

Nine Transkei Leaders Propose

a Democratic Constitution

contact

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— see page 3

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



EDUCATION FOR SLAVERY

PORT ELIZABETH YOUTHS like these above are often unable to complete their schooling because of a shortage of school accommodation. At an age when they should be learning and acquiring skills they are forced on to the labour market

where often the only work open to them is menial jobs in factories.

★ ★ ★

ON PAGE 8 we print a survey of the government's plans to perpetuate apartheid through education, and to keep non-Whites subordinate to Whites.

contact

South Africa's non-racial fortnightly

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On application

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.

Why the United Nations will ACT over South West Africa

MORE and more it is becoming clear that the 'Achilles Heel' of apartheid is South West Africa. That is to say that Freedom's road to Pretoria may well lie through Windhoek. For a United Nations committee is scheduled to visit the territory before May this year. And a judgment of the World Court on South West Africa is likely to be handed down next year. That judgment is likely to be against South Africa. As a result of these facts and of mounting pressures against South Africa it is virtually certain that within a year a decision will have been taken at the U.N. to remove South West Africa from the rule of South Africa, by sanctions or by force if necessary.

Some supporters of apartheid think that such a decision will mean little. They argue firstly that even if South West Africa were to become independent, the apartheid rule of the Nationalists inside South Africa would not be affected. There is something in this view. Yet who can doubt that the loss of the mandated territory would be a crushing psychological blow against the prestige and power of the South African government?

But they also argue that the U.N. would not in fact be able to take over the territory. Such people point to the weakness of the U.N. as shown in the Congo. And, they believe, the Western powers would in the final resort protect apartheid against effective action by the U.N.

Such is not our view, although admittedly there are circles in the West which feel sympathetic towards apartheid, mainly because of investments and finance. We believe that the Americans are committed against apartheid, and that on the big issues Britain will usually follow an American lead. But even if the West were to wish to hold back, it would in our view be compelled to act with, perhaps to lead, the United Nations. For the decision to use sanctions or force would be taken

by an overwhelming majority at the U.N. and in the unlikely event of America's wishing to hold back, this overwhelming majority would be led by the Russians. And just as American policy triumphed over Russian policy in the Congo because the Americans co-operated with the U.N. majority, and gave the Congo operation teeth and money, so Russian policy would triumph in South West if the teeth of the operation there were Russian, and if the money were Russian. Russia might then emerge as a leader of a worldwide coalition encircling North America, and would be poised for further action in Southern Africa.

With such considerations in mind, it is in our view practically certain that the West will co-operate and that the U.N. action over South West Africa will

be as unanimous and as effective as was the U.N. action over Suez, when two great military powers were halted overnight by the united will of nearly all the other nations.

Thus our White supremacist masters should take to heart this truth: that if they wish to try to hold on to South West Africa they will have to fight the combined military might of the world. If they fight, they will lose. And in losing they will extend the field of battle right over the whole of South Africa. Thus will they lose, in one fight, not only the mandate which they have stolen from its true owners, but also their own position as bosses of the apartheid state.

And if they do not fight then African Freedom will have leaped a thousand miles south, right to the very frontiers of apartheid.

There it will collect itself and prepare for the final push.



Free African Area Exists in Northern Angola

TWO Americans involved in the freedom struggle in Africa visited Angola during January. They are Mr. George Houser, of the American Committee on Africa and a friend. The part they visited, some 40 miles inland from the Congo frontier, is under the control of the Angolan nationalists led by the Union of the Populations of Angola (U.P.A.), leader Mr. Holden Roberto.

In a press release dated 1st February, they report that, in the area under nationalist control, the foundations have been laid for a new State, and that the war is being carried on relentlessly by the nationalists, who have changed their tactics, and are receiving supplies of arms from abroad, while leaders are being trained in Tunisia and Algeria.

The two Americans found that the situation in Angola is favourable to the nationalists.

We print here the most important parts of the press statement, in which they explain why.

"The nationalist forces are organized into small, mobile forces suited to guerilla warfare. Operating out of forest villages linked by an intricate system of paths, these forces have recently received new supplies of arms.

"We witnessed the distribution of a sizeable quantity of arms including rifles, light and heavy machine guns, grenades, plastic bombs, and land mines, to groups representing over 40 military sectors. We were told that it would take two to three weeks for the material to reach some of the interior posts extending southward toward Luanda.

"The nationalist forces employ hit-and-run tactics designed to harass and demoralize the Portuguese military, destroy the crops, mining operations, and transportation systems underpinning the profitable colonial economy, and ultimately to induce the Portuguese to withdraw from a costly, interminable war. The strategy is similar to that successfully employed by the F.L.N. in Algeria.

"Apparently unable to move off the main roads and out of the major towns, both of which are subject to nationalist raids, Portuguese forces have resorted to indiscriminate bombing.

Living Conditions

"Withdrawn from the roads where they had been located by the colonial administration, nationalist villages have

been relocated in forest centres not easily accessible to the Portuguese.

"Living conditions are those imposed by war. The day's routine begins with a flag-raising ceremony, frequently a lecture on civic duties or national goals by the village president or military chief and a presentation of arms by the local constabulary.

"Older people tend the fields, soldiers mount guard and plan and execute military missions, and the large number of teenagers spend their time drilling, learning patriotic songs, and, in the larger centres, studying from a tattered school syllabus or Bible. Interestingly, we were often honoured by the villagers with hymns and prayers, witness to the lasting impact of Christian missionary work in Angola.

Already Self-Governing

"Nationalist-held territory is in a very real, if rudimentary sense, already self-governing. U.P.A. authorities issue 'passports', which are checked at guard posts along the paths and at village entrances. We found in operation customs posts, a communications and information system, village councils, party, trade union, and youth organizations—in sum, the beginnings of a political state.



HOLDEN ROBERTO

"From our discussions with the people, we know that there is a great bitterness toward the Portuguese growing out of the repression of many years. But we also know that this attitude does not extend to all White people. If this were not the case, we could hardly have emerged unharmed from our few days in Angola. We were in the company of Africans all the time. We never saw another White person. Far from there being any hostile response, we were greeted as friends everywhere we went. In spite of the fact that some American bombs have been dropped by the Portuguese, we felt nothing but a genuine friendliness toward us as Americans.

