



## SABATA IN CAPE TOWN



**A**FTER a humiliating experience in Johannesburg, and after he had made it clear that the Government's plan to implement its Bantustan policy would only be workable through his assistance, Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo was given a tumultuous welcome by nearly 10,000 Tembus in Cape Town this month.

Paramount Chief Sabata, who is of Royal blood, as much as Elizabeth II of England, suffered the indignity of the pass-burdened African during his recent visit to Johannesburg by being asked for a passport by a policeman. This brought down the wrath of all the Dalindyebos and has since made the Government tread very carefully.

The Chief stands between his

*Paramount Chief Sabata surrounded by his councillors gladly walks through the crowd of nearly 10,000 that gathered at Langa last Sunday to hear him speak.*

people and the Government. If the Government wishes to talk to the Tembus, they must do it through him. And if the Tembus wish to talk to the Government, they likewise must do it through

him.

And at the moment in Langa, the Chief is in no mood to talk. He may do so after final deliberations with his people in the Transkei.

But, through his councillors in Cape Town, Chief Sabata has re-affirmed his stand for a multi-racial Transkei, not as a separate "state" but as a part of the whole country.

The Government's efforts to win back Chief Sabata will reach their peak on 27th September when his new courthouse and offices at Sitebe, near Umtata, are to be opened by B.A.D. Minister de Wet Nel. The Tembus have very mixed feelings about the new buildings, symbols of apartheid, for which their half-crowns have largely paid. The meeting may bring surprises.

# contact

*an independent fortnightly working for non-racial democracy through united action against apartheid and all forms of totalitarianism and imperialism.*

47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.  
P.O. Box 1979. Telephone 2-4524.  
Telegrams CONTACT, Cape Town

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

*African Postal Union: R1.40 (14s.)*

*Airmail: R2.70 (£1 7s.)*

*Rest of the world: R1.70 (17s., \$2.40). Airmail: On application. Half for six months.*

Unless otherwise stated, headlines, sub-editing and political comment in this issue by H. Head and A. Tobias, both of 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town.

## VIEWPOINT

### TRANSKEI ELECTIONS

The Government claims that 800,000 people have registered as voters in the Transkei's November election: which means about 10,000 a day for the past couple of months.

This figure sounds about as truthful as most of the Government's propaganda about "what we do for the Bantu". In the absence of information to contradict it, we must accept it, and wait to see how the Government handles the next phase of its Bantustan shop-window election:

- Will candidates be allowed to campaign freely, unthreatened by Proclamations 400 and 413 of 1960, the Emergency Regulations of the Transkei?
- Will candidates be freely chosen, and not subject to the measures the Government can take against Africans whom it does not like, such as banishment?

We cannot test the Government's figure of 800,000 voters but we can and will test its claim that Transkei self-government is an honest action, by watching its treatment of the candidates that are nominated, and seeing if it lifts the Emergency Regulations.

"It's not so much that he  
WON'T talk — he CAN'T!"

## Liberals Will Appeal Against Poster-Case Conviction

Fourteen members of the Liberal Party were fined R50 (or 25 days' imprisonment) by Mr. H. J. Powell in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court on Monday for holding a placard demonstration without permission on 19th February in Adderley Street, in protest to the banning order served on Peter Hjul.

Neil Ross, who organized the protest, was fined R75 (or 30 days' imprisonment). An appeal has been lodged in the Supreme Court. The payment of the fines was suspended till the hearing of the appeal.

Mr. L. R. Dison, who appeared for the defence, said that it was one of the most important aspects of a free country to have the right to be different and to dissent, as long as people did not break the law.

Peter Hjul, former Chairman of the Cape Division of the Liberal Party, was served with a banning order, under the terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, on 16th February this year.

Neil Ross organized a poster demonstration in protest to the banning order. At 1 p.m. on 16th February, 18 Liberals marched to Adderley Street and set themselves up ten paces from each other around an island in Adderley Street.

