

1963 FREEDOM CALENDAR

contact



INSIDE

THIS ISSUE

Vol. 5 No. 26

5c (6d)

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

27th DECEMBER 1962

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

MAN OF THE PEOPLE

● Born to be supreme head of a proud and ancient tribe, the Tembu, to 500,000 of whom he is like a hero of old, Paramount Chief **SABATA DALINDYEBO** is a brave fighter for nonracial democracy, the antithesis of apartheid-tribalism.

● One of the "big four" of the Transkei, the Tembu Paramount Chief was expected by the Afrikaner Nationalist government to be a king-pin in its plan to throw a wall round the Transkei, shove two million Africans into it and keep them there under police rule, while the world is kidded that this is freedom. But Chief Sabata asked the government to its face in the T.T.A. on 11th December: "Where is that freedom?" and called their Bantustan a "pigsty". He has said "the Tembus will never accept this constitution", and he means it.

● Taking precedence over all in Tembuland as "Kumkane" (King), Chief Sabata is yet loved by the people for his "common touch" as well as for his bravery. He has friends in all South Africa's communities and is a walking antithesis to Dr. Verwoerd's tribalist-racialist mumbo-jumbo.

● In a Transkei almost paralysed with fear, where men are afraid to talk, or even to listen, and the police and their agents are everywhere, Chief Sabata has acted openly, and spoken his mind freely, an example to all.

● When Chief Sabata speaks of "my people" he no longer speaks for the Tembus alone, but for "the people": in gratitude "Contact" hails him as "man of the people".

LEAVING TOWN (right): At Umtata's outskirts, Chief Sabata stops at head of 26-strong motor-convoy to say good-bye to friends after end of T.T.A. session, before driving thirty miles out to his Great Place, Bumbane. Here Mr. C. N. Tunzi has a word with the Chief; far left, coat over his left shoulder, is younger brother Chief Rufus Zwelibango Mtirara.



FAREWELL, LADIES! What the daily press called an overwhelming defeat for Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, millions of other South Africans hailed as a triumphant expression of the people's views in the T.T.A., one of apartheid's nerve-centres. He also planted a land-mine in the way of the Bantustan express. The gay atmosphere of moral victory is recorded here as the Chief says good-bye to nurses at the Sir Henry Elliott Hospital, Umtata, where his convoy of supporters stopped, on the edge of Umtata.



See page 3 for a full report on the December T.T.A. Special Session.

COMMENT

A GLANCE BACK AT A TOUGH 1962

● Although the going has been tough in South Africa, the freedom movement has made steady progress in other parts of the continent. Here is a month-by-month list of important political events in Africa during 1962:

January: Bechuanaland People's Party holds first annual conference; Anderson Khumani Ganyile, kidnapped in Basutoland by S.A. Police, freed and allowed to return to Basutoland as result of pressure on S.A. government by Britain and world opinion.

February: Swaziland Progressive Party splits; S.A. government announces Transkei "independence".

March: Strong opposition to government Bantustan plans begins to develop in Transkei; Seven-year-old Algerian liberation war ends with cease-fire; Riot in Langa, Cape Town, policeman Moyi killed; First anniversary of Angolan freedom war.

April: Dr. Edgar Brookes, former senator, distinguished Natal public

dence for Algeria proclaimed on results of referendum.

July: Unity discussions between South West Africa People's Organization and S.W.A. National Union; Pact between SWAPO and Angolan government in exile; Rwanda and Burundi achieve independence.

September: Elandsbloof people thrown off their land; Congress of Democrats banned.

October: Uganda independent; First house arrest under Vorster Act—Helen Joseph; Mandela, former A.N.C. leader, on trial for incitement; Northern Rhodesia election under new constitution; Zimbabwe African People's Union banned.

November: Mandela sentenced to five years' imprisonment; Banda wins self-government for Nyasaland; Riot in Paarl, seven killed; *New Age* banned.

December: Tanganyika becomes republic; Transkei Territorial Authority discusses draft "self-government" Bill; First African nationalist government in Northern Rhodesia; White supremacist Rhodesian Front wins Southern Rhodesian general election; Attempt



ALGERIANS celebrate victory after seven years' war

has ranged from successful sabotage attempts against public buildings and industrial installations to the establishment of a Liberal Party office in the Transkei.

Concessions

In the course of the year, the government made two major concessions to world opinion: allowing the United Nations to send observers into South West Africa, and granting "independence" to the Transkei—the latter particularly was intended to show that apartheid is a "sincere" policy leading to the "national emancipation" of the African people.

Despite these gestures, world opinion against apartheid continued unabated, the United Nations voting by a large majority to impose sanctions against South Africa, and the first stages being heard of the Liberian-Ethiopian case against South Africa concerning her administration of the mandated territory of South West Africa.

A military build-up continues in South Africa, the defence budget reaching the record figure of R120,000,000. Steps taken to close frontiers with the Protectorates, and ceaseless propaganda in press and radio about the necessity for military preparedness.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation has been used repeatedly as a Nationalist propaganda instrument, the most notorious examples of this abuse being the talks on "communism" during the latter part of the year.

on Kaizer Matanzima's life.

Chief characteristic of 1962 in South Africa has been ever-tightening Nationalist rule, with measures such as the Vorster Act and the proposed transfer of "Coloured" education to the central authority.

This has been met by determined opposition by groups rejecting apartheid and White domination; this opposition



ANGOLANS train for battle against Portuguese domination of their country.

figure, joins Liberal Party; Angolan government in exile formed.