"On the basis of our experience we

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

Transkei

Nine Leaders Demand REAL Independence by 1963

By a Reporter

GR^{EAT} publicity has been given to the 'Matanzima' draft constitution for the Transkei. What is not so well known is that the democratic group of nine in the Recess Committee have drawn up a draft constitution which is non-racial and democratic.

It is known that correspondents of at least two major daily newspapers saw this draft. Yet not one word of it has appeared in the press. *Contact's* correspondent also saw the draft.

Points of Importance

Points of importance are:

- the name of the independent Transkei would be the 'United Transkeian State'.
- it would have complete independence by July 1963.
- its constitutional form would be similar to the Republic's—state president, senate, house of assembly, with nine regional councils doing the work of the Republic's provincial councils.
- local government at present undertaken by Tribal Bantu Authorities would be taken over by district or regional bodies. The Tribal Authorities would disappear.
- the franchise would be for all adult citizens of the Transkei (the phrase "Black, Coloured and White" then follows but leading advocates of the constitution have assured "Contact" that this is intended to imply "regardless of race". There are almost no Indian

South Africans in the Transkei, and the word Asian was inadvertently omitted.)

- the four paramount chiefs, *ex officio*, and a chief from each of the 26 districts would sit in the Senate, where they would be outnumbered by elected senators and senators nominated (by the state president).

- to stand for election to the house of assembly, chiefs would have to relinquish their chieftainship in perpetuity.

- the flag of the United Transkeian State would consist of nine stripes, alternately blue and orange, with the Pleiades on a navy blue square in the top left-hand corner (the draft uses the phrase "the *isilimela* stars"). The drafters suggest that the Republic's flag appear below the Pleiades for the first five years of the State's existence.

- Transkeian citizenship shall be for all born in the Transkei and can be acquired by immigrants after five years' residence.

"Transkeian Convention"

The men who are behind this draft constitution did not put it forward for the Recess Committee's approval with the idea that the Transkeian Territorial Authority would then accept it and it would be foisted on the Transkeian people. They referred to it as their "memorandum". They tried several times to table it in the Recess Committee, but were stopped by the chairman, Chief Kaizer Matanzima. They stressed that they would put it to the T.T.A. with the aim of having it, and any other "memoranda" (such as Chief K. Matanzima's), put to the people in a

Transkeian people's convention, in order that the people could choose the proposals they preferred. These proposals would then go to constitutional experts to be polished up.

Among the leaders of the group of nine who were behind this constitution were those who said that Transkeian independence should never be thought of as more than a means to an end. The end was, of course, non-racial democracy for South Africa as a whole.

The contrast between the "democratic constitution" and Chief K. Matanzima's is striking. The proposers of this democratic constitution are confident that the people of the Transkei will support them. Their immediate obstacles are the weakness of the T.T.A. members, many of them chiefs who are afraid of losing their civil service pay. The danger that Chief Matanzima's apartheid-constitution will be pushed through by means of irregular procedure, and by browbeating tactics of the White officials is a very real one. But even if this does happen and the T.T.A. fails to call a Transkeian convention, or to recommend the democratic draft, a great step will have been taken. A group of men containing the cream of the Transkei's chiefs and councillors will have emerged as spokesmen for liberty.

The façade of a respectful, apartheid-accepting official leadership in the Transkei will have been smashed wide open. And the chance of a successful Verwoerdist Bantustan will have gone for good.

1,000 DURBAN WOMEN PROTEST

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Over 1,000 women residents of the so-called "model Bantu township" (Kwa Mashu) demonstrated outside the office of Mr. D. G. Willson, the superintendent, against the following:

- The high rentals—£3 10s. for a four-roomed house and £2 10s. for a two-roomed one.
- The ejections which are so inhuman—for failing to be up to date with rents, and for being widowed—people have been sent away with 24 hours' notice.
- The school-less children from Kwa-Tickey (formerly Cato Manor's roughest spot).
- The unsuitable and unsightly all-timber houses in Zone C-3.

Mr. Willson then asked the women to choose a deputation to tabulate their grievances, and gave the time-honoured assurance of "bringing their complaints to their bigger father in the city, Mr. S. Bourquin, Director of African Affairs".

Later the women who were in the deputation were asked to give their names and addresses (just for the record). "We told him that we were not there in our personal capacities but as a group representing the housewives of Kwa Mashu," one of them told me.

Although police were called in as the demonstrations became more spirited, there were no incidents.

MATSEKE TO STAY

Mr. Robinson Matseke, the crime reporter of the Bantu Press who was refused a passport to study in Ethiopia, denies a statement in *Contact* (25th January) that he has applied for an exit permit.

Personal Files

By Jacob Bam

THE Royal Interocean liner, *Ruys*, arrives in Table Bay from the Far East on 28th February. On board with members of his family who have been globetrotting with him, is ex-president Jânio Quadros of Brazil. *Contact* recently misquoted a French newspaper report that Quadros had already returned to Brazil. He in fact sails from Cape Town after this brief end-of-February stop, for Brazil and an unknown future. Since Quadros's resignation last year, Brazil's rich have got richer and fewer, and her poor, if possible, poorer. The cruzeiro currency has tumbled as corruption thrives. Brazil, fifth of the world's countries in area, one of the richest in potential, looks poised between an extreme right-wing coup and a Cuba-type revolution leading more directly to communism. The man in the middle is Jânio Quadros, perhaps the only man who might save Brazil for democracy and neutralism. South African democrats, whose hopes in overseas allies have been so often disappointed, might find in Sr. Quadros a great South American friend, who could put the weight of his country, already a non-racial one though presently a prey to social injustice, behind our democratic forces.

AT THE END OF JANUARY Mr. Frank Waring, Minister of Information,

and Dr. I. D. du Plessis, secretary for Coloured affairs, interviewed four Coloured men in Cape Town. Two of them were Mr. George Golding, the school principal and right-wing politician, and Mr. S. V. Petersen, a school principal, but better known as an Afrikaans poet, and winner of the 1959 gold medal of the S.A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. The new Minister of Information called on the men to act as roving ambassadors abroad, to explain and praise the Government's "state within a state" plan to the outside world. All four refused.

