

contact

FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

5c

Vol. 6 No. 22

1st November 1963

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

TRANSKEI CANDIDATE
ARRESTED; OTHERS
MUZZLED

—page 4

'CONTACT' FUND
LAUNCHED

NATS SOLICIT AFRICANS FOR PARTITION



THE new word in S.A. politics is PARTITION. From the discussions of scattered political highbrows, the word has broken loose and is now running riot in the overseas press, and in the councils of Western countries.

Reports that certain Africans have been "planted" in the Transkei elections, and that Chief Kaizer Matanzima is the Government's "blue-eyed boy" once more are causing observers to ponder whether the "Partitionists" in high places are not now plotting for an African call for a partitioned South Africa. Matanzima fell from favour over his call for a Transkei state from the Fish River to the border of Natal. (Dr. Verwoerd called the demand "regrettable".) But he seems to be back again, and it is felt that his wooing of the chiefs' support, plus the Government's favour, may win him the chief ministership in the Transkei, despite opposition to him felt by the majority of Transkeians. As chief minister, Matanzima would have the status to bargain for partition, which he could be relied on to do within the apartheid context.

The other indication is that certain African officials have resigned their posts in order to fight elections, and word has got around that they have been "planted" as candidates in order to do the Nats' bidding when the time comes.

This is the other end of the line of advance by the "partitionists" who may include some top Nats, even cabinet members. At one end, it seems that some high-ranking Nats have been gently dropping Partition hints to the Americans and British, with the aim of getting their support before taking the plunge. As Colin Legum has written (*Forward*, November), the "Western Governments need a policy of their own for South Africa which they can conscientiously support. Therefore they are casting around for ideas." And some Nats,

and influential non-Nats like Dr. Jan Graaff, brother of the U.P. leader, hope to supply that policy, as a last-minute escape from submitting to majority rule in a non-racial South Africa.

The liberal *Guardian*, London, has come out in favour of considering the idea, to be met with powerful anti-arguments from exiles Patrick Duncan, Margaret Roberts and Ronald Segal. (S.A.'s Liberal Party is known to be opposed to the idea.)

In the monthly *Encounter*, John Mander gives the pro-partition views

of *Burger* editor Piet Coetzee in detail, and with admiration. It is commonly reported that a study of the partition plan is circulating inside the U.S. State Department.

Legum guesses that the Nat partitionists could be "Dr. Dönges, *Die Burger's* powerful Afrikaner financial backers, a large section of the Cape Nats and a section of SABRA". Whoever they are, they see a possible future black South Africa as the present "reserves" plus the Protectorates, Natal, parts of the Eastern Province, and northern and eastern Transvaal; making 40 per cent of South Africa (which includes much of the Kalahari). As most African leaders are banned or in gaol, no opinion has come from them yet.

Mysterious pro-apartheidist

Does 'Nkosikana' Exist?

WHITE supremacist newspapers, English and Afrikaans, and Radio Bantu have all feasted off the pro-apartheid letter from one Robert Nkosikana that appeared in *The Guardian*, London, during last month. Hailing Dr. Verwoerd as the "man most likely to succeed" in unifying South Africa, which "can only succeed under white leadership", the mysterious Mr. Nkosikana claims to "speak for at least 70 per cent of S.A.'s population of "Africans" (his inverted commas) "who are satisfied with the progress being made, with certain reservations". He is pro-Bantustan; "next month the Xhosa tribe, of which I am proud to be a member, holds general elections..." He particularly attacked the U.K. Labour Party's boycott call. Radio Bantu has quoted Nkosikana as proof that Africans are beginning to accept "separate development".

CONTACT BELIEVES THERE IS

NO SUCH PERSON AS MR. ROBERT NKOSIKANA. We are at present making investigations in England (he wrote from a Bradford, Yorkshire, address) prompted by these facts:

- *Nkosikana* is an impossible name. The suffix *kana* is unheard of with the stem *nkosi* (chief).
- The letter-writer claims he was at the University of Cape Town—and the University of Cape Town cannot trace any such student.
- He writes "my father owns several trading posts in the Transkei... his financial standing would put most Labour Party members to shame". We are unable to trace any African businessman in the Transkei with a name resembling "Nkosikana".
- The whole tone of the letter echoes S.A. Information Service propaganda, of the relatively sophisticated variety that comes from South Africa House, London.

