort to desperate measures. The Verwoerd terror such as was displayed by the police at the Sharpeville and Langa shootings would not deter the African people from fighting for their freedom, Mr. Leballo said.

Eric Louw

In a statement Mr. Leballo says that at the United Nations in New York he met Mr. Eric Louw, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, and challenged him to allow either an independent group of jurists or the International Red Cross to investigate the health of Mr. Sobukwe, the former P.A.C. President, now serving a three-year prison term. Mr. Louw declined.

Mr. Robert Resha of the A.N.C. was at the United Nations too and assisted Mr. Louw in his attempts to discredit Mr. Leballo by distributing the *Sunday Express* story on Mr. Sobukwe's health. The majority of delegates at the General Assembly however ignored the *Sunday Express* story suspecting that it was not investigated impartially.

Eleven African States

Mr. Leballo further demanded the removal of the "White settler South African government" from office and its replacement by a democratic majority government representative of the African people's aspirations.

On his way back from New York, Mr. Leballo visited eleven African states including Algeria, and spent eight days with Dr. Nkrumah in Accra together with Mr. Nana Mahomo, the P.A.C.'s London representative, and Mr. Peter Molotsi of the P.A.C. Accra office. In these states Mr. Leballo met heads of



LEBALLO

governments and leaders of the nationalist movements. He also discussed P.A.C. policy with his organization's foreign representatives with a view to consolidating P.A.C. strategy for the new onslaught to be unleashed shortly against White rule in South Africa. Mr. Leballo has brought with him a massive programme of action which he finalized with P.A.C. foreign representatives.

Nkoana Condemns Refugee Publicity

THE publicity which surrounded the flight of a group of 27 refugees from South Africa by way of Bechuanaland to Tanganyika is likely to have the effect of making it difficult for others to leave the Republic by the secret route which has proved safe and undetected in the past.

In a statement to *Contact*, Mr. Matthew Nkoana, Vice-President of the Pan Africanist Congress (in exile) and PAC representative in Bechuanaland, condemns the manner in which the latest "escapes" were handled, and particularly the publicity which they were given, in some instances by the people concerned in them. He says that the publicity and "bungling" of the escapes have caused great embarrassment to the Bechuanaland authorities, who are trying to keep the borders of the Protectorate and the Republic open. Delicate negotiations have been taking place between the two governments and then, says Mr. Nkoana, "came a first-class job of bungling and blurring by South Africa's Black (and I mean Black) politicians with their insatiable lust for publicity, their incurable weakness for playing at the game of politics when we are engaged in mortal combat."

"They bungled the handling of refugees passing through Bechuanaland and held a 'secret' meeting at Lobatsi amid fanfares of publicity to the utter embarrassment of the Bechuanaland Administration . . .

"Top Level Talks"

"Since mid-1961 top level talks have taken place from time to time in one of the Protectorates without the knowledge of the authorities there, and

without a single word being said in the newspapers about them. But now the whole thing has been given away.

"Since 1960 refugees have come to Bechuanaland and many have passed on. There has been an organized exodus with a base at Francistown. The underground route, with freedom passes across the Rhodesias, was the special charge of someone in Francistown.

Secret "Tunnel"

"The tunnel was known to him and to him alone. There was no publicity and there have been only a few mishaps. It went on quietly and unobtrusively until the case of the 27 which made South African newspaper headlines.

"There had been bungling from the very moment the 27 left South Africa via Palapye. They left Johannesburg conspicuously in a group of 27 by lorry, and were turned back at Rustenburg, but started again from Johannesburg by night the same day and managed to cross the border. They arrived at Palapye where they got their further briefing, which included the crossing of the Rhodesian border at certain points on foot.

"Now it was well known at base that crossing that border could not be done by a group of more than three or four people at a time without certain detection. But these were to do it—in a group of 27! What followed was more than three weeks for them in Rhodesian prisons.

"In the meantime Rhodesian police border surveillance, as well as border-area field reconnaissance, was stepped up and into the net fell three students from South West Africa. Two other men,

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

Question Time at the Jongilizwe School

LECTURE: THE CONGO.

Answer THO questions only.

- Describe:
 - How Patrice Lumumba came to be in power in the Congo Republic.
 - How he used his power.
 - The result of his Premiership.
 - Why Katanga and Kasai seceded.
 - Why Tehombe was jailed.