EX-SENATOR Leslie Rubin has taken a law post at Queen's University, Belfast, Northern Ireland. His school-boy son, Martin, who already cares for little but politics, is 12 and about to go to a London public school, Westminster. His elder son, Neville, is lecturing in Comparative African Law and Government at the University of Cape Town, and is a member of the Cape executive of the Liberal Party. His tremendous energy and activity when President of Nusas at the time of the University Apartheid Bill, and his tour later of the United States to raise funds for medical scholarships for Africans at Wits, equipped Neville Rubin to do valuable political work in the hard school of South Africa, 1962.

THERE are actually South Africans who are not Verwoerdists who believe in the idea of separate Black and White states, each fully independent, living in peace together. Sir de Villiers Graaff's youngest brother, Dr. Jan Graaff, has long been a discreet and eloquent exponent of the idea. At the University of Cape Town summer school this month he spoke of its economic feasibility again. One idea worked up by this group of earnest and wealthy young men who cherish the idea looks near fulfilment—the launching of a *Timelike* weekly news-magazine which will publicize the development of the Bantustans hatching out at the moment. Big figures in industry, known to be unhappy with Verwoerd, are sympathetic to the idea. The advertising the magazine will carry will no doubt reflect who they are. A leader of the group is a quiet, unassuming Cape Town doctor. He also happens to be the eldest son of the late Princess Labia, daughter and heiress of the millionaire Randlord, Sir J. B. Robinson. Dr. Joseph Labia believes deeply in the idea of the total, irrevocable partition of South Africa into Black and White states. He and his associates are not, like Verwoerd, desperate defenders of White power at the expense of African freedom and progress. For them the idea of partition provides a mental escape from the reality of life in this multi-racial country. Their talent and wealth may well make a contribution to the destruction of the partition idea as their magazine sheds a bright light on it.

It is believed that the magazine is to be called *Now*.

O X F O R D Books for the New Africa

THE NEW AFRICA LIBRARY

The Economy of Africa

LUCY MAIR *Eng. Price 2s.*

The Economy of Africa

ARTHUR HAZLEWOOD *Eng. Price 2s.*

Tshekedi Khama of Bechuanaland

S. M. GABATSHWANE *50c/5s.*

Electricity in Your Home

A. P. KNOTTENBELT *30c/3s.*

O X F O R D University

Press CAPE TOWN

MRS. MAFEKENG TO LEAVE BASUTOLAND?

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, former member of the African National Congress banished from Paarl, Cape, in 1959, who sought refuge in Basutoland, has been told by the Basutoland authorities that she may have to leave the protectorate.

Following an alleged "witch-hunt" for communists by the Basutoland Congress Party, Mrs. Mafekeng, who is thought to be one of the leading members of the Communist Party of Lesotho, received the following letter

from the District Commissioner, Mafeteng:

"Dear Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng,

You may recollect that I informed you verbally that the permit issued to you, granting you permanent residence under the Entry and Residence Proclamation was not in order and that your application had been referred back to the Mafeteng District Central Board by the Appeal Board for reconsideration.

"2. Your application has now been reconsidered and the absence of any indication that Motlotlehi the Paramount Chief is prepared to confirm your acceptance as a resident in the Likhoele Ward, the District Control Board is unable to grant you a permit for permanent residence and therefore does not approve your application.

"3. If you wish to appeal against this decision of the District Control Board you should lodge your appeal with this office or with the Government Secretary on the attached form (preferably by registered post) within 7 days of the date of this letter."

Other Refugees

Another refugee in the same position as Mrs. Mafekeng is Mr. J. "anti-pass" Kumalo, former A.N.C. member from Evaton. He has been in Maseru since 1959 when he escaped from banishment at Duiwelskloof in the northern Transvaal.

He has been told that his application for permanent residence has been rejected by the central control board. He has been given seven days in which to appeal. He fears that he will be deported from Basutoland if he loses the appeal.

MAXTON JOSEPH TO STAY IN B.P.

DESPITE press reports that he has been deported from the Bechuanaland protectorate, Mr. Maxton Joseph, Swapo representative in the protectorate, has now been given a Temporary Residence Permit by the government there.

It is true that he was ordered by the Bamangwato African Authority to leave the Bamangwato Reserve. (The Authority claims that it has power to expel people under the African Administration Proclamation—Laws, Chapter 67—which gives it control over "migration".) It is also true that an attempt was made to expel him from the territory generally, and that he was asked to leave Francistown. But now he has his permit, and may stay anywhere in the protectorate outside the Bamangwato area.

N. RHODESIA

Strike to Paralyse Copper Mines

From N. VICTOR ZAZA

LUSAKA: The political temperature has risen so high that a civil disobedience campaign is expected at any time. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party has already indicated that he is ready to implement the third stage of the party's master plan—strikes aimed at paralysing the mines and other business concerns. The response

to this announcement has been enthusiastic.

Mr. John Chisata, president of the 30,000 strong African Mine Workers' Union said on his return from the United States of America that his union would not obey a strike call by the U.N.I.P. as a union, but members could strike as individuals.

Mr. Jonathan Chivunga, president of the United Trade Union Congress of Northern Rhodesia, a body comprising 12 unions, has also repeatedly warned the government that the U.T.U.C. is prepared to launch country-wide strikes that could bring everything to a standstill should the British government play to the tune of Sir Roy Welensky over the Northern Rhodesia constitution. The Executive Board of the U.T.U.C. has already approved joining the strike to be launched by U.N.I.P. Most U.T.U.C. leaders are U.N.I.P. supporters.

Mr. Kaunda has once again toured the copperbelt to address packed audiences of non-Africans, Chambers of Commerce and professional bodies, to assure them of their safety under a Black government.



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ALGERIAN W

AFTER INNUMERABLE false reports (between the Muslim national Liberation Front) and the French in a few days. Here are some pictures events as the war draws to an end.



France's President CHARLES DE GAULLE who came to power as a result of his country's inability to solve the Algerian problem. With a mandate from the French people he has been negotiating with Algerian leaders to end the war. Agreement has almost been reached despite the activities of a terrorist group, the Secret Army Organization (O.A.S.), which wants to keep Algeria as part of France.