*Each person was given a poster,*

*bearing such phrases as: "Hjul Democrat and Liberal, not Red"; "Silence today, Hitler tomorrow"; "It is better to be silenced than silent"; "Remember Nazi Germany", etc.*

A number of Security Branch men as well as traffic policemen arrived on the scene and confiscated the posters whereupon Neil Ross distributed more.

A legal adviser to the Cape Town Municipality, Mr. J. H. Cloete, said in court that though he could not remember Neil Ross's name, he remembered a person telephoning him at about that time and asking him if permission was needed to hold a demonstration. Mr. Cloete said that there were no municipal regulations to prevent it, but the statutory law might.

Mr. Dison said the people were charged with breaking municipal regulations, and they were not dealing with the law of the land.

The Magistrate said they clearly gathered for a common purpose, and he therefore found them guilty of holding a meeting without permission.

## UHURU!

Being an ironically satirical poem dedicated to Jomo Kenyatta who has proved that all qualities are second to patience!

*So the Unspeakable Jomo Kenyatta  
Joins the Murderer Makarios  
And Jawaharlal, and Cheddi Jagan,  
The Bandas and Kaundas,  
Nkrumah and Azikiwes  
And all the other Apprentices  
Who learned about Freedom  
The British Way.*

*And I, reconciled to mortality  
In return for a share  
In Things to Come  
Rejoice with Jomo and all Afrasia  
See the chains break  
At my wrists too.*

*But you there,  
Yes, you with the sjambok  
Whom rigger rah-rahs  
Have made dead to drums  
Your Wim-o-weh Lion is fast  
awakening.*

*At the tomb of Cetawayo  
You are posthumous.*

KEN GEERING

## 90-DAY ERA



Exclusive

# Circumstances of My Mother's and My Arrest

—by Max Sisulu Jr. (17)

As told to "Contact"

I CAME home one afternoon to find my mother missing. I was informed she had been taken by the Special Branch police to Langlaagte Police Station where she was asked whether she was prepared to subject herself to questioning but she refused.

Like myself, she was visited by a magistrate once a week, who, in my case, may never have done so as the request I made was never seen to. Or so I believe. I had asked to be allowed my school books in order that I could study while on the other side of eternity, but was only given a vague answer to the effect that my request would have to be put to the Chief Magistrate.

Nothing materialised.

## QUALIFICATION

Mammy tells me her meals were the same as mine: dry mealie meal porridge thrice a day, but was given coffee with this after a few days. The same happened where I was kept. First dry mealie porridge three times a day, then we were given coffee after a few days' detention. It now strikes me as if this coffee business is some form of qualification for 90-day detainees.

Mum was released after 47 days of mental agony and anguish. Again, like myself, she was not escorted home or given fare for her return thereto—a distance of well over 12 miles. She had to "waylay" friends along the road to the townships. Fortunately, she met a friend who gave her a lift home.

## VANISHED

I had already been released when Mammy returned home, alas! We could not believe our eyes. We were all happy, excited. Oh! we were everything that evening beyond any explanation of words.

Our youngest born, a girl of five, Nonkululeko (Freedom) would not leave Mammy for a minute, lest Mammy vanished again and leave her without that maternal love and care she was so used to.

A "welcome-home" party was staged for Mum on 31st July at our house, where a crowd of friends and

well-wishers gathered. We were all glad to welcome Mammy back home and to her normal life once more.

Among the well-wishers were some of my former cell-mates who were also now free: Mr. Abel Mthembu and Mr. John Molefe, both members of 11 inmates of our Marshall Square cell and Mr. Hlatswayo who was in another cell.

## FORGIVE

During my detention one of the threats made to me was: "In 'n paar maande se tyd sal jy jou gedagte verander". ("During the next few months you will have changed your mind.")

*I wonder why.*

I do know that South Africa, like the greater part of the continent, and most parts of the world, will one day be free of racial prejudice.

