

contact

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

VORSTER LASHES OUT AT RADICAL PRESS

MONDAY, 1st April, this year will be recorded as a dark day in the story of the struggle of the radical Press of South Africa. Using his powers, under the General Law Amendment Act, to prohibit people from "performing any act" he specifies, Minister of Justice Vorster has deprived several journalists of the right to earn their living and has also deprived at least two newspapers of nearly all their writers.

In a notice gazetted in February, the Suppression of Communism Act is used to prohibit all people listed or banned under the Act or who were members of any organization suppressed under the Act from being officer-bearers, officers or members of an organization which "in any manner prepares, compiles, prints, publishes or disseminates any publication defined in the Act".

This also relates to any organization which in any manner participates or assists in the preparation, etc., of a publication. And "publication" is defined in the Act as a newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, book, handbill or poster.

Further Bans

In addition to this blanket ban, Mr. Brian Bunting and four others associated with the weekly newspaper *Spark*, were served with orders prohibiting them from in any way carrying on their profession as journalists.

The effect of these restrictions has been —

- ⊙ to force the publishers of *Spark* to close down their newspaper because no one has been left to carry it on
- ⊙ to deprive *Contact* of the services of its director and former editor, Mr. Peter Hjul, and one of its most valuable contributors, Mr. Randolph Vigne
- ⊙ to prevent journalists whose only "crime" has been their opposition to apartheid, from earning their living in their professions. This is despite the pious protestation of Mr. Vorster that he did not aim to prevent restricted people from doing the work which provided them with a living.

Saying goodbye to its readers in its final issue of 28th March, *Spark* refers to the newspapers — from *Guardian* to *New Age* — which have preceded it and were closed by banning orders. "These newspapers," it noted, "have never been convicted of any offence against any law on

account of their contents. It is not because we have lied but because we have told the truth that we are being silenced."

"*Contact*" is (for a while at least) more fortunate in having several people still able to produce the newspaper and to write for it. We are among the few survivors in the radical press, and we shall continue the struggle to bring the message of freedom and of hope to our readers.

For as long as we are able to do so we shall publish *Contact* every second Friday. This is *your* paper, one of the few voices of a free press left in South Africa.

Under its new owners, *Contact* will remain an independent newspaper calling for non-racial democracy in our country.

We shall speak out against and expose the tyranny of apartheid and of white domination. We shall call constantly for what Nationalist baasskap fears most of all — one South Africa with equal rights for its 15,000,000 people.

But to remain in the struggle we need your help and your interest. If you have something to say, write to us. If you have something you believe needs to be reported send us your article. Send us pictures if you have them, and do all you can to spread *Contact* and its message to the people around you.

(See Page Four)



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VIEWPOINT

The "Holy Cow" of Apartheid

THESE past few weeks have revealed the clearest signs yet of the intellectual and moral bankruptcy of apartheid. They have also shown that the alternative form of white domination in South Africa offered by the Government's loyal opposition in Parliament is as much an alternative as the United Party is a real opposition.

Stimulated by the new-found bogey of Poqo, Nationalist politicians and newspapers have bellowed against liberals, against communists, and against anyone else who dares too loudly to suggest the actual causes of their difficulties. The call, again, is for more stringent laws to maintain "peace and order" in a country already over-afflicted with restrictive legislation and threatened by the present Government with the peace and order of the graveyard.

The Poqo movement—whatever it may be and whoever its members and supporters are—has now caused a stir in official politics matched by the hysteria generated in 1952 and 1953 by the Defiance Campaign. That, as we know, led to the passing of the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act through a Parliament whose only opposition came from Labour and Liberal members and a few independents. Outside of Parliament the proposed Acts were described by the Torch Commando as "the request for a blank cheque from an already bankrupt government".

Today, ten years and many more laws later, the Government is again preparing its official opposition for a further request for a blank cheque.

We do not know exactly what the Minister of Justice intends to ask for this time, but we can be certain it will result in more loss of freedom, and in the granting of more powers to a political party supported by a fraction of South Africa's people. It could bring further restrictions by edict on people already enduring the intolerable burden of house arrest and bans; it could reduce the rights of the courts; and it could, as we mention in an article in this issue of *Contact*, lead to that useful tool of the dictator—detention without trial in special prisons.

This fear is not exaggerated. What Mrs. Helen Suzman calls "the holy cow of apartheid" is an ugly and unnatural creature gorging on a diet of oppression and misery. It is kept alive only because those who tend it have no other cows and fear they will have to give up the best and largest parts of the pasture if it dies.