Photo: A.F.P.



The Provisional Government of the Algerian leaders first in Cairo. It later moved to Algiers. The Provisional Government with President De Gaulle, when it is the government to c



A demonstration organized in Algiers, capital of Algeria by the Secret Army Organization, a terrorist group claiming to speak for the "Europeans" of Algeria (more than a million) and determined to maintain their supremacy.

Photo: A.F.P.

At the height of the war Algerian nationalists, French army, mented by corps of paratroopers of extreme brutality to en frequently tortured prisoners. Here three are seen 'in prisoner, Mr. O

INDIAN CONGRESS SPURNS "CONCESSIONS"

From "Contact" Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG: Dr. G. M. Naicker, president of the S.A. Indian Congress, commenting on Dr. Verwoerd's proposals for Transkeian independence and the setting up of Indian and Coloured parliaments, said that these were the most laughable suggestions he had ever heard.

Dealing with Dr. Verwoerd's remark in Parliament in which he referred to the South African Indian community as "Indian Nationals", Dr. Naicker said: "We are not 'Indian Nationals'. We have never been anything else but South Africans and, as South Africans, we reject the Indian Advisory Council in toto and state categorically that the non-White demand for true freedom and democracy cannot be replaced by spurious dummy concessions."

In another statement to *Contact*, Mr. A. M. Moolla, president of the South African Indian Organisation, has this to say about Dr. Verwoerd's proposals:

"I believe that South Africa's future wellbeing lies in unity and not in fragmentation of the races. Our country needs a stable and a contented common

society, founded upon an approved standard of civilization and full opportunity for all who strike their utmost for that standard."

Maree Snubbed

DURBAN: The minister of Indian affairs, Mr. W. A. Maree, who was on a "meet the people" trip to Durban last week, deliberately snubbed the Indian Congress and the Combined Ratepayers' Association.

Instead he griped at the press for not having given full-scale coverage to his tour. At the press conference he threw before he left, he severely reprimanded the Natal press for not having published pictures showing him dining with Indian leaders.

Mr. Maree met practically all the leading members of the Natal Indian Organization—some of whose members caused an earlier stir when they attended the republican celebrations in Pretoria and got governmental pats on the back for being "moderate and reasonable Indian leaders"—and representatives of the large Indian business concerns.

WAR ENDING

rumours of peace, the war in Algeria... forces (the F.L.N., or National... ny is now expected to end within a... illustrating some personalities and



ian Republic, established by nationalist... its headquarters to Tunis. The prime... the centre of the group, flanked by his... s on the point of signing a cease-fire... ight that it will join with the French... sh the O.A.S.

Photo: Alg. Prov. Govt.



Mr. BENYOUSSEF BENKHEDDA, prime minister of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. The provisional government was established first in Cairo and is recognized by many states as the legal government of Algeria. Its first prime minister was Mr. Ferhad Abbas, who was replaced by Mr. Benkhedda last year.

Photo: Alg. Prov. Govt.



r between France and... ch forces were suppl... piers who used methods... h the nationalists. They... s to obtain information... rrogating' a nationalist... ar Merouane.

Photo: A.F.P.



Tens of thousands of people have taken part in demonstrations against the O.A.S. in Paris during January and February this year. A demonstration on 8th February left eight killed and two hundred injured by the police. In the picture an injured demonstrator is taken care of by colleagues.

Photo: A.F.P.

Crisis may Split Swaziland Progressive Party

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: At a time when unity is of utmost importance in view of the talks on the constitutional future of Swaziland, the Swaziland Progressive Party has been badly shaken by a conflict between the party's president, Mr. J. J. Nquku and other members of the party.

In a statement to *Contact*, the secretary-general of the S.P.P., Dr. A. P. Zwane, declares that he thinks that "it is in the best interests of all the people of Swaziland that the facts should be known".

Dr. Zwane says that the differences which have developed in the S.P.P. do not represent a mere clash of personalities. They are the climax in a series of events which have their roots as much in the changes taking place in Swaziland as in the relations between the Africans in the protectorate and countries beyond its borders which are interested in Swaziland's political evolution.

Reasons for Crisis

A crisis has occurred because:

- Mr. Nquku has attempted to take over the work in the party of both the secretary-general Dr. Zwane, and the treasurer-general Mr. V. Matsebula. He has been handling all correspondence and the finances of the party without the authority of the executive.

- Mr. Nquku has the habit of ignoring the executive of the party and of having political discussions about the future of Swaziland alone and without a mandate from the executive. These discussions have been held both in Swaziland and overseas.

- Mr. Nquku has adopted a contradictory attitude to the Cowen report on constitutional reform. In Swaziland he approves it, but overseas he gives the impression that he does not.

- Mr. Nquku has systematically undermined efforts to bring about a real understanding between the King of Swaziland, Sobhuza II, and the S.P.P.

Youth League

- Mr. Nquku has acted without the authority of the executive in cancelling the journey of young Swazis to Ghana where they were to undergo training. The executive had approved the scheme following an offer of bursaries from the Ghana government, and suitable young men had been selected.

- Mr. Nquku has had serious differences with the S.P.P. Youth League, led by Mr. Dumisa Dlamini. In a letter to the working committee of the S.P.P. the Youth League said:

"... being aware of the serious internal conflicts which have resulted in the rift in the executive committee inside the Progressive Party and knowing the causes, we, on behalf of the youths of this country, do solemnly declare our non-confidence in the president of this party."

The party is likely to split, some members supporting Mr. Nquku, others Dr. Zwane and the Youth League.

Netherlands Ambassador Praises Apartheid Schemes

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: On 15th February the diplomatic corps was taken on a conducted tour of new "Coloured" segregated housing. Their guide, an official

of the Group Areas administration, the department responsible for shifting the Coloured people from the more desirable and the more central places in Cape Town to the vast new remote "locations".

The tour appears to have been successful as propaganda for apartheid, for at a lunch afterwards Dr. Jan van den Berg, Netherlands Ambassador, and Doyen of the Corps, said in the course of a speech of thanks: "Tremendous progress has been made during the thirteen years during which I have been in the country."

The nationalist apartheid government came to power thirteen and a half years ago.