OR

- Describe how the unpreparedness of the Congolese peoples made a mockery of their democratic independence and give a brief outline of the events that occurred during the first year of independence.
- Describe the Cold War in Africa with special reference to the new Congo Republic under the following headings:—
 - How the Communists fight, the Cold War.
 - The role played by Rasjeshwar Dayal and Antoine Gizenga.
 - The position of the United Nations force.

OR

- "Countries are not real in Africa, Tribes are real." Why do we make such a statement? Describe.

LECTURE: THE UNION'S ATTITUDE TO AFRICA.

- Give a description of what you think should be the attitude of South Africa to the other independent African states.

LECTURE: THE UNION AND THE EMERGENT STATES OF AFRICA.

- Describe:
 - Why South Africa in her relations to African states should confine herself to Africa which lies South of the Sahara.
 - The problems to be solved in Africa.
 - Why friendly relations between South Africa and emergent African states have not yet been realised.

This question paper set for the 4th Form at the Jongilizwe School for the Sons of Chiefs (at Tsolo, Transkei) has come into our possession. The Jongilizwe School trains the young men who will succeed to positions of power in the Bantustans. The school's syllabus is designed on strict "Bantuization" lines (see question 4) and closely reflects Nationalist policy on South Africa and Africa.

New David Marais Collection

AS the cartoonist for the daily *Cape Times* and several weekly papers (in the past for *Contact* too), David Marais has succeeded in establishing himself as possibly the funniest commentator on the South African political scene: few stupidities of members of the government escape his well-sharpened pen.

Over the years he has created a world inhabited by ballooning phantoms with faces like Verwoerd, De Wet Nel and Hans Abrahams; Eric Louw with his scissors and newspaper cuttings; Hertzog, standing at an angle and protesting that the world is "slanted"; and more recently Vorster in Nazi uniform, with the face of a bird of prey bent into a perpetual scowl. Besides the politicians, Marais has a keen eye for the peculiarities of ordinary (usually White) South Africans.

Those who see politics as a game will enjoy his third collection* of cartoons far more than those who suffer under the whiplash of the men Marais pictures as billowing buffoons: there are no doubt many aspects of apart-

**I Got a Licence* (Books of Africa, R1.25).



"'UNO?' I said. 'Don't talk to me about UNO,' I said and — this is the funny part — 'UNO's nothing but a farce,' I said."

heid that are "funny", but only to those who are safe from the humiliations that apartheid brings. Only occasionally does he give his public a shock look at the results of politicians' policies, as when De Wet Nel tells the starving mother of a starving child, "He's not starving — just hungry."

Nothing that a vitamin-enriched, high protein diet couldn't fix."

Perhaps Marais' general approach is no more than a symptom of a withdrawal from active opposition to apartheid by *Cape Times* society, an admission of defeat which finds solace in laughing.—Y. S.

"THE TANGANYIKA WAY"

By Bessie Head

ALTHOUGH the history of mankind has been an unhappy one on the whole, torn by bloodshed, wars and brutal oppression, we have never lacked for great men and women with high ideals into terms of progress and for change; we have never lacked men of action who were able to translate these ideals into terms of progress and for the making of this earth a much happier place in which to live.

This can be said of Tanganyika and the men and women who are shaping her future with dedication and sincerity. In the struggle of the African continent to rid itself of the oppressive and suppressive rule of foreign powers, Tanganyika has had a wonderful start because she has been able to show that the ideals of a non-racial democracy—economic progress for the poor and under-privileged—are a working actuality and not merely empty promises in the mouths of power-driven politicians.

Mrs. Mustafa, who is an elected member of the Legislative Council,

gives a personal account* of Tanganyika's peaceful and constitutional attainment of independence. She was first elected as an Asian representative to the Legislative Council of Tanganyika in September 1958 and re-elected unopposed in July 1960. Before entering politics she was a housewife and worked as a stenographer for her husband. Her election was proposed and supported by TANU, the political party of Mr. Julius Nyerere. Her book covers the period between July 1958 and the first stage of direct elections in Tanganyika, to the attainment of independence in 1961. During the first election campaign she met and became the firm friend of Mr. Nyerere. Of him she says: "He is a practical idealist and, that rare phenomenon, a sincere politician with integrity . . . He is forward not backward looking. He is unassuming and modest, but his modesty is rooted in great moral strength . . . He wields great power without being corrupted . . ."