May: Vorster "sabotage" Bill before parliament; Censorship Bill before parliament; nationwide protests go unheeded; Carpio and De Alva visit South Africa and South West Africa on behalf of U.N.; Patrick Duncan moves to Basutoland.

June: Vorster Act gazetted; Indepen-



ELANDSKLOOFERS on the march

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.

And Forward to 1963

PREDICTIONS are risky, but a look at the news over the past few weeks makes a few easy:

- Southern Rhodesia will not settle down to happy progress following the victory of White supremacists in the election—more likely is a continuing decline from which Britain itself will have to rescue the territory
- The Federation of Rhodesia is unlikely to continue even in name, and Sir Roy Welensky will be looking for a new job before 1963 is over
- In Northern Rhodesia, more and more powers will be handed over to the African nationalist government, and Nyasaland will get ready for full independence
- Close ties might develop between Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi) and the countries of East Africa
- The Angola war will continue with greater intensity (100 tons of arms

were sent from Algeria to the Angolan fighters this week) and Portugal will be forced to make considerable concessions, possibly even to grant self-government to the territory

- Strong efforts will be made by the United Nations to prise South West Africa from White South Africa's grasp
- Sabotage and violence may continue in South Africa: the government will use the full force of its oppressive legislation to try to stifle remaining opposition. Censorship of the press will be introduced
- The three Protectorates will move forward along the road to independence, Basutoland moving fastest, Swaziland slowest (on account of White settler pressure)
- "Coloured" education will be transferred to the government, as will "Indian" education
- World opinion against apartheid will mount.

VORSTER YEAR



If 1962 in South Africa ever is given a name, it might well be called "Vorster Year", for the Minister of Justice, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, has emerged as the "strongman" of the Nationalist cabinet. Using methods reminiscent of Fascist dictatorship, he has attempted to kill all opposition to White supremacy. His strident tones have been heard in parliament and on public occasions pursuing a witchhunt for alleged communists; his house arrests and bannings; his capricious flouting of the traditions of the law, his arrogant diktats, his odious smear campaign against honest citizens with whom he disagrees, have made Vorster both powerful and feared.

But his appointment as Minister of Justice, and his subsequent behaviour, have helped immeasurably to strip off the smiling Verwoerd-De Wet Nel-Waring face from Nationalism and reveal its true features to the world at large.

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,
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Accra.

London.

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

AFRICAN POSTAL UNION

Surface:

R1.40 (14/-) per year
R0.70 (7/-) per half year

Airmail:

R2.70 (£17/0) per year
R1.35 (13/6) per half year

ELSEWHERE

Surface:

R1.70 (17/-) per year
R0.85 (8/6) per half year

Airmail:

On application

T.T.A. Special Session GOVT. IMAGE OF COLLAPSES

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: The Bantustan debate in the Transkeian Territorial Authority ended on 13th December with a grim-faced Chief Kaizer Matanzima complete with armed police escort rushing out of Umtata to a scene of death and disaster in his home locality.

Later that afternoon the other protagonist in this three-day debate (over the draft Bill for Transkei "self-government" to go to parliament in Cape Town some time after 18th January, 1963) also left Umtata. He was Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo and his escort, unarmed, consisted of twenty motor-cars driven by hooting, cheering supporters and friends, which crawled slowly out of the town, the Chief's blue and white Pontiac in their midst, past groups of cheering men and women and the cries which greeted Chief Sabata throughout — "Jonguhlanga", his tribal name meaning "Shepherd of the people".

Honono House Arrest

On Monday, 10th December, the T.T.A. councillors had started coming to Umtata from the nine regions of the Transkei. The day began with the "breaking" in the press of the draft Bill, which the government had tried to keep secret, only councillors receiving copies a week earlier stamped "Vertroulik — Confidential".

Open lobbying and discussion which was taking place was cooled down by the chill reminder of the government's weapons, when it became known that that very morning a house arrest order had been served on Mr. Nathaniel Honono, perhaps the most popular and respected figure in the Transkei.

The 10th December was Human Rights Day (in the Liberal Party office in York Road a display of pictures was put up illustrating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed at the United Nations in 1948), and was also the eve of the T.T.A. Special Session.

Twelve-hour house arrest, a ban on attending meetings, and the order to report daily to the police, served on Mr. Honono, was locally interpreted

as a calculated blow to free discussion in the struggle for liberty still fitfully surviving in the Transkei.

Raid on Liberal Party Office

In case the lesson of Mr. Honono's savage treatment was unlearned, the Security Branch of the police raided the Liberal Party office in York Road the following morning, taking the names of a dozen men inside and outside the office, which included Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, Mr. Stuart Carlyle of the *Natal Mercury*, Professor Philip Curtin of the University of Wisconsin, Mr. Randolph Vigne, Messrs. Lewis and Hammington Majija, Chief Dumile Dalasile and other leading local personalities. Professor Curtin afterwards commented that the episode "hardly fits the much advertised claims for genuine self-government for the Transkei".

Against this background the T.T.A. assembled under the eye and control of a co-ordinated pro-apartheid unit consisting of Acting-Chairman C. W. Monakali of Fingoland and the six White government officials whose careers are staked on the successful hatching of the first Bantustan. All these acted with Chief Kaizer Matanzima who vacated the Chair in order to participate in the debate, and his main supporters, Councillors P. Jozana, R. Msengana and George Matanzima.

"Opposition Less Co-ordinated"

The opposition was less co-ordinated and was fighting a stern rear-guard action from a weak position. Nevertheless the Tembu Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, the West Pondo chiefs Tutor and Douglas Ndamase, Headman Walter Singata of East Ponderland and Chief Sandy Majeke of Emboland, successfully shattered forever the carefully built-up illusion that the Transkei Bantustan was the wish of the people expressed through their chiefs in the T.T.A.