*Lord forgive them their 90-day detention clause; for they know not what they do.*

## Special Branch...

The first that Mrs. —, wife of one of the White men arrested at Rivonia, knew of her husband's fate was when she came home with her children the day of the raid to find police searching her house. She had not seen her politician husband for two months.

The S.B. men demanded she stay with them while they searched. Finding in her personal cupboard her diaphragm contraceptive of a type commonly used by married women, one of the S.B. men tossed it to her with a coarse laugh, saying, "You won't be needing this for twelve years!" This was her first intimation as to her husband's whereabouts, told her in typically South-Africa-1963 style.

Max Sisulu, 17-year-old son of former A.N.C. Secretary-General, Walter Max Sisulu, was detained for 25 days under the 90-day clause of the "No-Trial" Act. The youngest South African to have been so detained, his detention in Johannesburg's Marshall Square followed shortly after that of his mother. Both mother and son were arrested after an intense fruitless man-hunt by the South African police to capture Mr. Sisulu who disappeared while on R600 bail pending an appeal of a six-year conviction for a political offence.

## HOW DID THEY GET OUT?

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Since Arthur Goldreich, Harold Wolpe, Mosiie Moolla and Abdulhai Jassat escaped from Marshall Square police cells on Sunday, 11th August, between 1 a.m. and 2 a.m., many theories of their whereabouts have circulated all over. The police comment by Colonel Klindt is: "We are dealing with a band of clever men. Anything we say about plans to capture them will be a help to them."

The search for the four men has been intensified and the police have indicated that the hunt will not be called off until the escapers are found.

Last week it was thought that the fugitives had joined Mr. I. B. Tabata and others on their way to Dar-es-Salaam; but reports from there discount this as only Mr. Tabata, Mr. A. B. Ngcobo, Mr. Honono and Mr. J. D. Nyaoase and a Miss Gool arrived in Des-es-Salaam on Wednesday.

This has resulted in an intensified and concerted hunt mainly in the Johannesburg area. The police believe that the Dar-es-Salaam report was a hoax to try and disorganize the search. All the facts revealed during the search do not tally with widespread rumours that the men had crossed into Swaziland.

The wives of two of the escaped men were locked up immediately at daybreak last Sunday. They are Mrs. Anne-Marie Wolpe and Mrs. Z. Moolla. They were extensively questioned about their husbands' escape.

Mrs. Wolpe alleged she was called a "bitch" during the interrogation and also threatened with assault during the two days she was held.

## 'Release Detainees' Appeal

Twenty-seven officials of the unions affiliated to the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions are now detained under the 90-day clause of the General Laws Amendment Act, 1963.

*In a letter accompanying a petition signed by the wives, mothers and children of the detainees, and presented on 9th August to the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster, SACTU demanded the immediate release, at the termination of the 90 days' period, of five of its members, including its National President, Mr. Stephen Dlamini.*

### SUFFERINGS

In its letter SACTU emphasizes the "indescribable sufferings" and the "tremendous hardships" experienced by the families and dependants of those imprisoned in solitary confinement without trial and without the privileges normally accorded to either awaiting-trial persons or convicted prisoners.

SACTU goes on to point out that it is the right of every citizen to have access to the courts and to know details of, and be free to defend himself against, any charge which may be made against him. That the detainees are denied this right "is abhorrent to all civilized communities and is one of the main reasons why South Africa has earned the opprobrium of the whole world".

### DESTITUTE

In their position, the families of the detainees insist that their husbands, daughters and fathers must be brought before a court of law. The families say that they are destitute, that those sent to jails far away must be brought back "because we have no money to visit them" and they claim that the Government, having laid no charge against the detainees, must support them while their breadwinners and protectors are being kept in jail.

Following the presentation of the petition, a deputation of 20 women — relatives and friends of the detainees — had an interview with Mr. C. V. Morris, Acting Chief

Magistrate of Cape Town. He said he could not give them a piece of paper telling them to go and fetch their husbands but he undertook to put their problems to the Minister. Mr. Morris said the women were mainly concerned with their individual difficulties and he referred them to the "Native Commissioner" for this.