BECHUANALAND FEDERALS JOIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

From "Contact" Correspondent

KANYE, B.P.: The executive committee of the Bechuanaland Federal Party met in Mahalapye on 9th January to discuss the future of the party.

It was resolved to dissolve the party and join hands with the Bechuanaland Democratic Party led by Mr. Seretse Khama.

On 22nd January the secretary-general of the Federal Party, Mr. G. M. K. Mmusi, wrote to the national secretary of the Democratic Party, Mr. Q. K. J. Masire to inform him of the decision.

Important new Books on S. Africa

1. Conservatives Condemn Apartheid

AN important new pamphlet* has been issued in England by the Bow Group, a Conservative research organization. It is called "The New Africa", and lays out a carefully thought out policy for Britain.

It calls for an end to colonialism: "We seek an independent Africa... we must discharge our remaining colonial tasks swiftly yet honourably".

It condemns South African apartheid. It calls for action over South West Africa.

In particular, it calls for Britain to support both a possible order on South Africa to give up the mandate, and for sanctions, "if South Africa disregards the United Nations".

The booklet presses for modernization of the three High Commission Territories.

Finally (p. 66) the Group say: "We should make every attempt to involve the United Nations in South Africa... It will probably require another Sharpeville before the right

climate for actual military intervention is created". And the last paragraphs call for Britain to align itself with Nigeria, Tanganyika, etc., in such an eventuality.

It is wonderful to find that such radical thought has already progressed to far in British Conservative circles.

2. Extermination of Bushmen

A MODEST LITTLE BOOK** has just come out on the last Basutoland Bushmen. It is a very personal account by Mrs. D. W. How (widow of a distinguished Basutoland civil servant, and granddaughter of the great French missionary D. F. Ellenberger) of her contacts with the last human traces left by the original inhabitants of Basutoland. The book ends with an almost unbearably pathetic note: an account of their systematic extermination at the close of the last century. Most Basotho chiefs killed Bushmen on sight; in particular Chief Jonathan

distinguished himself by his savagery. Elsewhere in the colony in 1877 the Cape Government declared all Bushmen in the Kenhardt district to be outlaws, liable to be shot on sight by the police. A certain Colonel Bowker did more than anyone else to exterminate them in Basutoland in the 'seventies, when Basutoland was ruled by the Cape Colony. "On 28th March 1869 he wrote to the Governor informing him that 'near the junction of the Senqu and the Senquyane about 200 men of the Baroa (Bushman) are gathered' and suggesting that they be exterminated." In October of the same year he wrote a similar suggestion. "The Governor agreed to Bowker's plan in a letter of 23rd October to the Lieutenant-Governor, saying 'The Bushmen must be attacked'."

South Africans, Black and White, carry a heavy load of guilt for this fearful genocide.

*The New Africa, a Bow Group Pamphlet, The Bow Group, 60 Berners Street, London W. 1, England. Five Shillings

**The Mountain Bushmen of Basutoland, by Marion Walsham How, Van Schaik, Pretoria, R3.50.

PORT ELIZABETH

Strong Fight to Protect Rights of Citizens

From DENNIS BRUTUS

PORT ELIZABETH: The opening shots have been fired in Port Elizabeth in what may turn out to

Shorts . . .

● Mr. S. S. Maimela has been arrested or a pass offence. Mr. Maimela is Dr. Peter Tsele's successor as leader of the Pan African Freedom Movement.

● The 1961 *Survey of Race Relations* in South Africa, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations at R1.50 (15/-) is now available.

Compiled by Miss Muriel Horrel, it records all significant events affecting race relations during 1961. It can be obtained from the S.A.I.R.R., P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.

● "In my efforts to be convinced that there is nothing wrong with our colour policy, I have ever-increasing problems."

(A. J. Botha, letter-writer to *Die Burger* of 14th February. His present problem is how oriental non-White Japanese can be "White" when South African Coloured people are "non-White.")

be South Africa's sternest fight yet against the Group Areas Act.

Chief issue at the moment is the mixed area of South End, one of the oldest parts of the town, where White, Coloured and Indian have lived peacefully together for many years.

According to the Survey of the Institute of Race Relations "In 1956, about 59% of the owners and occupants of South End were Coloured or Indian and they have numbers of schools, churches, temples, mosques, halls and sports-grounds in the locality."

The City Council has proposed that the area be zoned as Coloured, which would cause hardship to thousands of Whites and Indians. The P.E. Civic Association—a predominantly Coloured body—has firmly rejected this suggestion and asked that no one should suffer.

Civic Association Rejects Proposals

A meeting of the association at the end of January passed a resolution:

- Rejecting Group Areas,
- Resisting any zoning in Port Elizabeth.
- Expressing the right of all to live where they please

JOCK ISACOWITZ

Completely Dedicated in the Struggle for Democracy



JOCK ISACOWITZ, national vice-chairman of the Liberal Party, died in Johannesburg on 30th January after many years of dedicated service to the ideals of non-racialism and democracy.

The late Mr. Isacowitz was born in Benoni, Transvaal, in 1915, and was educated at Benoni High School, after which he qualified as a pharmacist and graduated with a B.A. (Hons.) at Witwatersrand University. At the outbreak of the war, he joined the army and served in north Africa, attaining the rank of sergeant-major. He was wounded in action.

Springbok Legion

He formed the Springbok Legion to safeguard the interests of soldiers

and visited the theatre of war in Europe with Sir William Campbell, the chairman of the B.E.S.L., with a view to amalgamating the two organizations. After the war Mr. Isacowitz served on South African government committees for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen and attended the ex-servicemen's conference in France.

He took an active part in Jewish affairs and was an executive member of the Jewish Board of Deputies and at one stage represented it overseas.

Liberal Party

He assisted in the formation of the South African Liberal Association and became first chairman of the Transvaal division of the Liberal Party when it was formed in 1953. He was later national vice-chairman. He was detained for 2½ months during the State of Emergency in 1960.

Isacowitz was a man of outstanding intellectual and organizational powers, well-read, well-informed and of shrewd political insight.

Completely Dedicated

He had a warm personality but was an outspoken critic when necessary: a devoted father and affectionate husband. He was completely dedicated to Liberal principles and to the non-racial ideal, and has made a permanent contribution towards forming public opinion supporting the idea of a community free of race prejudice with equal opportunities for all people.