Battle was joined on many issues:

- The fact that most of the people of the Transkei had not been consulted;
- that the Tembus were not allowed to

TRANSKEI UNITY



Chief Kaizer MATANZIMA (centre) with his brother George Matanzima (right) and Aaron Mgodlwa.

put their case for the complete rejection of the Bantustan "pigsty", as Chief Sabata called it;

- that the chieftainship should not be tied up with the proposed Legislative Assembly and that either all its members should be elected (which won a surprising eleven votes including that of Paramount Chief Victor Poto of West Ponderland), or that there should be sixty-four chiefs and sixty-four elected members. The latter gained forty-three votes against the forty-eight who followed Chief Matanzima. That there were forty-three councillors with the courage to show their disagreement with Chief K. D. Matanzima on such a basic issue as the power of the chiefs, astonished many observers;
- The apartheid unit's constant claim that the T.T.A. had accepted the clauses in the Recess Committee's report at its May meeting and that it therefore could reverse none of them in the draft Bill;
- The exclusion of Whites and Coloureds from participation in the Bantustan, which was vigorously fought for by the leading West Ponderland delegates (Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, whose mandate from the Tembus was to reject the entire constitution, did not participate in these differences);
- The number of Paramount Chiefs, which could be increased from the present four, supposedly to elevate the once petty Chief Kaizer Matanzima of Emigrant Tembuland to equality with his present "elder brother" Chief Sabata.

Throughout there were three strands visible: two being the anti-apartheid struggle, and the propaganda approach of the "apartheid unit" (who constantly took time off to attack the English Press, such as the *Daily Dispatch* of East London, Mr. Randolph Vigne, deputy Chairman of the Liberal Party, who with his colleagues was working closely with opposition Councillors and was expelled from the Chamber through an extraordinary manoeuvre by Mr. J. H. T. Mills, B.A.D. Legal Adviser, and Chief Kaizer Matanzima).

"Non-Participation"

The third strand was the blank non-participation of thirty or forty Councillors who did not join the murmurs of "agreed" at each clause and who did not vote on the few issues put to that test. It was considered that had they been Matanzima's supporters they would have been eager to show the "apartheid unit" that this was so, and they may well be considered opponents of the Bantustan despite their silence.

A highlight was the intervention of the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. C. B. Young, who challenged a remark by Chief Sabata that the T.T.A. meeting was being held "by the wrong people at the wrong time". Mr. Young attempted to make the Paramount Chief look foolish, by demanding that Chief Sabata give

the "number" of the emergency regulations referred to. After rapping back at Mr. Young for turning the T.T.A. into a court of law, Chief Sabata played the question evasively until the other Councillors and the gallery began to think he did not know the required number. Eventually he almost casually quoted it as Proclamation 400 of 1960, and tellingly revealed that it was the government who had come to the Transkei and suggested that the T.T.A. ask for the emergency rather than its having been their own wish.

Chief Sabata ended, "I don't see what all this has to do with the Bill", just before a point of order by Chief K. D. Matanzima in a rescue operation brought the house back to the Bill.

Lorry Loads of Supporters

For the first time the T.T.A. was surrounded other than with cowed, affected indifference in the streets of Umtata. From the strongest centres of support for Paramount Chief Sabata, came lorry loads of tribesmen who cheered the Paramount Chief to the echo each time he appeared. His official praiser, Mr. Melikaya Mbutuma, Xhosa poet and former teacher, thrilled the crowds with his orations, which clumsy police intervention failed to stop, and several hundred adherents formed up behind the car in which the Chief was seated. They proceeded informally through Umtata singing traditional songs and uninterrupted by the many police to be seen in the town.

That evening, Thursday 12th December, the offices of Commissioner General Hans Abraham were opened outside Umtata, but the programme was somewhat marred by the absence of Chief Sabata, billed as one of the speakers. It also ran true to South Africa type by the provision of "verversings vir die Bantoegaste" (refreshments for Bantu guests) while the Whites stole away to the Commissioner General's house higher up the hill to a strictly colour-bar buffet supper.

"Truer Reflection"

That afternoon Chief K. D. Matanzima was seen in anxious consultation with senior police officers and in the evening the news of the clash at Qamata had leaked out. The political daring and courage of Chief Sabata and his allies, with the open support of his followers outside the Chamber, gave a truer reflection of generally held opinion than did the murmurs of "agreed" in the T.T.A. as clause after clause of the draft Bill was steam-rolled through. This was solidly confirmed by Chairman Monakali's desperate silencing of Chief Sabata when he rose to put the Tembus' view as announced, at the end of the session.

If there was any doubt as to the nature of public opinion, it was resolved by the news of the clash at Qamata when desperate men had apparently come to try to kill their chief, Kaizer

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)



Contact

Freedom Galendar

1963

January

SUN	..	6	13	20	27	..
MON	..	7	14	21	28	..
TUES	1	8	15	22	29	..
WED	2	9	16	23	30	..
THUR	3	10	17	24	31	..
FRI	4	11	18	25
SAT	5	12	19	26

February

SUN	..	3	10	17	24	..
MON	..	4	11	18	25	..
TUES	..	5	12	19	26	..
WED	..	6	13	20	27	..
THUR	..	7	14	21	28	..
FRI	1	8	15	22
SAT	2	9	16	23

March

SUN	..	3	10	17	24	31
MON	..	4	11	18	25	..
TUES	..	5	12	19	26	..
WED	..	6	13	20	27	..