Mrs. Flora Mncanca, whose brother has been detained, said she had to look after his seven children. "They are going hungry," she said, "and there is no food and nobody to look after them. I have just come from the doctor who says the youngest baby is sick because it is just not getting food."

### T.U.C.

In a statement issued on the occasion of the arrest of Mr. Dlamini, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in London reiterated its fundamental opposition to the doctrines of the South African Government and condemned the ruthless measures to which they have led. The statement goes on to say that "The General Council have protested on several occasions in the past at actions of the South African Government which have infringed the rights and curtailed the liberties of trade unionists and others, and against the legislation by which the Government have cloaked their deeds with legal authority".

## Latest News

From "Contact" Correspondent

**NDOLA:** Up-to-the-minute news on developments in Africa can be heard every evening on your radio at 6 o'clock by tuning to *Report to Africa*, a 30-minute programme from the Voice of America in the 19-metre band. The programme is edited and presented by Mr. Alec Nkhata, the star Northern Rhodesian broadcaster (his career in Northern Rhodesia came to a halt with Federation, but it is believed on good authority that he will be a director of Radio Zambia when Northern Rhodesia achieves independence).

### RUNNING COMMENTARY

In its first few issues, the programme gave what amounted to a running commentary on the Security Council's South Africa debate, with "live" reports of speeches by leading speakers such as Mr. Quaison-Sackey (Ghana) and Mr. Adlai Stevenson (United States).

Another feature was press comment from the U.S. and Europe on South Africa, illustrating an informed hatred of apartheid among leaders of public opinion there.

○ The meeting of African foreign ministers in Dakar, Senegal, to discuss the application of the Addis Ababa resolutions was also given full coverage. Important developments all over Africa have been reported by correspondents on the spot.

## Blow to Natal Soccer

From "Contact" Correspondent

**PIETERMARITZBURG:** Thursday, 8th August, was a sad day for professional soccer fans here. Officials were informed about the ban on Africans at the Royal Showgrounds. The ban was imposed by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

Although the ban is said to be "in the interest of Africans", many consider and believe that it is only meant to discourage Africans and to seclude them in their own areas. The most interesting part of the ban is that no suitable site has been mentioned as compensation for this loss to the Soccer League.

This unjust step has been described as "an alarming blow to what the owners of the Royal Showgrounds wished for non-Whites in the city".

Although soccer officials here are still waiting for some more information from Government officials, the ban has already indicated an imminent and crushing blow to multi-racial sporting activities between Indians, Coloureds and Africans. The two Maritzburg professional soccer clubs have done an enormous amount to foster a spirit of brotherhood

between the city lads.

The ban means an end to the private incomes which have helped many unemployed Africans who had started making a living out of pro-soccer. It is thought that gangsterism and juvenile delinquency will soon breed among the idling youths around Maritzburg.

It is interesting to note that during the first week-end the ban took effect, many began to think about what the Government does to non-Whites. The silence of the City Council holds out no hope for non-Whites in Maritzburg who are affected by the ban. "This does not end good friendship and brotherhood between us non-Whites, but a real drawing together because the Government realizes that in order to have complete control over us, we must be kept separate," said one Indian soccer fan.

## “House-Breaking” in Lady Selborne

From “Contact” Correspondent

PRETORIA: Lady Selborne, which was once the cheery hub of Pretoria’s African life, is slowly becoming a town of discontent and crime with the removal of families from recently solid, happy homes to municipal locations.

This is coupled with a strong resentment of the City Council because of the breaking down of houses while several families live in crowded conditions and would gladly move to a municipal location if only houses were available.

The general feeling amongst “house-breaking” victims is that, in the first place, it is up to the City Council to see that they do get houses immediately they are evicted as they (the families), are being moved whether they like it or not.