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.
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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.

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VIEWPOINT

KEEP 'CONTACT' GOING

WE are sure (or hope we are correct in this assumption) that readers and all those interested in *Contact* have been eagerly waiting to hear of our fund-raising venture in this issue. Our assumption, of course, is confirmed by some response we've had from sympathizers whose names and the donations received appear below. Nevertheless — and this is our report — we are still way off from the required amount to keep going. We are still drowning and this issue is but just grabbing at a twig.

However, contrary to our report in the last issue that we will appear only once a month after this issue should sufficient funds not yet have arrived, plans have been put together in order that we can appear as before — each fortnight.

CONTACT'S OWN STAFF, editor Harold Head, and business, circulation and subscription manager, Joan Block, with her two assistants, Edward Mdishwa and Vernon Williams, **HAVE COME TO THE RESCUE. THEY HAVE SACRIFICED THEIR PAID JOBS TO SAVE CONTACT.**

SURVIVAL ESSENTIAL

This means, the roles they will play from today will be in an honorary capacity. But it will also mean, voluntary workers will be needed to keep the paper in the ship-shape order that it was. For the out-going staff will also have to spend adequate time trying to secure temporary remunerative jobs in order to maintain themselves and their families until they can once more assume their *Contact* positions in the normal manner.

Because it is so essential that *Contact* must survive, its main office is also being closed at the end of this month; the telephone is being given up (you know, as we know, who'll regret this secret advantage), and only one small office — just a little larger than a bathroom — will be maintained.

This is all being done in the belief that our current difficulties will only be temporary and that our earnest appeal for donations will have a response with each mail delivery, with similar notes such as the one received this week which reads thus:

"Here is a small contribution for your fund to keep publishing. Many are afraid in the South Africa of today — afraid of the opponents of justice, multi-racial co-operation and Christianity. I would like to send more, but at least this is a gesture from one white man who does not fear any . . . Nat on the face of the earth."

MYSTERIOUS BANNING ORDER

WHEN the Special Branch of the South African apartheid government of Verwoerd announced a five-year ban on Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle last week it added another mystery to a long series of "mysterious" events that have dogged the trail of this freedom fighter since 4th September this year.

On that day — 4th September — Looksmart Solwandle died in a solitary cell in Pretoria prison.

Arrested in Cape Town on 19th August, Solwandle was taken to Pretoria. Eleven days after Solwandle died, his wife and mother were notified of his death. There was no explanation for the delay in notifying the family. When the family requested the body, they were told it would be too "expensive" to have the body brought to Middledrift in

the Cape from Pretoria. Train tickets were given to Solwandle's wife and mother so that they could attend the funeral in Pretoria. Mrs. Solwandle could not go, but the dead man's mother did. When she arrived in Pretoria, she was told that her son's body had been buried already. They would not tell the mother where the body was buried. Questioned as to why the body had been buried without her knowledge, the dead man's mother was told that his wife had given permission to the authorities to
(Continued on page 6)

CONTACT FUND

Helena Broun	R100.00
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De Wet Nel Endorses**Political Divorce**

By a Reporter

AS you read this, Mrs. Matsokolo Maphéele—the woman without a country who, by a decree of the Nationalist Government of South Africa, is not allowed to have a husband—has left Paarl, her husband and her friends, for Herschel, to where she has been forced to go by an apartheid law.

Early this year Mrs. Maphéele, married by Christian rites in the Anglican Church at Herschel, a little Cape farming town, was ordered by the Bantu Affairs Department to leave Paarl where she had been staying with her husband and little baby.

After her marriage, Mrs. Maphéele left Herschel to go and live with her husband in Paarl, where he had worked for more than ten years. This period of employment qualifies Mr. Maphéele to reside in the proclaimed area of Paarl where he had been staying in the so-called "bachelor quarter" of the African location.

Unable to find accommodation for his wife, they settled the problem by arranging that Mrs. Maphéele should board with a Coloured family in the town, while he remained a resident of the "bachelor quarter", which is a compulsory residence for unmarried men in a proclaimed area.