**The Tanganyika Way*, Sophia Mustafa (Oxford University Press).

As India is politically united by the immense prestige and personality of Mr. Nehru, so Tanganyika is united in affection for and trust in Julius Nyerere. There are many long quotations in the book from his political speeches—speeches that are brilliant yet spoken with a quiet reasonableness.

And what of Tanganyika—the future? Mrs. Mustafa says that before Independence *Uhuru na kazi* (freedom and work) used to be a slogan. Now it is becoming a form of daily greeting! Such is the spirit of Tanganyika. It is touching to note that people who have suffered can rise to great efforts when they have leaders who are sincere and honest and who serve them selflessly. Although the road to economic prosperity, democracy and complete racial harmony is a long hard one of struggle, the future is bright for Tanganyika, for, says Mrs. Mustafa, the country has blazed a new trail and shown that in Africa peaceful co-operation and all those ideals and hopes which make life happier, are things that men can live and not merely dream about.

KEEPING IN TOUCH

By a Correspondent

THE total takeover of the South African Broadcasting Corporation by pro-apartheid forces has turned the country's most powerful and pervasive means of communication into an organ for the dissemination of Nationalist propaganda.

Observers believe that the next campaign for the control of means of influencing public opinion will be for pro-Nationalist groups to take over the generally anti-apartheid English-language press in South Africa: the first step has already been taken, and the first battle won, with the growing influence of the South Africa Foundation in the press world. The National Press Union's Code of Conduct, to which all major newspapers have subscribed, contains clauses which can be interpreted as tending to stifle direct criticism of apartheid, and which may, when the Code is strictly applied, turn the English-language press into a negative force in South African politics. To accomplish that will be a great victory for the Nationalists, for the South African public will have been cut off from anti-Nationalist thought the Sabotage Act and the Publications and Entertainments Bill (if it becomes law, and it is due in the next session of parliament), will between them take care of such radical opposition papers as *Contact*, *The New African*, *Fighting Talk*. If not banned, like *New Age*, they will find it impossible to continue along their present lines with the provisions of the Censorship Bill to comply with.

How Escape?

How then do those who want to read and know about world affairs escape Nationalist indoctrination? One means is by reading papers from beyond our borders which are opposed to apartheid, the other is to tune one's radio to stations outside South Africa which report developments in Africa and the world without the "slant" given by the S.A.B.C.

There is a growing number of periodicals which devote considerable space to developments in Africa, as well as a growing number devoted entirely to developments on the continent, or world developments seen from an African point of view. For those who want a general news survey week by week, with a fair slice given over to Africa, the *London Observer*, *New Statesman*, *Guardian Weekly Review*, *Times Weekly Review*, *Spectator*, *Peace News**, will provide as much as anyone could want.

Those with a special interest in Africa, and wanting more detailed analysis of trends and developments, as well as hard news will find the following periodicals helpful: *Spearhead** (monthly, Dar es Salaam), *Central African Mail* (weekly, Lusaka), *Central African Examiner* (monthly, Salisbury), *Africa Report* (monthly, Washington), *Africa Diary* (weekly, New Delhi), *Jeune Afrique*† (weekly, Tunis), *Malawi News* (weekly, Blantyre).

Most of these papers can be ordered through the Central News Agency in South Africa, but if there is any difficulty, *Contact* will be happy to help readers who want to subscribe to any of them.

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

*Banned in South Africa (not in Protectorates).
†French language.

Political Chameleon by P. A. Dignitee

OF ALL POLITICAL chameleons
Imperialism is the subtlest
As his colour changes

As fast as the leaf he treads:
Verdurous, green as if benevolent;
Cruel, harsh and unkind,
Clutching our institutions as at twigs
Pacing out with ogling hesitation;
Master, and past master
In the rate and art of gradualism;

SUCH TINCTURED innocence
Hides behind insidious inroads
Upon the liberties of once unwary hosts:

The common fare but fed to them
As if they were honoured to be guests
Of "civilisation" and "fruits of culture"
"The imperial majesty will solve the native problem",
A favourite mask of colonialism.
What of the latest digestional gadgets
Of "separate development" and parallel
"Partnership" and mutual "coexistence",
They feed upon the men they nourish.