- Demanding full democratic rights for all in South Africa
- Calling on people not to do anything to implement the operation of the Act in any way and not to be panicked into giving up their properties.

Two influential bodies have been prompt to support the protests. They are the Christian Council for Social Action—representing most of the churches, including Baptists, Methodists, Congregational, Catholics and Anglicans, and the Eastern Cape Region of the Institute of Race Relations.

The Christian Council has written to the Group Areas Board saying: "Many families have lived or traded in the area for generations and ministers of the various churches in the area and others will testify that it is a settled area . . . To proclaim this area for members of the White group would displace over 5,500 non-White residents . . . likewise to proclaim the area for members of the Coloured group would have similar results. About 4,000 non-Coloured residents would be displaced, and about 180 businesses would be affected.

"In either case, a proclamation would cause an upheaval and very great hardship to a large number of people."

If this area is made a Group Area for any section, it will turn into the kind of ghost-town that Sophiatown has become—a ruin of roofless, windowless structures where the weeds grow.

Laughter in Court

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: A White woman racist added a touch of unconscionable humour to the normally unruffled proceedings of the Durban Magistrate's court. The woman, Mrs. X., is the mother of a 16-year-old girl who was accusing a White youth, Mr. W. T. Williams, aged 23, of having seduced her and given her a baby.

Mr. Williams was defended by an African attorney—Mr. Hyacinth ("Bill") Bhengu, who is a member of the Liberal Party. The evidence against Williams was found shaky and he was acquitted.

Mrs. X., who had been giving evidence for the complainant, adamantly refused to answer any questions put to her "by this Native boy"—referring to Mr. Bhengu. She said: "I never speak to Natives, and even in my own house I don't have a Native servant; why should I be expected to answer questions from one now?"

But the magistrate, Mr. J. Gifford, sternly warned her of the dire consequences that would overtake her if she did not answer questions put to her by "an officer of this court—which is what Mr. Bhengu is".

At the end of the trial Mrs. X. and her daughter walked out, a strange pair of outcasts in an atmosphere that was marked with interracial banter.

All political comment and headlining in this issue is unless otherwise stated by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Congo Premier Visits U.S. President



Mr. ADOULA (right) with President KENNEDY in the White House, Washington.

Adoula States his Case

THE prime minister of the Congo Republic, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, returned to Leopoldville on 10th February after a trip abroad during which he successfully stated his government's policies in Lagos and at the United Nations.

Addressing the U.N. general assembly on 2nd February he asked for additional military aid to secure and maintain his country's independence.

During his half-hour speech he announced a policy of non-alignment.

A DINNER IN MR. ADOULA'S honour was given by President Kennedy

at the White House, and in the course of the dinner Mr. Adoula stated clearly his government's policy of non-alignment:

"You should understand, Mr. President, that non-alignment means that every country wants to remain independent and free. Free and independent to defend its principles, free and independent to be able to reconcile its interest with its friends and with the people of the free world. This is what we mean by non-alignment. And I believe this to be the policy not only of the Congolese government but also of the whole Congolese people."

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

Black and White need each other

SIR,—The Black-White problem in South Africa is difficult but ought not to cause any trouble as both sides need one another. The Whites in South Africa cannot do without the help of the Blacks; there is so much to be done in this country, in the mines, on the farms, the industries, that the Whites cannot possibly manage it alone. Nor can the Africans do without the help of the White men.

If then all races in South Africa decide to co-operate and form one nation, there are great possibilities. Each section can retain its own language and culture and the other section will be enriched by it. The more languages and the more cultures we know the more is our personality developed, the wider are our sympathies and interests and the deeper our spiritual life.

But when a person is filled with suspicion, hatred and fear of the other section, his personality becomes narrowed and embittered.

People who believe in Christianity like myself will always bear in mind that in the kingdom of God there will be no apartheid. If racialism could be abolished in this country each and every individual would live in a happy and stable society, and there would be freedom for all. Freedom from apartheid!



HENNINGTON F. TALATALA,
Pretoria.

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

● Our 1962 Freedom Calendar has been such a success that we are planning a 2nd edition. Have you got yours? Would you like extra copies to give to friends? Up to 25 copies, free, post free, will be sent to any one applicant. Write: Box 1979, Cape Town.

● A prize — "Contact" free for a year to the writer of the best letter.

"Waging a vicious war"

SIR,—It is clear to me that the Nationalists are waging a vicious war against the Africans because they are determined to remain parasites.

The Africans demand nothing less than one man one vote yet the government continues to persuade the blind Transkeian chiefs to accept Bantu Authorities. Those who are misled into regarding the Transkei as their rightful home instead of seeing the whole of South Africa as theirs are blind.

Let us unite and be strong so that we don't fall victims to the Nationalists who want to see us divided and fighting among ourselves.



P. M. QINISILE,
Cape Town.

"Montgomery seeks vainglory"

SIR,—Lord Montgomery in South Africa has been entertained and heralded as one of the greatest figures in God's creation. In fact, to the majority of White South Africans, he is superhuman. In his speech in Durban he is reported to have said that he would join South Africa in arms against the Black Africans in the north.

Monty is a great soldier. Unfortunately, to many of us he is as a man a mere caricature—a man who seeks vainglory. In his war books, victories were achieved because his advice was followed, and defeat suffered because his counsel was rejected. Is it surprising therefore that this man has chosen to come to South Africa to hear his name exalted by the selfish Whites who think they'll forever enjoy the position of being superior humans whilst the human dignity of their "inferiors" is being crushed underfoot.

We Africans of South Africa fortunately know very well that the character of this "superhuman" and his talking will not affect the regard we have for Britain. History reveals that it was Britain that has always taken the lead in the fight for human rights. Did the British not fight for the abolition of slavery and win? Even now the majority of the British are against apartheid and they fight against it.

Right will conquer might!

AFRICAN OPINION,
Johannesburg.

"We will turn gaols into colleges"

SIR,—I am 23 years old. I escaped from Windhoek on 17th December last year. I had been a student at the

Augustineum College but I was dissatisfied with the situation there.