In the second place, method should be arranged to make for some form of dignified moving when a house is eventually found for them.

### TYPICAL

*The following is a typical story of many families who suffer under normal Lady Selborne “house-breaking” procedure —*

At 6 a.m. one day in late March one family awoke to the sound of workmen on the roof; the mother rushed outside where she found other tenants of the house gathered, to find out what was happening. The workman in charge told them that the house was being demolished. They

and her employer telephoned the City Council to be informed, that no families were moved without fair notice and that no houses were demolished until other accommodation was provided for the tenants!

The tenants were out by 10 o’clock but the workmen did not reappear to begin breaking. The family sat outside with other tenants while the daughter went from office to office trying to sort things out and while friends and neighbours tried to contact some tenants who had left early for work and did not know of the eviction.

Finally, after dark, both alternative accommodation and a lorry to move the furniture was found and the family moved, the children falling asleep exhausted before they were settled in.

The irritating part of the whole experience was that the house that they had vacated was not demolished until the next week and people have come to the conclusion that the early climbing on the roof is just a way of ensuring that tenants are out when the contractor is ready to break down the house.

## GOODBYE SOUTH AFRICA

From “Contact” Correspondent

PRETORIA: Miss Ellen Leshoai, wife of Mr. Bob Leshoai, former secretary and organizer of Union Artists, said farewell to her many friends in Lady Selborne this month on her way to join her husband in Lusaka.

Her husband left for Lusaka in June on business and has since been offered a bursary to study drama in the United States. While Mrs. Leshoai was very sad to say goodbye she said leaving the country has relieved her of constant questioning and surveillance by the Security Police, which had reached the stage when she did not know whether her husband would return home from his work in Johannesburg each night; or whether she would get a message to say he was being detained at a police

## FORT HARE TO OXFORD

From “Contact” Correspondent

OXFORD: Recently I saw Edward Mafethe, who had just returned from a trip to Paris and Brussels, where he took part in a Seminar on African Unity for English- and French-speaking African students.

The enthusiasm he showed about the experience of meeting members of other African states was typical of his enjoyment of all he discovers here. *The most important advantage Oxford has over Fort Hare is having other people working in the same field. But he is discovering interest in many aspects of life in England.*

Motsie Edward Mafethe was born in Sophiatown 26 years ago and went to Madibane High School, where he taught for two years after matriculating.



Then Dick Mœd, a Johannesburg businessman, helped him through his three years at Fort Hare, while he did an ambitious (three majors) B.Sc., and a two-year honours degree in one year. Now at Wadham College, Oxford, on a William Brogden Scholarship which he first heard about through N.U.S.A.S., he is working for his D.Phil. in theoretical physics, on the structure of the nucleus.



The demolished house.

begged him to at least give them time to remove their furniture and belongings from the house and were told that they could have till 10 a.m. (At least one tenant had lived in the house for 10 years and had accumulated quite a few possessions which had to be packed.)

The mother then telephoned her daughter, who was in domestic employment, and asked her to come home to help find other accommodation as no alternative was offered at the time. The daughter rushed home

station.

Mr. Leshoai relinquished a principalship at one of Lady Selborne’s high schools when the Bantu Education Act was introduced and was frequently a victim of police intimidation.



Mrs. Leshoai left with three of her children. The fourth, a 13-year-old son, is at present schooling in England.

Mrs. Leshoai will be greatly missed in Lady Selborne; she was an active member of the National Council of African Women, was on the committee of St. Peters School and was a hard worker for many charities.

## THE LONG VIEW

— by Peter Brown

### Don't Believe S.A. Press

# U.N. Resolution Will Hit S.A. Hard

A FEW weeks ago I referred to the way in which the bulk of the South African press had tried to pass off the Addis Ababa resolutions as so much hot air. Now the same press is telling its readers that the United Nations Security Council resolution, calling for an embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa, is also not going to affect the Republic at all.



National Chairman of the Liberal Party of S.A.