WHATEVER IT MAY BE, its name,
The "Pax Romana", the "Pax Britannica"
Is maintained by the blood of men
Or by perpetual incarceration

To perpetuate the NAME of peace.
The *jus gentis* is the governing law,
Imposed by the peace makers
On gentiles that must be governed
Or aborigines that must be ruled
Directly or indirectly
After conquest by the sword
Contrary to their cherished desire,
By the dictates of veterans
Who pride themselves as masters
To bring to subjugation others
As the lion the buck in the jungle.

BUT WERE MEN to be only as bucks
Incapable of discerning the hue of oppression
From the cool shades of nature's generosity
Then would the children of this soil
Be wallowing still in the mud of deception
Taking domination as a mark of co-operation.
The conspicuous symbol of oppression
Our eyes as men's eyes see:
The depths of degradation
To which we are raised
And rebel against the peril of humiliation
Cloaked in the pill of odiferous sweetness.
We ask for nothing but our right
To determine our affairs as we wish
To earn our living for ourselves
To spend our sweat to nourish our bodies.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

Bibles and Land

SIR,—May I be permitted to refer to the letter about Bibles and Land from Brother M. A. Hoacane (*Contact*, 15th November) in which he replied to Brother Deke Miza (*Contact*, 18th October).

Brother Hoacane does not understand what Brother Miza means. What he means is that the so-called missionaries preached on this continent of ours using the Bible and its sayings: Thou shalt not kill, or steal, or commit adultery, or bear false witness, or covet and so on. But today you will find them killing, committing adultery, stealing our lands and gold, bearing false witness against us, coveting our beautiful lands and also causing a great noise on this continent of ours. Is this then the word of God or the Bible? If we turn back to their Bible, we find it accusing them completely, as in Exodus 20: 13-17; Proverbs 18: 8; Psalms, 140: 3; Isaiah 63: 8; Zephaniah 3: 13; and Ecclesiastes 5: 9.

I, therefore, claim that there is no truth in these present missionaries and those who said they come here for trade. For there is no chapter and verse in the Bible which says the Africans' riches are in heaven and the Whites' are on earth or on land which is not his, which would be against the teachings of the Bible illustrated in the above quotations.

If Brother Hoacane turns back to the first page of our *Contact* (20th September) he will find that the occupiers of the land were called together in a church hall and told to leave their lands and go elsewhere. Note that it was "in a church hall", where the Bible is read and kept. This shows once again that we have the Bibles and they our land.

Our beloved President, Sékou Touré of Guinea testifies that God is our maker, and His words existed herein from the beginning.

BROTHER HAY KOMWA,
Zomba, Nyasaland.

[The case against the hypocritical Christians is a strong one, and they do no credit to the religion they believe in and the God they say they serve. But let us not forget the thousands of others, both Black and White, who serve Africa and its people humbly and who live according to the law of God.—EDITOR.]

Liberalism the Solution, but . . .

SIR,—Liberalism is the only solution to the present situation. But the way Liberals are endeavouring to get freedom, in my opinion, is wrong. Liberals are using the wrong methods which are against history.

The present government will not yield in the face of our peaceful demonstrations. There's a wise saying which reads thus: "Peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must".

How did America get free? By violence. And that is to take only one example. We are not exceptions in history. The only language this government understands is force, for it always meets peaceful demonstrations by force.

I hope that you will advise me on this matter.

IN THE STRUGGLE,
Krugersdorp.

[Nearly all the African states won their freedom without violence. The exceptions include Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco. Other countries which have won their freedom without violence are India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon. The Liberal Party of South Africa believes that non-violence is the best way to win freedom for South Africa. There are other groups in South Africa who believe that freedom can be won only through violence.—EDITOR.]

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- We like short letters on any topic
- A prize — "Contact" free for a year — is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

Vukani maAfrika

SIR,—Swaziland is part of the continent of Africa—the continent which today is a seething cauldron, shaping the destiny of the negroid race. We are also in the path of the hurricane of Black Nationalism. We are at that stage of our history where we can no longer fold our arms in complacency and let the fate of our nation be decided by anybody but ourselves.

Like an apple that is ripe we are now falling from the tree that has nurtured us. From the seeds that fall thus to the ground, we shall develop into new trees, whose fruits our posterity will enjoy with pride and say: "They did what they had been sent to do."