APARTHEID MACHINERY

Then, suddenly, without any warning, the ruthless machinery that works the terrors of apartheid's machinery took a hand and Mrs. Maphéele was ordered out of Paarl by the Bantu Affairs Administration because, they said, she did not qualify to reside in the proclaimed area.

Mrs. Maphéele did not leave and was subsequently charged in the Paarl Magistrate's Court for being in the area "illegally".

She was convicted but appealed against the order. In passing sentence, the Supreme Court judge who heard her appeal, Mr. Justice Banks, and the Judge President of the Cape, Justice Beyers, said that they gave her all their sympathy but that the law had to take its course. The judge made an appeal from the bench that her case should be considered by the appropriate authorities.

PROVOCATIVE ACTION

An appeal was lodged with the Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. De Wet Nel, who turned her application down. The Minister said that Mrs. Maphéele's appeal to the courts was "a provocative action taken in respect of the laws of the country".

**No Husband!****No Child!****Only a Memory**

In other words, the Minister asserted that Mrs. Maphéele should not exercise her rights and go to the country's courts for a ruling that she could remain with her husband and child. To Mr. Nel, the law of apartheid had decreed that she cannot live with her husband and child and that was that. Now, after nearly a year of tragic

appeals and court action, Mrs. Maphéele has been removed from her husband and sent back to Herschel. And Jesus said "Whomsoever God has put together, let no man put asunder".

To the Nationalist Government of Dr. Verwoerd, apparently this law of God is only for the white people.

90-Day Law**Slowly Cripples Unions**

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: African trade unions in the Cape, like elsewhere in South Africa, are being hard hit by mass bannings and detention of its leading officials under the 90-day clause of the General Laws Amendment Act.

For those minor officials left in the various offices of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (which is the largest and most powerful co-ordinating body of African trade unions in S.A.), life is being made extremely difficult and hazardous by employers of African labour as well.

According to one SACTU worker here, many employers of African labour now phone the Special Branch police when trade union officials and organisers try to assist African

workers with their complaints at their places of employment.

And employers are taking gross advantage of the badly crippled state of the African unions and are refusing to improve bad—sometimes shocking—working conditions; refusing to pay the compensation of African workers, and refusing to pay African workers their leave pay when they dispense with the services of their workers.

In Cape Town, every African trade union leader has been detained under the 90-day No-trial solitary confinement clause of the General Laws Amendment Act.

At the moment, a messenger and a typist are handling the queries and complaints of African workers that were normally handled by a team of eight trade union leaders.

CANDIDATES ARRESTED, OTHERS MUZZLED

Transkei Elections 'Very Smooth' - Nel

DURBAN: The arrest of Mr. Maqushu Leonard Mdingi of Bizana after the Transkei's Nomination Day, has made plain the Government's attitude to the Transkei election, if any doubt were left by the banning of Hammington Majija by special Government Gazette Extraordinary on the eve of Nomination Day.

Mr. Mdingi had had the courage to announce himself as organizer of the Iqumru LamaMpondo Ase-Mpumalanga (Pondoland People's Party) who were putting up eight candidates in the Qaukeni region (E.

Pondoland), which is entitled to eight elected members of the TLA). He had addressed meetings in Durban and issued a manifesto.

Mr. Mdingi was held by Security Police in Durban, under the 90-day (i.e. indefinite detention) clause of the General Laws Amendment Act.

NOT EXEMPT

Interviewed in Durban on the day Mr. Mdingi's arrest was announced BAD Minister De Wet Nel told a reporter that the election campaign was "going very smoothly. Officials are giving candidates permission to hold meetings freely". Mr. De Wet Nel did not add that candidates were still not exempt from clauses of the "emergency regulation" (Proc. 400 of 1960) which make it an offence carrying stiff penalties to "interfere" with the authority of the State or of any of its officers, including chiefs and headmen. Transkei courts have already found, in effect, that criticism can be classed as interference.

Another muzzle has been placed on the teachers contesting seats.

Originally solicited by the Department to take part in the elections, teachers were assured that they

would not have to resign their posts. Now they are being told they must resign and be reinstated if they are not elected.