Free countries
LIBYA

Countries approaching freedom

THUR .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 FRI 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 SAT 2 9 16 23 30 ..

April

SUN .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 MON 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 TUES 2 9 16 23 30 ..
 WED 3 10 17 24
 THUR 4 11 18 25
 FRI 5 12 19 26
 SAT 6 13 20 27

May

SUN .. 5 12 19 26 ..
 MON .. 6 13 20 27 ..
 TUES .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 WED 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 THUR 2 9 16 23 30 ..
 FRI 3 10 17 24 31 ..
 SAT 4 11 18 25

June

SUN .. 2 9 16 23 30
 MON .. 3 10 17 24 ..
 TUES .. 4 11 18 25 ..
 WED .. 5 12 19 26 ..
 THUR .. 6 13 20 27 ..
 FRI .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 SAT 1 8 15 22 29 ..

July

SUN .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 MON 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 TUES 2 9 16 23 30 ..
 WED 3 10 17 24 31 ..
 THUR 4 11 18 25
 FRI 5 12 19 26
 SAT 6 13 20 27

August

SUN .. 4 11 18 25 ..
 MON .. 5 12 19 26 ..
 TUES .. 6 13 20 27 ..
 WED .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 THUR 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 FRI 2 9 16 23 30 ..
 SAT 3 10 17 24 31 ..

September

SUN 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 MON 2 9 16 23 30 ..
 TUES 3 10 17 24
 WED 4 11 18 25
 THUR 5 12 19 26
 FRI 6 13 20 27
 SAT 7 14 21 28

October

SUN .. 6 13 20 27 ..
 MON .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 TUES 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 WED 2 9 16 23 30 ..
 THUR 3 10 17 24 31 ..
 FRI 4 11 18 25
 SAT 5 12 19 26

November

SUN .. 3 10 17 24 ..
 MON .. 4 11 18 25 ..
 TUES .. 5 12 19 26 ..
 WED .. 6 13 20 27 ..
 THUR .. 7 14 21 28 ..
 FRI 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 SAT 2 9 16 23 30 ..

December

SUN 1 8 15 22 29 ..
 MON 2 9 16 23 30 ..
 TUES 3 10 17 24 31 ..
 WED 4 11 18 25
 THUR 5 12 19 26
 FRI 6 13 20 27
 SAT 7 14 21 28



THE BATTLE NEAR QAMATAPOORT

From "Contact" Correspondent

COFIMVABA: South Africa must await the other side of the story, which may wait a long time for the telling, to get the full picture of the clash near Qamatapoort on the evening of 12th December, 1962.

South Africa no longer expects a full factual statement from the most senior police officers. The Qamata skirmish was, for instance, early described by Lt. General J. M. Keevy, Commissioner of Police, as "Poqo-inspired", and was linked by Chief Kaizer Matanzima with the Paarl riot of 22nd November. Yet, Maj. Gen. J. P. Verster, officer commanding the uniformed branch of the S.A. Police had said on that occasion: "We have found no indication of any political activity."

"Political and Military"

This time the police have dropped the line that the presence of several hundred men near the Great Place of Chief Kaizer Matanzima in Emigrant Tembuland was other than political and military. The details of the clash remain unclear. Piecing together police reports and enquiries on the spot, it appears that a motorist from the store of a Mr. Dewing at Lanthi in the Glen Grey district (across the Transkei border from Matanzima's St. Mark's District) saw a large gathering of white-shirted African men on a mountain, believed to be forested Hlonze, where there has been previous trouble with Chief Kaizer, culminating in the unexplained burning of Mr. Cyril Puttergill's store a year or two back. The Mobile Squad were called and its sixty men arrived from Umtata, in vans

assembled from various parts of the territories, in the early evening, well before dark. They formed patrols and proceeded to ascend the mountain in the gathering mist. It was one of these units that clashed with the African party, sustaining serious injuries to one of their number, and lesser wounds to the others.

Firing on Both Sides

Other Mobile Squad men came to their aid, and there was firing on both sides, though the Africans were largely armed with swords and axes. According to the report of the commanding officer of the Mobile Squad, Colonel F. J. Rossouw, who is also Transkeian Divisional Commander of Police, he himself "spotted more figures on the mountain which in the dark appeared to be further attackers and the police decided to retire".

At daybreak, six dead bodies were found at the scene of the clash, as well as a sten-gun dropped by one of the policemen.

The dead men were taken to nearby Cofimvaba, and the police began to search for the men with whom they had clashed.

Police Statements

In the meantime, the police and officials began to make their statements: that the men in the mountain were preparing to attack Chief Kaizer Matanzima's new house at Qamata (built partly with money from a sorely-resented levy) and that "All this trouble has been caused by Bantu infiltrating from Cape Town". Residents of Cofim-

vaba, however, told me that at this time of year many hundreds of St. Mark's residents returned to their homes from Cape Town, an important labour centre for Chief Kaizer's subjects. Others recalled the attempt on the Chief's life a few weeks earlier, when 13 men, also allegedly from Cape Town, were arrested. It was doubted that such an organized semi-military move would be made other than to attack the heavily-guarded Chief himself, and perhaps to arouse further insurgence in Emigrant Tembuland.

Queenstown

The following evening, as Mobile Squad men were relaxing at the Qamatapoort Hotel or sleeping in their vans came the order to move to Queenstown, where a clash at the railway station had caused the deaths of at least four men, including a Security Branch detective, Sergeant G. Maritz.