Our fate is the fate of the whole continent of Africa, our lot is the same.

Vukani maAfrika,
nanti izwe lenu!



RAY GASOLO,
Hlatikulu, Swaziland.

PRIZE LETTER

RARE EXCEPTION

SIR,—During a visit to Ramaquabane Siding, some 40 miles north of Francistown, I found Africans living there and experiencing great difficulty in getting water: they had to travel seven miles to get it. What is irritating is that water is available very close to their place, but has been fenced off by Messrs. Haskins and Sons who own a piece of land there.

Here in Francistown African cattle and goats have nowhere to graze because of fenced farms around the African townships, leaving no space for an African to set his foot upon; yet the poor African is made to pay grazing fees all the same! Jail to the African here has become his daily food.

But I am compelled to mention the name of Barney Balsler here, who has singled himself out from among Whites and sympathizes with the Africans. To mention just a few cases which illustrate this: I met two old men who had worked during all the days of their youth for the Tati Company, but when they were old they were cast aside; Mr. Balsler took them on and continues to feed them. Widows and orphans of his late employees are cared for by him and still receive pay to this day!

Really this gentleman deserves all African support in every way possible. Long live Barney!

J. BAVELA,
Francistown.

Seeks Non-racial Pen Friends

SIR,—The fact that I am a non-racial citizen of South Africa has made it necessary to attempt to contact other people who share the same beliefs as I do.

My aim is to correspond and associate with as many people of approximately my age who believe in equal rights. I therefore request that you publish my request for "pen-pals" in your extremely interesting journal.

I am a young man of 21 years, I am single and my hobbies are writing, listening to jazz and photography. I am employed as a clerk and also work as a free-lance journalist. Prospective correspondents must be liberal-minded persons of both sexes and must definitely be opposed to racial discrimination.

RAYMOND HILL,
c/o P.O. Box 1114, Johannesburg.

WE DEMAND FULL FREEDOM FROM VERWOERD!

SIR,—I am attending school here in South West Africa. Here there are different peoples, Whites and non-Whites. The non-Whites are not satisfied with Bantu Education, because the Whites are biased against us and their commandments are bad, therefore they do not like to be fair. This sort of thing was brought by Dr. Verwoerd because he governs with so much falsehood in our country. But we hope that he will never gain happiness from it, because he has distorted our country with his laws and all the stooges believe in his gods.

Let us unite to become great hunters, and strong to break their gods. It must be rooted in their minds that they will never gain happiness from this country.

STUDENT,
Ovamboland.

SIR,—A man here must always have his passes on him, his contract of service, his night pass and his travelling pass. If he works later than 9 p.m. his employer must give him a pass to that effect, or else he is sent to jail. If a non-White worker goes out of the police zone he must have a travelling pass or else he will be fined or jailed.

If these oppressed people of South West Africa get their freedom it stands to reason that all those who support Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid policy will have no place here.

Forward with the struggle for freedom!

MBUHA KUJANI,
Keetmanshoop.

SIR,—We are trying the best we can to tell the world that we are leading a bad life here in Windhoek, South West Africa. When we say we are leading a bad life we mean that the South Africans must move away from us with their government and their police who are always after us forbidding us to talk of SWAPO here in Windhoek. Moreover, Mr. Lucas Pohamba and Mr. Eliander Muatale are still in jail, and the police say that we cannot say anything about them at our meetings.

FOUR MEN IN OVAMBO COMPOUND,
Windhoek.

THANKS TO SIR JOHN

SIR,—On behalf of the people of South West Africa I wish to express sincere thanks and appreciation to all who had a hand in setting free the three young South West Africans who are to be scholars in Dar es Salaam.

One cannot allow that act of kindness and sympathy, that maintaining of justice and human freedom and dignity, to pass away without a word of thanksgiving.

Special thanks to Sir John Maud on whose authority the three were granted asylum. I appeal to all other governments to show too that justice can triumph over evil.



K. HAMUNJELA JAHANGULA,
Bechuanaland.

SIR,—The South African government must understand that Africans will not be misled by empty promises. Africans must expect no help from the South African government which exploits and oppresses them.