COERCED

Bantu Education teachers are not normally allowed to take part in politics. Their involvement on this occasion is the wish of Mr. I. J. M. van Rooyen, Transkei regional director of Bantu Education, and future secretary of the Department of Education of the new "state". Mr. Van Rooyen is known to play a major behind-the-scenes role in the Transkei's political affairs. Some teachers view this new "line" as an attempt to coerce them to support Government policy from their platforms, in order to be sure of getting their posts back.

Hawked!



Coloured hawkers of fruit and vegetables are hounded daily by the South African police and the Cape Town traffic police.

These hawkers are the backbone of the Cape Town market which would be plagued by glut without them. Yet the Cape Town City Council refuses to allow them to sell their fruit and vegetables except in areas where there would not be enough return for them to earn a living.

The Council's opposition to the hawkers is backed by big business. When arrested, hawkers are man-handled and pay fines from R10 up to R50.

Police Hunt

From "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: On 16th October, at 8 p.m., police called at the New Brighton home of Mrs. Bella Jindela, searching for one of the Transkei's most determined anti-apartheid fighters, the veteran ex-A.N.C. secretary, Mr. Timothy Mbuzo. Mr. Mbuzo disappeared from his home near Bityi, Umtata district, on 28th June. His absence from the large Tembu meeting on 29th June (at which police unsuccessfully tried to arrest Mr. H. S. Majija) was commented on. Mr. Mbuzo had been held by the police on numerous occasions and had served a long period in gaol under Proc. R400 of 1960. His whereabouts since 28th June have been unknown. Mrs. Jindela told the three white and one African Special Branch men that Mr. Mbuzo had been at her house for only about 15 minutes. Asked if she knew where he was, Mrs. Jindela replied: "I don't know. He was just passing by, as I could see."

SWAZILAND

Constitution Boycott

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: The Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, the major political organization in Swaziland, reiterates their firm and "unshakable stand to boycott the British Government's imposed constitution" which was adopted this year after the delegation to London failed to come to a mutual agreement.

In a statement to *Contact* the N.N.L.C. condemns the constitution as being "discriminatory and racialistic" in that it:

- allows white South Africans to vote while denying the vote to "the thousands of our Swazis who work in the Republic of South Africa";
- blatantly and openly allows separate voting of white settler minority groups to give the former far greater political power coupled with their present economic control of the territory;
- gives the Resident Commissioner (Her Majesty's Commissioner) enormous power, while the position of the Ngwenyama Sobhuza II as King of Swaziland is unsatisfactorily defined.

KING OF SWAZILAND

The statement further explains that the N.N.L.C. strongly and firmly believes and upholds that the country's salvation in a non-racial democratic approach on the basis of universal adult suffrage with the Ngwenyama, not only as paramount chief of the Swazis, but as king of Swaziland to whom all citizens irrespective of race, colour or creed shall owe allegiance.

Exiled Leaders



Mr. Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization, and Mr. Jacob Kuhanga, its national secretary, seen at a press conference in Leopoldville. Guests of the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, M. Cyril Adoula, these two leaders are operating from Leopoldville "in order to liberate the oppressed peoples of South West Africa from the yoke of colonialism and imperialism". Swapo believes in Pan-Africanism, and in the co-operation to the fullest extent with all the liberatory movements in Africa "for the total eradication and liquidation of foreign or race rule from the face of the African continent".

LEADERS: MASS TRIALS

FOUR former top leaders of the banned African National Congress — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mahlaba are among the accused in the sensational "Rivonia" trial being held at the Palace of Justice in Pretoria. Others involved in the trial are Ahmed Kathrada, a leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Lionel Bernstein, a Johannesburg architect, Bob Hepple, a Johannesburg advocate and former lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dennis Goldberg, a former member of the banned Congress of Democrats, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mhlangeni.

They are alleged to have committed 222 acts of sabotage in preparation for guerrilla warfare and the armed invasion of South Africa. These acts, it is alleged, were committed between 15th December, 1961 and 5th August, 1963.