In the first place, I was tired of Bantu Education: such education is primitive and backward, secondly it is apartheid, thirdly they taught us in Afrikaans.

People are suffering from lack of education in South West Africa. The South African government has failed to build colleges and teach higher education. Instead of colleges, they build uncounted gaols.

Now we are striving hard to remove colonialism and imperialism from our country, and when we have won, all the unnecessary gaols will be turned into colleges for our youth.

Long live the freedom fighters!

LIVIOUS HAMUTENJA,
Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.



"Africa must be free forever"

SIR,—Power is not the monopoly of one race.

Brothers and sisters of the soil, to go to gaol or be shot dead should not stop us from freeing our country. Let us be brave, stand for all sufferings: the country is ours.

We know we are weaponless, but our moral struggle will remain unabated until freedom is recaptured.

We all believe that Africa is for Africans and must be free forever. God bless Africa!

Yours in the struggle for Pan-Africanism.

ERNEST M. LUBASI,
Livingstone, N.R.

Questions on Congo

SIR,—Contact, 25th January, carries two articles on the Congo which have puzzled me.

1. You say on page 2: "The government of the Congo is non-racial". I thought that Belgians did not have the vote in the Congo, and that the government is all-Congolese. What is the actual position then?

2. You speak of "the plans of the imperialists (to return)", quoting Belgium in this connection, and how these plans failed, "basically because (of) the democracies of the world, led by the United States". Is Belgium not a democracy then? And are not the United States, Britain, France and

THE POLICE STATE WILL END WHEN PEOPLE'S DEMANDS ARE MET

SIR,—The peculiar reasoning in South African politics today is utterly fantastic but then the means used for personal gain are often so. When all people are recognized as South Africans the use of apartheid and police state rule will of course be unnecessary. The throwing out of such backward methods will automatically give everyone the right to work and live where he or she prefers and at the same time give all the opportunity of earning salaries equal to their worth.

The extremes of poverty, hunger and hardship are well known to all though many who are not compelled to partake in such unhappiness prefer to look the other way. This cannot and will not last very long.

Why? Because the whispered demands are now voiced loudly and no one is in a position to ignore them. Greater stress by all is necessary to keep the

"DOWN SOUTH" FROM RADIO GHANA

SIR,—I am at this moment listening to Radio Ghana's Saturday evening music feature "Down South". This features South African artists only. The 25 metre band is the best and the broadcast starts at 8.30 p.m. and lasts until 9.15 p.m.

The programme is regular and good Saturday entertainment.

A YOUNG NON-RACIALIST,
Cape Town.

Holland imperialists, neo-colonialists, and democracies at the same time?

3. You say of the "plans of the communists (to set up another communist state)" that "in Orientale Mr. Gizenga was at one point well on the way to setting up a 'people's democracy', obedient to Moscow".

I always understood that Gizenga was claiming to be the acting prime minister of the whole Congo, and was demanding that parliament be recalled to appoint a new government. In this parliament, his party was said to be in the majority. However, according to Anthony Delius of the *Cape Times*, at the very moment that Gizenga was supporting Adoula, the latter was plotting to arrest Gizenga.

My question is: In which months did Gizenga attempt the secession of Orientale, and when was he "well on the way" to setting up "another communist state" there? What actions and statements of his can you cite in this connection?

4. What do you think of the fact that (a) while Tshombe was released by Kasavubu-Ideou-Adoula, Gizenga is now imprisoned by Kasavubu-Adoula-Ideou?; (b) Adoula plans to give Gizenga's post to a Tshombe man, that is, to a secessionist?

SONNY JACOB,
Crawford, Cape.

[1. "Non-racial" means that racial considerations do not matter in law—that is the position in the Congo. Congolese of Belgian origin have the vote.

2. Canada, India, Malaya, Tunisia, Italy, Nigeria and others which have helped admirably and selflessly in the Congo are also democracies.

3. (a) The Congolese parliament on 12th February voted 76-10 approving the arrest of Mr. Gizenga (*Cape Times* 13th February). (b) Between December 1960 and January 1962.

4. (a) and (b) We don't like secessionists. — EDITOR.]

PRIZE LETTER

'EVERY TRACE OF HITLER'S FOOTSTEPS'

SIR,—To quote Winston Churchill during the second world war: "We cannot see how deliverance will come, but nothing is more certain than that every trace of Hitler's footsteps, every stain of his infected and corroding fingers, will be sponged and purged, and if need be, blasted from the surface of the earth."

These words apply to the political state in South Africa today, because the Nationalist policy is a trace of Hitler's footsteps, and must be sponged and purged from the hearts and minds of all who have been deceived by their church and state into believing their leaders.

This is our task, and the task of all who believe in equal rights for all men. Our task is not done, our warfare not over.

Today we fight, not with material weapons (except as a last resort) but with truth against despotism, right against wrong. Our goal is to win all men over to the ideals of democracy, of the brotherhood of man and of the Fatherhood of God.

Then and only then will it be possible to have peace on earth.

And please don't think you are alone in this warfare. For even here, where the government is for equal rights for all men, the enemies in our midst are strong and determined. We, with you, need vision and courage and power, keeping us resolute in life's darkest hour.

JOSEPH G. SLATER,
Cleveland, U.S.A.

[A year's free subscription to "Contact" for Mr. Slater, writer of the best letter of the fortnight.—EDITOR.]

Government's "Education for Slavery" Plan Takes Final Shape

A RECENT government pronouncement shows that plans are near fruition for the educational indoctrination of White children in South Africa. These plans follow the completion of the transfer of African education to the Bantu Education Department and plans for the transfer of Coloured education to the Department of Coloured Affairs.

The pronouncement was made by the Minister of the Interior, and of Education, Arts and Science, Senator J. de Klerk, at Potchefstroom on 16th February. He said that "as a result of the divided control over education, which was now being controlled by five different departments, the youth at school was not developing a national character". He announced that a bill would be passed this session to establish a National Education Advisory Board (for White children) "with a view to achieving a national character".

The White parents being voters, the government will have to tread warily in its schemes.

Nationalization

Less care will however be necessary in its plans for Coloured indoctrination. As reported in "Contact's" last issue, the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association has warned that a take-over of Coloured Education is imminent.