We are at the point of winning, and I want to remind you of it: I also want to remind you of the persecutions in Africa, such as the arrest of Mr. Lucas Pohamba and Mr. Eliander Muatale who are now in jail in Windhoek.

When the Chairman of the UNO special committee on South West Africa, Dr. V. Carpio was here, he was promised in a joint statement that the South West African government would help the people of South West Africa in the near future; but Dr. Verwoerd is not interested in helping the people of South West Africa, only in appeasing the world so that the nations will stop trying to take South West Africa out of South African control.

Brothers and sisters of Africa and Asia and Europe, let us beg the United Nations to take us out of this terrible slavery which is upon us. We never kill but we die for freedom.

JONAS S. NDIMANA,
Oranjemund.

SCHOLARSHIPS

**SOUTH AFRICAN COMMITTEE
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION**

Bursaries valued at R300 per annum, renewable yearly (5 or 6 years) offered non-White matriculants wishing study externally for London B.A. or B.Sc. (Economics) degrees.

Applications invited from residents of Cape Peninsula area and should be addressed to: Secretary, "Vista", Buchan Road, Newlands, Cape, by 18th December, 1962.

MOKHEHLE'S LEADERSHIP AGAIN CHALLENGED

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: On the eve of the Basutoland Congress Party's Annual Conference to be held over the Christmas holidays, Mr. Robert Matji, the Party's member for Qacha's Nek in the LEGCO, has unleashed a caustic challenge to Mr.

NKOANA

(Continued from page 5)

known to me, singly suffered the same fate.

"The students were the most recent of 33 who have been sponsored by the South West Africa People's Organization to avail themselves of the United Nations Special Training Programme for South West Africans.

"As a result of the incident of the 27 a further 24 of these South West Africans are at present marooned at Francistown. It was only through the alert eye and resourcefulness of Mr. E. P. Nanyemba, SWAPO's acting representative in Bechuanaland, that the three students were released and taken off a train at Gaborone by B.P. police as they were being taken back to South African under Rhodesian police escort.

"Their release was followed by unavoidable publicity. What is not so well known is that the 27, and the few others after them, owe their freedom to that action of Mr. Nanyemba, who remained in the background.

"After and as a result of this incident all other people, including the 27, who were still in Rhodesian police hands, were escorted only up to the Rhodesia-Bechuanaland border and set free. Two months earlier a Palapye agent of the banned A.N.C. despatched 30 people all at once. They were arrested in Rhodesia and flown back to South Africa. This should have been a lesson, but it wasn't.

"Having been set free at the border, the 27 went to Palapye on their own and therefore could have avoided publicity, but there was a flood of it after their arrival. A few days later they left Palapye amidst another flood of publicity, with pictures carried prominently across South African newspaper front pages."

KEEPING IN TOUCH

(Continued from page 6)

With a medium sized transistor radio it is possible at night to hear many African and overseas stations, most of which have programmes and news bulletins in English. Among those that can be heard clearly are Radio Tanganyika, Radio Ghana, All India Radio, British Broadcasting Corporation, Voice of America, Radio Japan, Radio Moscow and Radio Peking. All of these stations broadcast news bulletins, commentaries and general programmes which give a different view of things from the S.A.B.C.

Have you subscribed
to
CONTACT?
See page 2 for
rates

Ntsu Mokhehle's leadership of the Party and has condemned its policy and organizational structure.

This has been done in a six-page letter to the Leader, the Executive Committee and Chairman and Members of the Parliamentary Caucus of the Congress Party. The letter was discussed by the Parliamentary Caucus on 3rd December, at one of the most important meetings ever held by the Caucus. Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle addressed the meeting for more than two hours answering Mr. Matji's allegations line by line.

"Unhappy Trends"

In his letter Mr. Matji expresses concern over the existence of "unhappy trends" in the B.C.P. which trends, he alleges, had greatly affected the prestige and standing of the Party among the masses of people both in and outside Basutoland. He therefore suggests the outlining of "a long-term strategy for independence" and the drawing-up of a new Party manifesto. He calls for the establishment of a "National Liberation Front" on the basis of a minimum programme for independence.

In an interview with *Contact*, Mr. Mokhehle said that he had addressed

the meeting of the Parliamentary Caucus of his Party as its leader and that he was satisfied that he had replied to Mr. Matji's allegations effectively. He, however, regarded the letter as intended to create confusion within the ranks of his Party on the eve of the holding of the Party's annual conference, and also to stir up antagonism among the members of the Party towards the leadership.