## KNOW YOUR RIGHTS!

No. 4

### WHAT POWERS OF ARREST DOES THE LAW GIVE?

Persons may be arrested either upon a warrant of arrest or without warrant.

A warrant of arrest is an order signed by a judge or magistrate or justice of the peace directing that the person named in the warrant should be arrested in connection with an offence that is stated. It is usually applied for by a commissioned officer of police who has reasonable grounds to suspect that such person has committed an offence because someone has given information on oath about the matter.

Any policeman, manager of a location, pass officer, chief or headman can arrest the person named in the warrant, but if that person asks, the warrant must be shown to him, he must be told what it says, and he must be allowed to read it.

The person so arrested must be brought to a police station or charge office as soon as possible, unless the warrant mentions some other place, and after that, and again as soon as possible, he must be brought before a magistrate on the charge mentioned in the warrant.

The same officials can arrest without a warrant any person who commits an offence in the presence of that official. It is for this reason that an African is liable to immediate arrest if he does not produce his reference book upon demand by the official. It is an offence not to produce it on demand and if it is not so produced, an offence is committed in the presence of the person entitled to ask for the book.

BY A LAWYER.

*It is true that the Security Council did not go as far as the African states would have liked it to go. It may also be true that the arms embargo will not seriously affect South Africa for the moment. Nevertheless the Security Council resolution is one more sign of the growing diplomatic isolation which confronts South Africa and which has increased quite spectacularly since the Addis Ababa conference. Before the Security Council met, the South African delegation had been given a hot reception at the I.L.O., and the I.L.O. had itself decided to press for the Republic's expulsion from the U.N. Shortly afterwards South Africa decided of her own accord to resign from the Economic Council for Africa and, by so doing, almost certainly avoided being expelled from it. These two set-backs were a direct consequence of the new feeling of African unity which emerged from Addis Ababa.*

### NO VICTORY

The Security Council resolution which was eventually passed did not ask for either the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations nor for the use of sanctions against her. The fact that it did not was no victory for apartheid; it was an attempt to reconcile the conflicting views on the role of the United Nations held by the different members of the Council. What is significant is that not a single member could be found in the Council to vote against the embargo.

In the past South Africa has relied heavily on Western support in the U.N. This support has not rested on any approval for apartheid but rather on the argument that persuasion was more likely to lead to its abandonment than coercion was. Now she can do so with less and less confidence. This is demonstrated by the obviously increasing concern shown by the United States for the opinion of the African states. The U.S. has always been concerned about African opinion but one senses that recent events, and perhaps Addis Ababa in particular, have made it much less

worried about the feelings of Dr. Verwoerd and his Government in considering the line it will take against apartheid. The U.S. vote in the Security Council indicates that the line will get tougher. Certainly it can be assumed that the appointment of a new American Ambassador to South Africa means a hardening and not a softening in U.S. attitudes. And, if the diplomatic activity before this last Security Council meeting indicates anything, we can expect increasing United States pressure on Britain and France to join her in her toughness.

### MORAL STANDARDS

The British response to African unity and American diplomacy has been to come half-way towards banning the export of arms to South Africa. This is a move away from her old position regarding South Africa and nobody can pretend it is not. But perhaps the most significant pointer to her future attitudes has been indicated by the London Times' firm statement that Britain's decision on international action against South Africa must be taken on moral and not material grounds. At a time when the Profumo affair has forced a re-examination in Britain of private and public moral standards, this could become a very weighty argument.

All in all, it seems that it was not just hot air that came out of Addis Ababa.

## ARE YOU IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE?

Become an agent selling  
"CONTACT" — write :

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

**ZAMBIAN REGROUPING****NKUMBULA MAY JOIN U.N.I.P.**

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: The Northern Rhodesian (Zambia) African National Congress led by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, has split into two political parties. This has led to the formation of the Peoples' Democratic Party led by "rebel" Mr. Job Michello, former secretary-general in Mr. Nkumbula's party.