This fear, with the clutching greed that hangs on to things that should be shared, is a warped obsession leading to governments like those of Salazar in Portugal and of Verwoerd in South Africa. Such governments rule against the wishes of most of their people and so must turn increasingly to force in applying laws which stifle and which are quick and arbitrary in their effect. But, as dictators have learnt, the law of one year is not enough for the next and so we have had the procession through Parliament of Bills, each one of them showing up the failure of apartheid and pointing to the inevitable day when the "holy cow" will die and the pasture will be shared by all of us, equally and without fear.

What Does Govt. Mean by "Special Courts"?

WHAT is Minister of Justice Vorster planning in the new restrictive legislation he has promised Parliament before the end of the present session? And what do he and others mean when they hint at the need for "special courts"?

Who will be tried in such courts and to what extent will they subvert one of South Africa's few remaining links with the civilization it claims to uphold—the right to fair and open trial?

It is well known that the more impatient apostles of apartheid have for some time been irritated by the many acquittals obtained even under the barrage of laws which can be thrown at radical opponents of the Government.

● In the Western Cape alone it is well known that in the political cases assisted by the Defence and Aid Fund more than 120 of some 150 people charged in a period of 18 months were either acquitted or had the charges against them dropped.

● Large-scale arrests and trials of dozens of people at a time have seldom resulted in convictions, although great hardship is suffered by the accused who must appear in court over periods of months.

● The acquittal of the accused after the costly debacle of the Treason Trial showed the value of adequate legal defence.

To by-pass the legal process, the Government has its partial imprisonment by house arrest and banning.

Under these and other edicts many people are severely restricted, and the banning net spreads wider and wider. But in Parliament, a remarkable tirade against the Liberal Party by one Cas Greyling indicated that further moves might be expected.

"Deadly Sting"

Speaking to the Transkei Bill, Mr. Greyling described the Liberal Party as "a deadly sting", cleverer and more dangerous by far than the United or Progressive Parties.

"This Liberal Party will have to be replaced by a more conservatively inclined opposition in South Africa which, peculiar to a democracy, can make its criticisms, but which will not be destructive of the relationship between White and Black in South Africa. We shall be obliged to reduce the fronts against us. We have many fronts to fight against, fronts that are being reinforced against us to a greater and greater extent. We cannot permit more fronts to be estab-

lished in South Africa. We shall have to take stronger measures also, with a view to making possible peaceful development, as the basis upon which this Bill can come to full fruition, and in order to achieve what we want to achieve, against those who are the inciters and the instigators . . .

"I wonder whether the time has not arrived that we, in common with other countries such as France, for example, should indict these saboteurs and these inciters before special courts because they enjoy the forum that the court in South Africa offers them to spread their iniquitous propaganda even further."

Judge's Report

The next mention of special courts came in the interim report of the Commissioner enquiring into the Paarl riots, Mr. Justice J. N. Snyman, who warned against Poqo and said that it appeared that there were white liberals and communists who used the Poqo organization "to their own purposes". Some of the problems of dealing with Poqo should be solved by suitable legislation. Action could also be speeded up by the establishment of special courts.

A few days later, speaking in the budget debate in Parliament, the Minister of Justice said: "You cannot combat these things with courts. If you had to rely on ordinary judicial proceedings, you would not be able to get a hold of a single one of these people."

Later the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, said the Government would not hesitate to put the safety of the State and its citizens above "technicalities" which could be resorted to in the ordinary administration of justice.

All this is a vague indication of what is to come. Under the State of Emergency in 1960 we saw the effect of one type of special court in operation when thousands of alleged vagrants were "tried" in prison, where they had been detained, and then sent off to various camps.

Is this type of drumhead court what is envisaged by Mr. Greyling and his Party colleagues? If it is, then the concentration camp is not far away.



VORSTER

Perhaps, however, we might have a repeat of the courts set up by Hitler in 1933 and 1934. The first of these were the Special Courts created, soon after the Nazis came to power, to try political cases. Existing judges were by-passed and Party men were appointed to these courts whose decisions were quick, harsh, and beyond appeal.

Also beyond appeal were the verdicts of the notorious People's Court set up in 1934 with a "bench" of two judges and three others drawn from the S.S., the Nazi Party or the Army.

Are these the type of courts wanted by Mr. Greyling, Mr. Vorster and Dr. Verwoerd?

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Crisis Caused by Government

ALLEGATIONS that Liberal Party members have aided the Pogo movement and have been behind recent acts of violence have been denied and sharply criticised by Party leaders. Prove them by bringing the people complained of to trial, called National Chairman Peter Brown.

"If there is a crisis in South Africa it is of the Government's own making," said Transvaal chairman, E. M. Wentzel. "It is determined to brook no real opposition and has swept away its more restrained opponents in a deluge of restrictive laws. The response is what we predicted. Opposition has assumed a new character of violence and terrorism.