He said that the Party was not unduly disturbed about Mr. Matji's adverse criticism of its policies and would push ahead with the work that lies ahead for Basutoland's freedom.

I am told that Mr. Matji did not comment after the Caucus had discussed his letter.

In the past, the B.C.P. as a broad national movement had gone through near-crisis because of position-mongering by certain members in the Party. Observers say Mr. Matji's letter to the leader and Parliamentary Caucus of the Congress Party this week must be construed as an attempt to "plot" against the popular leadership of the Party just before the B.C.P.'s annual national conference, in order to bring into the fore his dream of a "national liberation front".



B.C.P. leader MOKHEHLE survived a determined challenge to his position at the B.C.P. annual conference last year. This month he faces another challenge.

Maimela reaches Francistown: After Years of Persecution

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: Mr. S. S. M. Maimela, Propaganda Secretary of the Pan African Freedom Movement which was founded and led by the late Dr. Peter Tsele, recently reached Francistown after travelling about 600 miles on foot and by bicycle from banishment in the remote area of Bultfontein in the district of Brits, near Pretoria.

His was banishment not even in the usual way such deportations are imposed, but as the result of combined efforts by the Security Branch and Influx Control authorities in Pretoria to circumvent existing laws.

At the time, these attempts by the police and officials hit the headlines, but Mr. Maimela was given some respite while things quieted down before he was spirited away into banishment. He was left in a hut without a single person for miles around, given a bag of mealie meal, a package of salt, two overalls and a prison blanket.

Start of Troubles

His troubles started in 1954 when the Federated African Trade Unions, by which he was employed as organizer, protested strongly to Pretoria's Chief Influx Control Officer against the practice of arresting Africans calling at his office to fix their papers and putting them on conscript farm labour.

The deputation told the official that the trade union organization they represented would, if the practice continued, ask all Africans arriving in Pretoria to stay away from his offices. There was no satisfaction and the organization decided to go ahead with the boycott. Mr. Maimela was arrested

even before the boycott was launched and charged with incitement.

The charge failed in court on the grounds that the arrest had been premature. But only a week later Mr. Maimela was collected from his home in Lady Selborne by the Security Branch and taken to the Influx Control Office. There, despite the fact that he was employed, he was told he had no right to be in Pretoria, was "endorsed out" and told to go to Sekhukhuneland, his original home.

In Sekhukhuneland, however, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner refused to accept him, asking him to bring some documentary evidence from Pretoria showing that he was in fact sent there officially. He was held overnight at the local police station and put on a bus back to Pretoria the next day.

Back in Pretoria

At the Influx Control Office in Pretoria, after consultation with the S.B., he was told he would be allowed to remain in Pretoria provided he gave up his work for the F.A.T.U. and got another job. This he did.

In 1958 he was arrested together with Dr. Tsele and others following a demonstration against passes for women at which there was a clash between police and demonstrators and Dr. Tsele was severely beaten up. They were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and acquitted in court.

Hardly a week after the acquittal Mr. Maimela was collected, again by the S.B., taken to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office and there ordered to leave Pretoria immediately or face arrest. He did not leave, and the police kept their word.

In Sekhukhuneland the Commissioner again refused to accept him. Back in

Pretoria, he was told to appeal against the endorsement to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Northern Areas. In the meantime, he was granted a six months' temporary residence permit, extended later by 12 months. But, in April, 1961, he was informed that his appeal had failed.

Must Leave Pretoria

Again he was told to leave Pretoria, but refused, pointing out that without the proper documents from Pretoria the Commissioner at Sekhukhuneland would again refuse to admit him to the area. He was granted another six months to remain in Pretoria.

But before the expiry of this period he was once again collected by the S.B., taken to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office and there ordered to leave Pretoria immediately or face arrest. He did not leave, and the police kept their word.

Sentenced, Banished

Instead of appearing in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court he was taken to Brits, where he was convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. At the expiry of the sentence he was collected from prison by the police and sent away into exile at Bultfontein.

He escaped from Bultfontein on 9th November, travelled about 100 miles on foot before obtaining a bicycle from sympathizers, and then made the long, arduous eight-day journey to Francistown, arriving here on 18th November.



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