In Port Elizabeth, twenty-two men, including a medical doctor, Dr. A. Pather, are appearing on charges of

STRONG CONTEST IN KDM'S REGION

CHIEF KAIZER D. MATANZIMA'S four hand-picked candidates for the TLA election to be held on 20th November are being opposed by a vigorous ticket-of-four, in meetings inside and outside the Transkei. The Matanzima candidates — Chief George Matanzima, retired teacher B. B. Mdledle, Mr. R. Msengana and Mr. Arthur Mfebe — have traversed Emigrant Tembuland, and held a meeting in East London on 29th October.

The opposition group — Mr. S. K. Mgudlwa, Rev. E. Bono, Messrs. M. M. Nkunkuma, and H. Mngqibisi — have held meetings at Drakensview, Lufuta, Nyalasa, Mtingwevu, Rocklands, Askeaton Hall, Sifondile and Mnxe — all in the Cala district. Their meetings here and in some parts of the Cofimvaba district have been very successful. On 25th October the Mgudlwa group left on a tour which will take them to Johannesburg (29th October), Kimberley (4th November), Cape Town (6th November), Port Elizabeth (9th November), East London (11th November), Butterworth (13th November), Umtata (same day), Durban (15th November) and Pietermaritzburg (same day).

NON-COMMITTAL

The Mgudlwa manifesto is, like all those from candidates known to oppose apartheid, non-committal. Another manifesto is expected from Chief Kaizer Matanzima shortly. His first circulated among chiefs and headmen. In Tembuland proper, the ticket-of-seven sponsored by Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, has been busy campaigning in a body. They are Messrs. L. Z. Majija, A. Raziya, J. B. Nkosiyanane, K. M. Guzana, G. H. Sasa and Chief Z. W. Lufefeni. They have held meetings at Qumanco, Chief Ngubisizwe Mgudlwa's location, at Manzana location, Engcobo. They have also visited the Halas and Qwatis under Chief Dalisiko Dalasile.

There are also independents busy sabotage.

In Durban, 19 people are being charged with allegedly having committed twenty-two acts of sabotage.

In Cape Town, six people, including a Doctor of Philosophy, Dr. Neville Alexander, are being charged with sabotage.

Early this month, leaflets signed by the banned African National Congress were distributed in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban. The leaflets — one was directed at the country's non-white population and the other to the whites — were distributed through the post.

Slogans on the trial also appeared in some of the larger centres of the country.

in the Dalindyebo region. A well-known businessman, Mr. D. L. Makongolo, is said to be campaigning vigorously, as is Mrs. Robina Sokutu, the only local woman contestant and a school principal.

Brightest manifesto in this region is that of Mr. H. M. Butshingi, an elaborate affair in English and Xhosa, which some feel is rather wasted on the largely illiterate voters of Mqanduli.

Manifestos of another candidate here, Mr. Val A. C. Xundu, have been distributed among Dalindyebo region voters in Cape Town. Mr. Xundu (who nicknames himself "Bra Val van die Kaap") heads his lengthy document "My Pledge to My Country". He states that on taking his seat he will call for (a) a protest at the manner in which the new Constitution was engineered, and for a sine die adjournment of the meeting; (b) a select committee to draw up a new constitution. **If these are defeated he will call for the lifting of the emergency regulations retrospectively.**

Blanket Ban on Negro Bishops

CAPE TOWN: The South African Government has banned the entry of foreign black bishops into South Africa. This is the experience of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa who have been told that it is not government policy to allow Negro bishops to come to South Africa as heads of South African churches.

At the moment, the Very Rev. Francis Gow, a South African, is head of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa. The church has a following of 120,000 members in the Republic and South West Africa. Bishop Gow's term of office is about to expire and he is leaving for the United States later this year where he will attend the World Conference of the A.M.E. Church. There, Bishop Gow said in an interview with *Contact*, he will be re-assigned, but in view of the South African Government's policy he may be re-assigned to South Africa.

THE LONG VIEW

The Slow Death of Apartheid

SOUTH AFRICA'S isolation increases by the day. The 106-1 UNO vote against apartheid reflects in dramatic form what her political isolation has come to. In 1963 not one nation is prepared to side with South Africa on the apartheid issue.