This action has caused a very critical position in the coalition government of the country, because of rumoured threats that Mr. Ted Cousins, Minister of Natural Resources, and Mr. F. S. Stubbs, Minister of Transport and Public Works have made utterances to the effect of joining the Peoples' Democratic Party. The present constitution requires two non-Black ministers in the government.



Nkumbula and Michello

While every effort has been made to bring about a reconciliation, this has been in vain.

Mr. Nkumbula has emphasized that he has no hard feelings against Mr. Michello. His aim was to strive for national unity.

Mr. Nkumbula is likely to join U.N.I.P. and may do so within the next week.



Sir Evelyn Hone

Meanwhile, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda has said that: "U.N.I.P. is watching the regrouping in our politics very carefully". His belief is that certain non-Blacks feel that Mr. Nkumbula has let them down by forming government with U.N.I.P. This was the reason why "they were now gathering around Michello".

Dr. Kaunda also stressed the fact that this "manoeuvring compels the need for a new constitution immediately".

The vital sentence in the constitution on race reads: "Not less than two of the appointed members of the Executive Council shall be European and not less than two shall be Africans."

This, however, can be solved by the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, through either calling for general elections under a new constitution or appoint two non-politicians to fill the positions of the resigned A.N.C. Europeans, Messrs. Cousins and

Stubbs.

Although the position of the A.N.C. is a threat to the government, it is very unlikely to cause embarrassment to the country's progress towards independence.

**Nkomo's Comeback in Z.A.P.U.**

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: A new political party has been formed in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) by the staunch African nationalist and "rebel" leader, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole.

The leader of the newly formed Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) accused Mr. Joshua Nkomo of "running from capital to capital fruitlessly" and "lack-lustre politics".

However, a conference was called by Mr. Nkomo to try and define differences between Mr. Sithole and himself. Although Mr. Sithole and his followers boycotted the conference at first, it was attended by well over 8,000 people from all over Zimbabwe.

The conference passed the following resolutions:

- That Mr. Nkomo be elected life President of the struggle for the people of Zimbabwe.
- That the idea of forming a new party be rejected.
- That the national leader be given powers of appointing and replacing any member of his cabinet.

The conference also recommended

**BAN-THREE**

MISS LILY DIEDRICHS, secretary of the Preserved Food Industry Medical Benefit Fund, has received three five-year banning orders.

The orders were served by three Special Branch men at her offices in Durban Road, Korsten. Miss Diedrichs who lives at 51 Glendinning Street, Schauderville, is prohibited from attending social and political meetings. She is also not allowed to visit schools, factories and locations.

Another order prohibits her from speaking to the Press. The third requires her to report to the Korsten police station every Monday between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m.

**GERHARD COHN**

PROFESSIONAL  
PHOTOGRAPHER

Phone 728-3030

P.O. Box 4716

Johannesburg

## WAS NGUBANE BANNED TO KEEP THIS BOOK OUT?

VERWOERD'S Nationalists have often proclaimed their willingness to die rather than change. Ministerial declarations of fighting "till the blood comes up to the horses' bits" show the height of suicidal intent. The banning of a book like Jordan Ngubane's *An African Explains Apartheid* (Frederick Praeger, New York) show this intent from another angle. For if ever there was a book which made a reasoned appeal to the Nationalists to abandon their destructive policy, this is it.

It is true that Ngubane's chief purpose was to make apartheid intelligible to the outside world, but his devastating — and original — analysis of the roots of apartheid, its corrosive effects on human beings, White and non-White, and his appraisal of the frightening collision of forces implicit in the unfolding of our race tragedy — all these must surely have moved some apartheid apologists to think anew.

But because it is illegal for the book to circulate in the Republic South Africans are denied this stimulating challenge to thought. (It might be a good idea for some of us to compile a reading-list of the books we are now being denied, to ensure that we catch up on required reading in a free future!)