By the following day, all pretence that this was an arson attempt by Cape Town agitators was dropped, and the police came out with their hair-raising story that "Poqo", which they identified 100 per cent with the banned Pan Africanist Congress, was "launching a serious invasion of the Transkei", with "shock-troops", Basutoland headquarters, and "assault waves" from Cape Town.

Meanwhile a somewhat-dazed South African public took stock of the ruins of the government's facade of a contented African population, and of a Matanzima-led acquiescent Transkei, as the roll-call of the dead at Queenstown and Qamata lengthened, and the jails filled with armed and unarmed men whom the police took from Transkei-bound trains and from the frightened countryside around Qamata.

Personal Files

LAURENCE GANDAR'S *Rand Daily Mail* is a modern newspaper, which has pleased a few with its change towards, in the broadest sense, progressive policies, and has angered a few for the same change. The mass of its readers are probably unaware of the change, and whether or not they have been affected by it in their ideas is a question best left to professional students of public opinion. If, as I pray, they have been affected, this would give an even greater urge to the angered few to get rid of Laurence Gandar. Unfortunately it is this group which has the power to do so, and they are gathering strength to exercise it. A name associated with them is Mr. Clive S. Corder, Chairman of Syfrets Trust, a director of the *Cape Times* and many other companies, and one of the main forces behind the South Africa Foundation. Even in South Africa's business circles, where methods are sometimes, to use a rugby football euphemism, "robust", Mr. Corder is known as a tough cookie, unlikely to tolerate the clear-sighted liberalism that Laurence Gandar, and his pseudonymous pen Owen Vine (his middle names) represent. The cookies do sometimes have a way of crumbling, and liberalism of surviving.

* * *

TRACES OF CHIEF KAIZER Matanzima's once strong Non-European Unity Movement sympathies are still detectable in his speeches, such as in his attacks on Liberals "working for White domination under the pretext of wanting a multi-racial state". He was once closely associated with the Cape African Teachers' Association, a limb of the Unity Movement, but was not, I believe, a member of it. Today, Chief Kaizer is a man of apartheid, who has sought, and appears to have won, power, along that road. Another Unity Movement man, Mr. Nathaniel Honono, remained true to the early aims of the movement, one of which was to uplift the mass of African people to democratic ideas. He became less active as the government crippled the Transkei N.E.U.M. organs one by one and scotched all open activity two years ago with Proclamation 400. Despite this, "Tshutsha" remained a symbol of independence of mind and of adherence to universal values. I don't think the ban and house-arrest order served on him on 10th December were only because of this. The sick, neurotic minds that decide who is to be dealt with persuaded themselves that "Tshutsha" was a crafty underground plotter, whose bland exterior and unconcealed actions only made his plottings the more crafty. The fact that "Tshutsha" has no communist associations, they would interpret as his superior guile in concealing them. The T.T.A. session did draw from the government officials the assurance that house-arrested persons could be elected to the Transkei Legislative Assembly. So it could still be possible for Chief Matanzima and Mr. Honono to face each other in that body. There is little doubt who would be the popular choice for Chief Minister of the two. But one expects it to be rigged for Chief Kaizer and "Tshutsha" not to participate.

* * *

A FRIEND saw Chief Jeremiah Moshesh recently and was told by him that he did in fact read his prepared speech at the installation at Queen's Mercy, Matatiele District on 24th November. This contradicts what was written here last issue, and I apologize for my correspondent's mistake.

By Jacob Bam

SWAZILAND'S NON-RACIAL SCHOOL

By a Special Correspondent

THE progress of Waterford School in Swaziland, which is opening shortly and which will provide boys of all races with a secondary education of the highest standards, should be followed closely.

The idea behind the school is a sound one. Believing that a balanced society will ultimately and only be achieved by integration of the races at every level (that is, social, political and administrative as well as economic), Waterford is pioneering a system of instruction which has been designed to create a cadre of educated men who have learnt through close association in dormitory and the classroom to disregard the prejudices of class and colour which poison human relations in Africa.

Apart from the Portuguese administrations, which pay spurious lip service to integrated education, and a handful of religious and missionary orders in the Federation, Waterford will be the first genuinely non-racial secondary school in the sub-continent, and as such is bound to attract much criticism and resentment. Already African nationalists have suggested that this is a "White man's ruse to produce indoctrinated Africans or 'sell-outs'." On the other hand many Whites are suspicious that the school is a move to erode their present status.

These are not, of course, the aims of the school. *Waterford intends to concern itself exclusively with the educational and sociological aspects of race integration.* Its choice of a site in Swaziland is not a glove thrown into the arena of South African politics (although if successful it may well affect them in the future), but a sad necessity since Swaziland is one of the few territories where a venture of this nature can be expected at present to prosper without legislative restriction.

The main problems anticipated by the founders of the school are not insuperable but they require careful thought and planning if they are to be solved.

The racial problem is one common to all mixed African communities, and surprisingly has been the least of Waterford's headaches. Prospective pupils are over-subscribed for the immediate future and are drawn from a wide range of backgrounds, colour and opinions. The financial problem is a big worry. The gulf between African and White incomes is so vast that special

machinery has had to be contrived to ensure that there is no discrimination on any grounds except merit. The school has overcome this by raising bursary funds and other monies throughout the world.

Prospective parents of pupils, should they require financial assistance, will be subjected to a means test in strict privacy by a High Court judge, and any deficiencies will be made up through a centralized bursary fund. In simpler terms, people will have to pay what they can afford, no more and no less.