"The Government's answer is to legislate to acquire even more power. Our society is sick because this government has fed it the poison of economic, social and political injustice. And now all the Government can do is feed more poison, which cannot cure but only destroy.

"We Liberals have fought with every power at our command to halt this drift to destruction. The road South Africa is taking is a broad and straight one. It ends in a catastrophic clash between white and black in which many lives and anything worth keeping in our social system may be lost."

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These Journalists Can No Longer Write

By a Reporter

FOR Brian Percy Bunting—already sharing house arrest with his wife Sonia—Monday, 1st April, brought an end to the career he has followed since he came out of the army at the end of the last war. He is one of many journalists told by white Nationalism in South Africa that what he has written and said has lost him the right to carry on his work.

Throughout this fear-haunted and Vorster-afflicted country liberals and radicals with varying views are having their journalists and their newspapers taken from them. Thwarted in frontal attacks on such newspapers as *New Age* and *Advance*, obdurate white racialism has found a new method of suppression.

Last year the General Law Amendment Act took away the right of newspapers to publish any statement, speech or writing of a banned person. Then, in February this year, the edict in the *Government Gazette* (detailed in our article on Page One) gave banned and listed people and those who had been members of a banned organization until the end

of March to leave any body connected, even remotely, with the publication of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, books, handbills or posters.

As if this restriction was not enough further orders were served on Brian Bunting, Fred Carneson, W. Kodesh, Ruth First and Rica Hodgson prohibiting them from being on any premises where a "publication" is prepared. They also may not have any part in the preparation of a publication. Divorced from the jargon of the orders, this means that none of these five people may write for a living, visit any publisher or have anything whatsoever to do with newspapers, magazines, books, handbills or posters.

Why Did These Teac

By "Contact" Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH: Mystery surrounds the sudden departure of teachers here, after being duly appointed. Three teachers were dismissed at short notice over the past five months.

The latest teacher to be discharged is Mr. L. D. Ndungane, a graduate of Fort Hare University. He was ordered to leave Port Elizabeth last week after being dismissed by the New Brighton School Board from his mathematics and general science position at Newell High School.

A former science master at Shawbury Mission Institution, Mr. Ndungane came to Port Elizabeth at an urgent appeal from the New Brighton School Board, to fill a post which was vacated by another teacher, also suddenly dismissed last year.

According to a colleague at Newell, Mr. Ndungane's dismissal follows a confidential report received by Port Elizabeth's Inspector of Bantu Education, Mr. J. L. Ormond. Mr. Ndungane majored in physics

and chemistry. Last year an application for a passport by him to teach in Southern Rhodesia was refused. This compelled him to stay on at Shawbury, where, it is believed, he was at continuous variance with the head of the institution.

He was due to leave the school at the end of the second quarter when he was asked to go to Newell.

He has now returned to his home in the Transkei at Mqanduli.

Two other teachers ordered to leave Port Elizabeth soon after their appointment at Newell were Mr. Present Tshaka, believed to be one of the country's most brilliant mathematicians, and Mr. S. G. Motupi, an Afrikaans specialist.

Like Mr. Ndungane, Mr. Tshaka was dismissed by the Board on instructions from Bantu Education Headquarters in Pretoria. He is, however, now on the staff of a non-racial school in Swaziland.

It is not yet known whether Mr. Motupi, B.A., who majored in



BUNTING

For journalists Peter Hjul and Randolph Vigne, not served with these special orders, but affected by the other restrictions, the notice in the *Gazette* has meant withdrawal from *Contact* and other severe restrictions on their work.

Hjul, the senior editor of a large group of business magazines, has applied for exemptions from the terms of the ban, but by late this week had received no reply.

ers Leave

English and history last year, has had any success job-hunting.

Formerly from Bloemfontein, Mr. Motupi was endorsed out by the Municipal Labour Bureau here, after being appointed to teach Afrikaans at Newell High School.

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on page two

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SETBACK FOR NEL'S ZULUSTAN PLAN

From "Contact" Correspondent

MARITZBURG: Government plans for a dazzling propaganda masterstroke in the shape of a "free" Zulu nation have suffered a severe setback.

Two hundred Zulu chiefs were summoned to Nongoma, site of Paramount Chief Cyprian Bhekuzulu's Great Place on 27th March. Instead of calling for "self-government" for the Zulu nation, as behind-the-scenes intriguing by Government officials had intended, the meeting refused to act without a mandate from the representatives of the whole Zulu nation, throughout South Africa.

The outcome of the meeting was seen as a victory for the anti-apartheid group of progressive Zulu chiefs, but it was very much a last-minute win, and there is no certainty that it can be pulled off again.