Our rapidly deteriorating position in international sport could not be better emphasised than by what happened at the Olympic meeting in Baden-Baden; and, whatever the local boom may offer in terms of short-term prosperity, it seems unarguable that the boycott of our goods is on the increase.

With the appointment of Lord Home as the new British Prime Minister the chances of a Labour Government being returned at the next British election and of a much tougher British line towards apartheid are increased enormously. United States attitudes towards South Africa have hardened considerably during this past year and they are likely to harden still more

if President Kennedy is elected for a second term. Next year the World Court decision will almost certainly bring the South West African issue to a head.

NO CHANGE

What all this adds up to is that South Africa is slowly being driven into a corner. Her UN representative was given a good hearing this year but he used the occasion to trot out the same old apartheid as before. This must have been a great disappointment to those countries which, for economic or sentimental reasons, try to protect and defend South Africa by asking for time for her to change her ways. *The truth is that South Africa has shown absolutely no*

— by Peter Brown



National Chairman of the Liberal Party of S.A.

sign of being willing to change her policies in the face of outside persuasion. Mr. Jooste's statement at UN made this clear enough.

How long can this intransigence last? Are the Nationalists really going to allow themselves to be driven into a position where the only escape will be suicide? For how much longer do they think they can continue to impose apartheid on a majority which doesn't want it against a background of world opinion which won't tolerate it?

The principal stumbling-block to change in South Africa is white fear of its consequences. The Scandinavian countries have now come up with suggestions designed to assure white South Africans that the extension of political and other rights to their fellow-citizens of colour will not let loose a wave of vengeance. Some light has been let in on the dark scene. Dr. Verwoerd has rejected the Scandinavian proposals. Is he going to go on for ever rejecting every suggestion which comes from outside South Africa, insisting that each one is "outside interference" and that South Africa must solve its own problems?

ONLY SOLUTION

At the moment Dr. Verwoerd is trying to impose his own solution on the rest of us. But the rest of us don't like it. He must realise one day that the only solution arrived at inside South Africa which will have any validity will be one reached when the various factions in our country sit down and work it out together. This is also the only kind of internal solution which is going to satisfy the outside world. If Dr. Verwoerd boggles at this idea it is time he started to pay more attention to initiatives such as the Scandinavian one. Otherwise he is going to lead us all, Black, White and Brown, to disaster.

DISSENT IN S.N.C.

From "Contact" Correspondent MANZINI: For the first time in the history of the Swazi National Council, the Council is faced with an open split within its ranks. Some senior councillors are worried that the widening split could engulf their efforts to maintain unity in the Council.

The split emanates from Nkundla representatives electing their own

BANNING

(Continued from page 2)
bury the body.

On 24th September, however, twenty days after Solwandle had died, the Commissioner of South African Police issued a statement that Solwandle was "found hanged in his cell".

The statement added that an inquest would be held on 23rd October. It was postponed to 30th October and then, suddenly, before the Solwandle family's legal representative could investigate the matter fully, was brought forward to 21st October.

National Executive, which they say excludes many prominent senior councillors. The new executive consists of four men. The standing committee consists of about 10 members of the Swazi National Council.

A spokesman for the Nkundla representative said that the elimination of some of the senior councillors from the new executive is because of them having lost the support and confidence of the people and that their continuous existence in the National Council is a threat to peace.

"We, as representatives of the people," he added, "know that the people are seething with discontent at the adamant stand these councillors have adopted on the 50-50 proposal on the constitution tour last year.

"We have merely asked these gentlemen to step down and give way to the true representatives of the people. Meanwhile some of the senior councillors have gone underground. Perhaps they are writing their own political epitaphs," he said.

I HAVE DONE MY JOB

— says Dr. Banda

From "Contact" Correspondent

BLANTYRE: The Prime Minister of Nyasaland and the Life President of the Malawi Congress Party, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, told a crowd of more than 20,000 at Chileka Airport on Sunday, 20th October, that he had done his job he came here to do.

Dr. Banda was speaking to his followers who came to welcome him on his return from the United States of America, Britain, West Germany and other African countries.

Outlining a summary of political achievements since his return from overseas in 1958, the Premier said that "when I landed here on 6th July 1958, I told you that I had come back home to do two things—to break their stupid Federation and to get self government for this country.