The last and immediately the most serious problem is purely educational. The standard of primary education in Swaziland is extremely low, and is certainly not much better in the Republic or Mozambique. And the result of this is that Africans aged fourteen have very often the same educational qualifications as White children aged eight or nine and this gap persists right up to secondary standard. There is no immediate solution to this one, though Waterford is envisaging a primary feeder-school recruited from promising pupils from all local or even distant government or missionary schools, to ensure that the age groups are kept as far as possible uniform. The new legislation being promulgated presently in Swaziland which will enforce integration in all government schools could render this unnecessary but the difficulties which face government in integrating existing schools are very great and not much can be expected from them for at least five years.

The final question and probably the most important is what is to become of graduates from this school. Realizing that Africa may still be in a state of social flux at the time that the first boys pass out of their hands, Waterford has established a Careers Board which will ensure that its old boys find either University grants or suitable occupations.

The criticisms which have been levelled at the school that it is either just another church school or that it seeks to introduce the English public school system are without foundation. It has admittedly a bias towards the Anglican church though it is open to all denominations and though both its headmaster and vice-principal have taught at British public schools, the constitution and method of instruction have been left elastic in the hope that it will develop a South African identity of its own.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

Liberalism Means One Man One Vote

SIR.—Donald Molteno's rejection of the identification of liberalism with universal adult suffrage (*Contact*, 29th November) is based on his contention that the "equality of political rights" (i.e. democracy, which liberalism advocates) does not necessarily imply one man one vote.

Instead, he suggests that if "every citizen has an equal right to acquire a vote on attaining a qualification that is common to all" then equality of political rights obtains. If every citizen has an equal chance to attain the qualification then his suggestion would be a valid one, but this condition only exists when the qualification is adult status (which all will attain) or, in countries where all adults are literate, adult status plus literacy. Any other qualifications, be they financial or educational, favour the affluent and well-educated against the poor and uneducated, and on that count cannot be said to constitute "equal political rights for all". In practice therefore liberalism and universal adult suffrage are indeed synonymous.

I doubt that Mr. Molteno can be serious in stating that equality of political rights does not necessitate the same voice in government for all. The concept that all do have an equal voice in choosing the government is surely fundamental to the democratic system. And the parallel which he makes between equality of political rights and equality of property rights is hardly a fortunate one. In the latter a high income confers the right to acquire more than one property; are we to infer that Mr. Molteno considers equality of political rights to obtain where a high income confers the right to exercise more than one vote?

I have no quarrel with his last paragraph except to reiterate that, while universal adult suffrage is in itself no guarantee of liberalism, it is nevertheless an essential prerequisite for liberalism: without the one there cannot be the other. My assertion that the Liberal Party is the only Party in South Africa whose policies are in accord with liberalism therefore remains an accurate one.

ADELAINE HAIN,
Pretoria.

PRIZE LETTER

APARTHEID vs. ELECTROCUTION

SIR.—Once upon a time the footbridges across our railway tracks were used indiscriminately by people of all colours. The sides were of open latticework.

But with the electrification of many rail services it became necessary to prevent persons from poking metal objects through the bridge sides and electrocuting themselves by touching the live wires. So solid parapets were erected at the sides of footbridges in place of the open ones.

But the new apartheid footbridges in Durban have an additional wall down the centre to divide the White users from people whose skins are darker. Now, Mr. Editor, the interesting fact about these new bridges is that the side walls, to keep people away from several thousand lethal volts, are 4 ft. 10 ins. high; but the central walls, to divide people racially, are 6 ft. high of solid steel.

What a land of topsy-turvy values we live in—higher walls to keep people apart than to protect them from electrocution.

SPARK,
Durban.

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.

Invest in Pan Africanism

SIR.—It is high time people in all walks of life made their decisions rightly. There is only one way for us under the chains of imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism to be free and be on our own wings, and that is by joining Pan Africanism.

I am a school teacher and I believe in equality, liberty and fraternity which are the keynotes to tranquillity. It is best to invest our power in Pan Africanism for the benefit of our future generations.



KAROMA S. CHITANGA,
Balovale, Northern Rhodesia.

Peter Motsoane

SIR.—I was worried when I read in *Contact* (18th October) what has happened to your correspondent Mr. Peter Motsoane, something confined to the sons of Africa.

That a person can be jailed or rebuked for being educated shows us how White supremacy discourages us from attaining better education and jobs.

I mourn with Peter Motsoane, but while all these things happen let us not be discouraged. Let us join up knowing that worse things have happened to all of us. From your recovery from all these conditions caused by law, I hope you have learned something, so tackle it like a man.

JOHN MSONTSHO,
Lobatsi.

Guns Prevent Freedom

SIR.—The political upsurge in most African countries is suppressed by use of unholy military arms. It is through militarism that the rule of the White minority in Africa is maintained.

That is why we of the Basutoland Congress Party's Youth League appeal to the democratic and peace loving peoples of the world to close their ranks and fight against the ungodly production and maintenance of these destructive weapons.

People are threatened with arms to stop them struggling for their freedom and their fundamental rights.

We are sure that if there were no arms, Africa would achieve total independence of the end of this year.

Production of arms, a sin against mankind!

THABISO SEJAKE,
Maseru.

Transkei and "Independence"

SIR.—By accepting the so-called "Transkei Independence" aren't we accepting apartheid? So it seems to my way of thinking. "Divide and Rule" is the motto of the South African government. Hence they have chosen the Transkei as an experiment in their motto. Still, that bluff, so-called "independence" was a consequence of the Pondoland risings in 1960.

The old government instruments of oppression—the chiefs—have been given more powers by holding high positions in the so-called independent Transkei, whereas people should have been chosen on their merits.

We have been made to understand that apartheid is "separate development" of the Africans from the Whites, as Dr. Verwoerd said; but to our finding this "independence" is apartheid of African from African.