The "nationalization" of the education of the various groups in South Africa was called for in the days of the United Party government by the Institute for Christian National Education, with which were associated the late Dr. E. G. Jansen and Dr. T. E. Dönges and many other top nationalists,

ANGOLA

(Continued from page 2)

believe that the tragic conflict in Angola can end when the Portuguese recognize two things: that the Angolan people are not defeated and seem to have the will to resist indefinitely, and that the Angolan people have the right to self-determination.

"We found no evidence whatsoever of communist or other outside influences in the inspiration or conduct of the revolt.

"One thing plainly clear to us was that resistance to Portuguese rule is just beginning and that morale is high among the rebels. Not only are arms coming into Angola, but the supply is by no means exhausted, according to information we received. Angolan military leaders are being trained in Tunisia and Algeria now, and more will be sent soon.

"The war can drag on endlessly with no side clearly winning. Yet this suffering can be avoided if only the Portuguese indicate a willingness to negotiate. The Angolans appear prepared at any time to enter such discussions on the basis of a promise of self-determination, according to oft-repeated statements."

under the aegis of the F.A.K. (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Unions). Events since the nationalists came to power prove that the present government has been largely guided in its educational policy by the I.C.N.E. programme. Three quotations from their published plan appear in the panel in column 4 on this page.

Drastic Results

The plan to take over Coloured education will be resisted. But if the government succeeds in the transfer, the effects will probably be as drastic as have been the effects of the corresponding transfer on African education. Among them we note:

- Insecurity of tenure for teachers: hundreds of teachers have been sacked for political tendencies.

- Plummeting standards of achievement: In 1954 the number of African students that qualified to enter university was 164, but in 1960 it was only 28. In 1961 only 253 African matriculation candidates out of 853 passed, while 600 failed. The percentage of matriculation passes has sunk as follows:

1948	53%
1958	38%
1959	19%
1960	17.9%

- Lowered cost per pupil: In 1954 £8 10s. 9d. was spent on each African pupil, while in 1960 only £6 18s. 0d. was spent on each pupil. The comparable figure for White pupils is £43 7s. 3d.

- Poorer teaching standards: A shift system has become widespread. Under this system teachers teach two shifts of children each day.

- An obsessional concentration on

manual labour. African parents are particularly bitter about this aspect.

- An insistence on the teaching of Afrikaans. In many areas, such as the Transkei, this insistence on a second foreign language has meant that after three and four years' schooling children have gained a working knowledge neither of English nor of Afrikaans.

- The closing of the established universities of Cape Town and Johannesburg to African students.

As to Coloured education, the two open universities have already been closed to Coloured students, but the primary and secondary schools are still outside the tight control of the central government. Financed by the four Provincial Councils, the vast majority of schools (1231 out of 1422) are controlled by churches. Teachers enjoy considerable freedom to think their own thoughts and to transmit ideas of freedom and equality to the children.

To the apartheid government such a situation is anathema. Hence the drive for transfer.

Bitter Fruits

As the threat of transfer looms larger, Coloured parents, teachers and children are studying the bitter fruits of Bantu Education with concern, because they realize that "Coloured education" and "Bantu education" have in common the aim of stunting the intellectual growth of children to prepare them for a subordinate role in South African society, along the lines mapped out by the Institute for Christian National Education.

And the minds of White children will be enslaved to the doctrine of White supremacy, if government plans are successful.

LIBERALS HOLD WEEKEND SCHOOL



DEEP IN DISCUSSION, some of the twenty members of the Liberal Party who spent the weekend 10th-11th February on a farm about seventy miles from Cape Town where the party had organized a two-day school of political education. In the quiet of the countryside they were able to devote their full attention to the serious problems of planning the new, non-racial South Africa and of getting rid of the system of White supremacy.

Five papers were prepared and read by members of the party, and thorough discussion followed. The papers, which were on topics related to the present situation in South Africa, such as "The growth of Apartheid", "How Apartheid is maintained" and "How to use South Africa's natural resources". Party policy was dealt with and applied to existing problems in papers on "Social and Economic Reform" and "Constitutional Reform".

Two informal discussions were held, one on the Congo and the other on ways and means of defeating White supremacy.

FROM I.C.N.E. PAMPHLET

(See story on left)

ALL WHITE CHILDREN should be educated according to the view of life of their parents. Consequently all Afrikaans-speaking children should have a Christian-Nationalist education for the Christian and Nationalist spirit of the Afrikaner nation must be preserved and developed . . . By Christian . . . we mean according to the creeds of the three Afrikaner churches; by Nationalist we mean imbued with a love of one's own . . . Nationalism must be rooted in Christianity . . . (Article 1)

THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN'S duty to the native is to Christianize him and help him culturally.

Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the White man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation which is the senior trustee.

Native education should not be financed at the expense of White. (Article 15)

THE EDUCATION OF COLOUREDS should be seen as a subordinate part of the Afrikaner's task of Christianizing the non-White races of our fatherland. It is the Afrikaner's sacred duty to see that the Coloureds are brought up Christian Nationalist. Only when he is Christianized can the Coloured be truly happy; and he will then be proof against foreign ideologies which give him the illusion of happiness but leave him in the long run unsatisfied and unhappy.

He must also be Nationalist. The welfare and happiness of the Coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence apartheid is necessary in education) and in his being proud of it.

Coloured education must not be financed at the expense of White education. (Article 14)

Not allowed to Write Matric

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The Bantu Education Department has refused to admit some African high school pupils who passed their junior certificate examination last year to the matriculation examination.

When the schools re-opened this quarter, many young Africans went to register for the matric examinations but only those who had passed J.C. first class were considered "suitable".

Second class passers who wanted to do matriculation had their names sent to the department for checking. The pass symbols of each subject they wrote will be investigated and the total marks and percentage they gained will determine if they are "suitable and fit" for the matriculation examination. State-controlled schools will only admit students with high pass symbols.

The rejected matric students have either to repeat the J.C. or seek employment where job reservation and low wages await them. Most of these students are now making plans to enter Catholic boarding schools or to get their education in the protectorates.

This is perhaps the reason for which the government has decreed that only Catholics may attend Catholic schools, which are not yet directly under the control of the Bantu Education Department.