"I have not disappointed you," said Dr. Banda, "Federation is finished; we had got our full internal self government on 1st February this year and on 6th July next year we will have our Independence. Yes, I have done my job which I came to do," he said.

VERY SMALL

The Prime Minister said that Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Premier,

was saying that if Nyasaland seceded from the Federation, no one could come to help and went on: *In America, Welensky said many things about me. He tried to discredit Nyasaland. But I am happy to tell you that his speech cut no ice. No one believed that. In fact newspapers did not even publish much of his statement.*

"Not only that," said Dr. Banda, "I saw officials, businessmen and pressmen in Chicago; I saw the President and his brother, Mr. Mennen Williams and others. If Welensky knew what I heard even in London, he would feel very small indeed.

The Premier explained that since most of the departments had already been taken over from the Federal Government, Independence would not show anything new. He pointed at a Malawi Congress Party flag (consisting of Red, Black and Green) and said: "That flag over there—just a few changes in the centre—that's all."

Another Fish out of Vorster's net



ONE of the most recent fishes to slip out of Minister of Justice Vorster's net is 26-year-old Mrs. Eleanor Anderson. She escaped unaided from Fort Napier Mental Hospital and is now safely in Dar—haven of South African political refugees. Mrs. Anderson was going about her work in a Durban bookshop when she was confronted on the morning of 19th August by two security police who said they wanted her for questioning. She was taken to Wentworth was held there for six days until she was transferred to Fort Napier.

'Let them not write our Epitaphs'

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The South African folly of colour prejudice is being carried beyond all normal tolerance. Recently a certain Mr. Ferreira, a magistrate by profession, said at the funeral of his late employee: "Mayoni has served me well. I found him a nice boy. Whenever I went out on my duties, I never worried because he looked after my family more than I would have been able to do. I never locked my food, my money or my beer."

At this stage a murmur of disapproval buzzed from a nearby gathering of nurses who were burying the late Mrs. Elizabeth Mbele of Orlando.

Unconcerned by this protest, the master continued with his last tribute for his late servant and said: "You have served your master faithfully. Let us meet in the next world."

Here is a true reflection of three-quarters of South Africa's white population; a genuine representative of his present-day racial group, who proudly carried colour superiority to the final point—the grave.

S.A. Bombast Corporation

By Satan

(Respected by all neutral, well-disposed persons)

THIS talk (the first in a series designed to give listeners the true facts about South Africa) informs you on what overseas critics, communists, liberals, agitators and dogooders have completely mistakenly dubbed "farm-jails".

In actual fact, these delightful rural health resorts, so reminiscent of the American dude ranches, were built by the Government with an eye towards providing Bantu politicians with a free holiday, to enable them to recuperate from the strain of urban political life, when they would otherwise be unable to afford it.

The invigorating exercise and wholesome diet, help those who study books too long to gain a true appreciation of the opportunities which the Government has created for their peoples. Indeed, with their escorts (inclusive) many renew their stay as a matter of course.

At the special one maintained for

tourists (to which many prominent U.S. senators and British editors have been invited) you can see for yourself how greatly exaggerated the reports of these Corrective Agricultural Training Centres are, but those wishing to besmirch the name of our country . . .

(Next issue: *The Communist/Liberal/U.S. Imperialist take-over in Africa.*)

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Readers MAKE CONTACT

On Non-Violence

AT the end of a war the victorious combatant, especially if such a war has been long and bitter, would enforce its victory with preponderance. Often conditions were adhered to which enhanced the pride of the one and the humiliation of the other.

Here in South Africa the aftermath of the second war for liberation is well known. There are still many whose parents and relations were on the losing side who, even after sixty years, harbour hate and resentment.

When, however, an urgent problem is prevented from becoming urgent and pressing by solving the problem in its initial stage non-violently, then such an aftermath of resentment does not of necessity result. Such a happy solution comes to pass because the basis of solving the problem does not rest on humiliation.

The conflict is solved by intelligent co-operation with the opponent without discarding the justice and reasonableness of the demands which caused the conflict. It may, therefore, be formulated that non-violence aims to persuade and create communion. It never seeks to humiliate and defeat an opponent. **"Himsah"**
Maritzburg.