We appeal to all Africans to think of independence in its proper light and not in the way it has been introduced to us. Remember: "Whom the gods want to destroy they first make mad."

Y. G.,
East Pondoland.

SIR.—Brothers and sisters of Africa, let's do our best fighting for freedom like others on this continent of Africa, for we have seen that the Minister of Justice, Vorster, is prepared to go to any lengths to stop freedom: such as house-arrest, banning organizations and banning newspapers like *New Age*.

We freedom fighters are not fooled by what the government is doing in the Transkei; but we are sorry that it is not freedom, only something like a baby's dummy.

In the past we heard our leaders speaking of freedom, before they were imprisoned and banned. But even today, if you are in a bus or a train, to or from work, the only conversation among the people is, "We want freedom".

We want to be out of B. J. Vorster's bondage. Inkululeko in our time!

CHIEF NTLOKONDALA,
Idutywa.

Disgust at United Party

SIR.—Let me express my disgust at the rubbish written by "Common Sense" of Cape Town (*Contact*, 29th November). I cannot understand how outdated United Party elements infiltrated into our liberal newspaper. I also fail to understand why it is being used as an arena for Party squabbles.

The United Party stands for discrimination ironically "with justice". It does not recognize any "wind of change", hence the breaking away of the Progressive Party. Should we support such a Party then?

If the White people of this country want to see peace they must support the Liberal Party. "Common Sense" seems to be gloating over the fact that we have no vote. If all the Whites support the Liberal Party, a change of government can be brought about by constitutional means. If they support the United Party the result will be a government very similar to the Nationalists.

Personally I would rather see the United Party with its hoary shibboleths die out rather than support it. The sooner its death throes come, the better. It is standing in the way of both Liberal and Progressive Parties, although I do not subscribe to the latter's policy.

H. MJALISWA,
Port Elizabeth.

LETTERS OF THE YEAR

- We print here some of the most telling points made by our readers and letter writers, from all corners of southern Africa, during the past year.

Let us replace apartheid and terror with peace and happiness by fighting for a non-racial democratic United States of Africa.—J. N. S. MCAPAZELI, Cape Town.

Let us shine in use not to rust unburnished and sit on our weapons, and fight until we win the prize of peace.—BERNARD F. MAZIBUKO, Swaziland.

The Basutoland Congress Party has broken the locks of the Imperialists and opened the door and told Basuto that the long, long night is over.—A. MOFFAMERE, Maseru.

(Those killed at Sharpeville) return to us with a memory of high duty faithfully performed: they return to us with the inspiration of their example.—M.M., Pretoria.

Today I cannot further my studies for education up to M.A. because my father's pay is R10 a month. But Whites' wages or salary are miles better than that. Why does it differ? All men are equal in the eyes of God.—ELIJAH, Middelburg, Tvl.

Now let the tree of apartheid be cut down and its branches sent in every direction or given over to destruction, so that the sons and daughters of South and South West Africa get their freedom and be placed under the United Nations where they can be safe.—N. S. KONDOSON, Oranjemund.

With papers like *Contact* as spurs to drive people to political maturity, right and good neighbourliness disregarding colour or creed, I feel that justice will eat up injustice until one day injustice falls dramatically dead.—TLALA MOHAPI, Rustenburg.

Taking land or territory from a nation or nations against their free will, by resorting to force and intimidation such as military strength and imprisonment is blatant stealing . . . Apartheid has been adopted by them so that their theft of South Africa can be permanently theirs.—E. P. L. KIM SING, Kimberley.

For many centuries past Africa has been called the Dark Continent. Today Africa is the blazing star to which all people of the world are looking.—IZWE LETHU, Alice.

The police, and courts of justice, are props to sustain a government, chosen by an electorate with strong segregation dreams to retain what they have got. The possessions could be obtained by force, the ideas and dreams can only be changed through non-violent means.—T. KLOPPENBURG, Durban.

We, the people of South Africa, must fight for a better standard of living and larger freedom, to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.—ADAM BAWA, Cape Town.

I would like to stress the significance of this advice: "We must take trouble to teach African children not to consider themselves lower than Whites". Likewise it is imperative that White children be taught the fact that they are not superior to non-Whites.—M.M., Johannesburg.

Majority Government in Northern Rhodesia

From "Contact" Correspondent

LUSAKA: The first African government has been formed in Northern Rhodesia by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda of the United National Independence Party and Mr. Harry Nkumbula of the African Congress. The head of government remains the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone. The announcement of the new government came from Government House after the two Parties had agreed to form a coalition.

There are three Ministries to each Party and seven Parliamentary Secretaries—four from UNIP and three from the A.N.C. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda is the Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare. Mr. Nkumbula is the Minister for African Education.

The other Ministers are: Reuben Kamanga (UNIP), Minister of Labour and Mines; Simon Kapwepwe (UNIP), Minister of Agriculture; C. E. Cousins (A.N.C.), Minister of Land and Natural Resources; Frank Stubbs (A.N.C.), Minister of Transport and Works.

Three civil servants also have Cabinet



NKUMBULA with President NYERERE of Tanganyika.

posts. They are: the Chief Secretary, Richard Luyt; Minister of Finance, Trevor Gardner; Minister of Justice, Brian Doyle, and Minister of Native Affairs, F. M. Thomas.

Sikota Wina, UNIP's Director of Publicity and International Affairs, has been elected Chief Whip. The Parliamentary Secretaries are: John Banda (A.N.C.), African Education; Francis Chembe (A.N.C.), Transport and Works; Job Michello (A.N.C.), Land and Natural Resources; Elijah Mudenda (UNIP), African Agriculture; John Mwanakatwe (UNIP), Labour and Mines; Arthur Wina (UNIP), Finance; Alexander Zulu (UNIP), Local Government and Social Welfare.

Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party had hoped that it would be given three Ministerial posts; John Roberts, the Northern Rhodesia leader of the U.F.P. saw the Governor on this issue but the Governor had already made up his mind to form an African government. The U.F.P. will remain as the official opposition Party.

Mr. Kaunda hopes that the new constitution will not last for more than six months; he says he will press for a new constitution by June and promised new elections as soon as it was brought into force.

The day before the Cabinet was announced Mr. Kaunda appeared before television on the Copperbelt and assured Whites that they have nothing



KAUNDA

to fear under an African government.

A couple of days before the government was announced, the Chief Secretary announced that Africanization of Northern Rhodesia's Civil Service is to be implemented so quickly that in only four years' time at least half of the civil servants will be Africans. A college to train civil servants locally instead of sending them to Britain is to be opened next year.



CHEMBE

MUDENDA

ZULU

STUBBS

T.T.A. Special Session

(Continued from page 3)

Matanzima, the government's chief Bantustan instrument.

The spotlight shifted from Umtata to Qamata and then to Queenstown as other means than the non-violent political ones were sought to change the set-up in those areas. Further stages lie ahead of the opponents of the government's Bantustan schemes with the growing demand for a mass meeting of the Transkeian peoples, the possibility of litigation against the alleged irregularities in the conduct of the entire operation, and the coming parliamentary session where the Bill can be finally attacked.

GERHARD COHN

Photographer

For home portraits of distinction

P.O. Box 4716 Phone 45-4050

Johannesburg

Remove Coloureds — so Whites can Move in

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Pressure is being brought on the City Council here by the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Housing and Community Development, Mr. P. W. Botha, to see to the immediate removal of 312 Coloured families, so that White tenants can take over their homes.

The affected areas are: Lea Place, Stuart Township and Dowerville, comprising 2,000 people.

Lea Place and Stuart Township are on the fringe of the portion of South End which has not been proclaimed for any race. It is felt that the government's haste to clear these areas for White tenants is an indication that South End will eventually be declared "White".

Dowerville is a "pocket" in a proclaimed White area.

According to a Group Areas proclamation last year, the three areas were declared White, but only in five years' time. This meant there was no obligation for the 2,000 people living there to make room for White occupation till the end of 1966.

Mr. J. H. Niemand, Secretary for Housing, told a meeting of the Port Elizabeth City Council last week: "If

your co-operation is not forthcoming, we shall have to do something ourselves."

"Something" implies that the government will see to the removal of Coloured families themselves; such as was the case with the removal of Sophiatown to Meadowlands.

This ultimatum has left the people in these areas in a state of anxiety. Tenants are particularly worried over what kind of homes they will be moved into. Some tenants have lived in the area for the past thirty-five years.

Besides paying their rent, which some maintain has already surpassed the municipal valuation of their houses, some have spent hundreds of rand on the upkeep of their homes.

So far, the City Council has shown strong disapproval to being part in the uprooting of these families.

FREEDOM CALENDARS

Our 1963 Freedom Calendars can be bought loose for 3 cents each (postage paid). Numbers are limited so send your 3 cents today to The Manager, P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town.

LEBALLO ANSWERS "CONTACT"

IN an exclusive statement, Mr. P. K. Leballo answers accusations of racialism made against him in *Contact* (1st November):

"The concepts of Pan Africanism and African nationalism are open to much misinterpretation in contemporary African politics, especially by non-African writers; and this particularly manifested itself in your misunderstanding of the details of my press interview in London as reflected in your editorial comment of 1st November.

"It is not necessary here to reiterate fully our stand with regard to the definitions of the terms Pan Africanism and racialism which were applied in such derogatory terms in your editorial comment. My own attitude to other national groups and that outlined by other African nationalists like Kanyama Chiume whose views I share and whom you coupled with me in your attack on Pan Africanism remains the same and it is that any individual of any national group who owes his only allegiance to Africa and is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority is an African and will be acceptable in African society as such without any prejudice.

"We have repeatedly said that we do not recognize minority groups but think only in terms of individuals. This concept is shared by African nationalist leaders throughout the continent. And yet as we watch the trend and development of the African liberatory struggle towards African unity and independence there are still certain groups and journalists who misplace or deliberately misunderstand the applicability of this concept. Naturally this misunderstanding must be discouraged so that everybody who wants to live in a new Africa may be won over to our cause for the good of our beloved motherland.

Poqo

"As a result of the ban on the Pan Africanist Congress which has been powerful in the Cape there was no doubt that there would emerge a vigorous revolutionary underground movement to take its place. The Poqo organization therefore is a direct manifestation of the helplessness of striving for democratic demands without an open body such as the P.A.C. was before it was banned. The present uprisings in the Cape are only the beginning of a general ferment throughout South Africa. The reported growth of Poqo in the Cape and its apparent extension to other centres in South Africa must be a warning to White South Africa to destroy the superstructure of White domination forthwith and give way to a democratic rule of an African majority. The day of reckoning is now imminent and great events are foreseeable.

"In the path of freedom African nationalist leaders are appealing to the African's own forms of existence, that is his *personnalité Africaine* to quote Senghor. This sort of appeal as made by myself and Chiume is the only correct ideological outlook of a new Africa; and it is utter nonsense to say it is racialism."



Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. (Pty.) Ltd., 364 Voortrekker Road, Printed by Lincoy & Watson Maitland, Cape Town.