Mr. Ngubane himself is convinced that a ban was hurriedly imposed on him soon after the publication date in order to ensure that the book could not be read in the Republic. And this is one of the bitterest ironies in the wildly ironic South African predicament — that a book which not only appeals for a sane solution, but which is harshly critical of some aspects of the resistance forces in South Africa, should be prevented from circulating freely. *It is a loss for all of us, for some of the opinions of Mr. Ngubane are violently controversial and would have given rise to fiercely animated discussion — for example, his re-assessment of the role of the missionary Dr. John Philip, the accusation that the communists have "sabotaged" the liberatory movement, and his federal solution to the South African problem with its implied willingness to accommodate Afrikaner cultural preferences for a transition period.*

### COLLISION

Notwithstanding its controversial elements, this is a major contribution to South African political literature in which, among its outstanding achievements are the analysis of the evolution of apartheid by following the recurrence of certain themes in

the historical pattern, the use of concepts such as "reserves of power" and "initiatives" to bring out basic elements in a bewilderingly complex situation, the lively eye-witness accounts of decisive moments in the development of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress (though other eye-witnesses have given, or might give, other accounts, depending on where they stood) and the balanced assessment of the forces being lined up for a collision which, at the time of writing (and he regrets the delayed publication) Mr. Ngubane still thought could be averted.

### REPUGNANCE

That he thought so, and made a cogently logical appeal that the collision should be averted, is perhaps the best clue to the quality of the book. Mr. Ngubane's mind has the sweep of the historiographer, and the precision of the dedicated journalist, but it is its humaneness, its insistence on the intrinsic worth of the individual (which is the principal spring of his repugnance to communism) and its profound respect for human values which are the best qualities of his mind. They are also the chief virtues of this valuable — but for most of us, alas, inaccessible — explanation of apartheid.

## Readers!

- This is your letter page.
- Short and topical please.

## Vacancy

WE have a vacancy on the staff of this small new multi-racial boarding school for an experienced Clerk who is also an expert Zulu teacher — preferably a bachelor, because the post is resident. If the man can also teach Biology, so much the better.

Salary will be according to qualifications and experience. It will not be lavish but it will certainly be adequate.

We are looking for a man who is prepared to identify himself with the non-racial aims of this school.

Applications, stating age, experience and qualifications, and accompanied by at least two references, should be sent to "The Headmaster, Waterford School, P.O. Box 52, Mbabane, Swaziland".

Mbabane. M. A. Stern, Headmaster

## Penetrating

THANK you for an unusually penetrating and concentrated article (*O si sic omnes*) — "Politicians must face facts and rebuild" — *Contact*, 9th August, 1963.

At the same time I can assure you that your obsequies are out of place for the head of the banned P.A.C. Also, though I remember that much can be achieved by courtesy, I feel that it is excessive to describe some Congress leaders as possessing "brilliant leadership". I think it is enough to describe them as hard-working and successful in building up those contacts in the outer world which were in harmony with the "association with left-wingers" which is so truthfully mentioned.

I venerate you and your brave colleagues. Thanks to your marriage of principle and fearless courage, the end of the evil days is near. It will come, I believe, when the proximate cause is ready — the freedom movement mentioned in your third column. And when that movement moves, within a few years, you will be overjoyed and amazed to know how great are the friendly forces on the face of our planet. Forces able,

ready and willing to step in on a great and historic act of creation and mercy.

Keep it up!

New York.

P.S.

## Demands

WITH only a few months' experience in the South African Congress of Trade Unions, I feel I have to say something about them. I have always appreciated the struggle of the South African Congress of Trade Unions to help the workers in their labouring pains for recognition by the Government. While this may not yet have been realized, remember: *Rome was not built in a day.*

Ours is not an extravagant request from the government and if it can look at our demands with unprejudiced eyes and sympathetic ears it would not just give us our demands because we ask for them but on the contrary would give them to us as a necessity.

Zorah Mehlomakulu,  
Secretary, S.A. Distributive  
Workers' Union.

Cape Town.