Rev. Beyers Naude

THE Rev. Beyers Naude's courageous act of leaving the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in favour of leading the new multi-racial Christian Institute of South Africa is a major victory for all Afrikaans-speaking people who have campaigned for a non-racial South Africa in the face of bitter opposition from close friends and relatives.

I hope his act will remind those who may have forgotten such great Afrikaner liberals as the late Dr. Jan Hofmeyr and F. S. Malan, that all Afrikaners do not support the evil policy of apartheid. And I hope that it will encourage reluctant Afrikaners to join our ranks in the knowledge that non-racialism is not merely a creed introduced by foreign elements.

Kenneth Fourie
107 Wolmarans St., Johannesburg.

Not so blind

THE school which I attend has been based on strong Afrikaner Nationalist principles since its foundation forty years ago.

Six years ago its staff were confidently indoctrinating the pupils with anti-British and anti-African feeling. At morning prayers God was asked to protect the Afrikaner from British imperialism and from Black nationalism from the north.

This has all been changed to confusion by the advent of the Republic and by the frequent victories of the non-racialists overseas and in other parts of Africa, which brought about a general weakening of this Government's international position, of which the staff at my school are well aware. They no longer know whom to attack: they need the English to strengthen their laager and some blush when the word "Kaffir" is used too frequently.

Consequently they are becoming increasingly confused. The Rev. Beyers Naude is a product of this confusion. They are losing one of the essential ingredients of any sectional nationalism: Hatred. Only Fear remains. It is everyone's duty to see to it that South Africa is rid of this obstacle to a greater future as well.
Student
Krugersdorp.

Resistance to evil

WHEN a nationalist army goes into action then the infantry or footslogger needs know nothing about artillery. It is enough for him to know how to use his rifle and bayonet. Above all he must obey orders. Then the intended violence is calculated to have the greatest impact.

A non-violent army has many points of similarity. It is enough to know the basis on which non-violence rests, that non-violence is preferable to the violence which solves problems temporarily.

Both armies need training. The violent army is infused with love for own country, the non-violent army with a love for justice and humanity. Both armies need training, but the unconventional army needs courage enlarged to the first power.

If to obey is imperative in a conventional army, orders in a non-violent army are obeyed voluntarily. The man who cannot agree or lacks the necessary courage can notify the leaders and withdraw. Such an army is not of necessity composed of pacifists, but consists of men who know within the marrow of their bones that each human being, how-

ever cruel or lusting for domination, is still a human being. For this reason a participant seeks the unbiased truth concerning those whom he opposes.

It can therefore be concluded that non-violence is an active method of resisting or righting wrongs; it is not passive non-resistance to evil. It is active non-violent resistance to evil.

Durban.

CNDer

Pacifists view

IN the true perspective of political matters, the second coming of Christ does not in any fashion stop people from advocating peace and safety. For many a man, from a Biblical point of view, goes on to say that it shall so happen that when people still say peace and safety, a sudden destruction will befall on them.

Deep into the bottom of our hearts we must know that whether or not we advocate for peace and safety, destruction will still come today, tomorrow or after tomorrow. Therefore I maintain that those who advocate peace and mutual understanding are on the right track, repeat right track. This is exactly what the Bechuanaland People's Party stands for (peace and mutual understanding).

Concluding that it is safe, I think that when destruction comes, it finds as in peace. It is better to die in "peace" than to die in "no peace". I think all readers will agree with me.

John Mantalo
Kanye Hospital, Kanye, B.P.

United States of Africa

I AM just writing this article to comment on the speech of Dr. Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanganyika and one of the great leaders of Africa.

He said that Africa must have one flag with a continental central government. I welcome that idea of having one Government in Africa, which is what Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, has been preaching always. And I further suggest that all African Heads of States and African Nationalist leaders should have an exchange of visiting leaders within Africa, rather than go to France, Britain, United States and West Germany.

Only one Government in Africa, an African High Command and African Volunteer Corps will be able to liberate Portuguese, Spanish and South African colonies and march towards a United States of Africa.

James M. Khamba
Kampala, Uganda.