Since before Minister de Wet Nel's tour of Zululand in October, 1962, Government officials, some of them Zulus, have been working on Chief Cyprian, long a pro-apartheid pawn, to get him to lead the Zulus in asking for their "self-government". It was to be lent added attractiveness by being coupled with a request that Chief Cyprian be restored to the status of King enjoyed by his forefathers, from Dinizulu back to Tshaka.

Leader

It is believed that a deputation of senior chiefs was to have approached De Wet Nel with these requests at Mapumulo, where he opened the Ndhlovu Regional Authority on 10th October, 1962. The leader was to have been the young Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the strong Buthelezi tribe near Mahlabatini, and traditionally "prime minister" to the Zulu King.

A further attempt to call the Zulus together for this purpose also came to nothing, but the Government's need to plaster up cracks in its apartheid facade caused by its Transkei Bantustan flop provided the pressure needed for the successful calling of the 27th March meeting.

The Government had already begun the spadework for the big announcement of Zulu "freedom", having stated on 5th September last year that a "forerunner to a fully-fledged Zulu parliament" would be set up before the end of March, 1963.

Government propaganda in the *South African Digest* has paid increasing attention to the Zulus. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Zululand, Mr. J. O. Cornell, also stated in September that "within the next few months there will be spectacular developments in Zululand". But the only spectacular development so far has been the misfiring of Government plans at Nongoma last week.

Value

Zululand is of major value to Verwoerd for several reasons:

○ The name Zulu is known throughout the world. Most uninformed people overseas probably think that "the Zulus" means all the African people of the Republic. The Zulus have a sound of genuine Africa about them, which will tremendously arouse interest in Verwoerd's apartheid when they appear to have asked for their freedom and to have been granted it.

○ Zululand has one Paramount Chief, where the Transkeian people have four, with senior chiefs heading other groups as well. And he, Chief Cyprian, has maintained the pro-apartheid position he once shared with Chief Botha Sigcawu of the East Pongos. The events of 1960-61 in East Pongoland taught Chief Botha one thing, not to champion Government policy any more.

○ The Transkei flop has to be overshadowed by a propaganda victory, and the strongly traditionalist Zulus, under a docile Chief, with the historic glamour of their name, are the people to do it. The Transkei is too complex and advanced; their instrument, Chief K. D. Matanzima, too self-willed; and the stubbornness of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo and his Tembus too enduring.

The snags the Government are facing are still severe. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a highly intelligent and dedicated man, once a noted student leader (he organized the successful boycott of Governor-General G. B. van Zyl's visit to Fort Hare in 1948 and was sent down for it) has the welfare of his people at heart, and has consistently refused to permit the

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Leballo vs. Vorster

Little Comfort from Shouts over Veld

MORE than distance separates the dusty streets of Maseru from the well-kept gardens and the flower-bordered pathways of the South African Parliament building in Cape Town. Yet, last month, neither distance nor the gap between the new Africa and the old could hide the impending conflict between the nationalism of South African Minister of Justice, B. J. Vorster, and that of P.A.C. leader-in-exile, Potlako Leballo.

Speaking to a Parliament already conditioned by the release of an interim report by the Paarl Riot Enquiry Commissioner, Mr. Justice Snyman, Mr. Vorster drew heavily on the judge's warning that the Poqo organization planned to overthrow the Government in 1963. Urgent action against Poqo and alleged allies was called for in the report, and the Minister of Justice made it clear that action would be taken. He would, he said, later in the session ask for even greater administrative powers than those given him under the General Law Amendment Act passed last year. Judge Snyman had

suggested in his interim report that action in cases against Poqo would be speeded up by establishing special courts for the hearing of such cases.

The police, said Mr. Vorster, would be better able to "exterminate this cancer" when provided with new legislation for administrative action against the people behind the trouble.

"You cannot," he said, "combat these things with courts."

In Maseru about the same time as the Vorster tirade against Poqo, communists, liberals and others not addicted to the fantasy of apartheid, Potlako Leballo spoke



LEBALLO

out from exile in Basutoland. P.A.C., he said, had a membership of 155,000 divided into 1,000 cells poised to deliver the "blow" when he gave the word.

He claimed P.A.C. identity with Poqo, but added that the Paarl riot and the Bashee River killings were premature actions by groups who had "jumped the gun".

For those neither in the camps of the white racialists on the one side nor of Leballo's claimed 155,000 on the other, the shouts across the South African veld offered little comfort.

Revolution in a wave of bloodshed and slaughter of the innocent as well as the guilty could be as senseless as the present nonsense of apartheid. And yet, so far has South Africa sunk into the pit dug by white racialism, that the prospect seems no longer remote.

A week after the Leballo Press Conference, Basutoland police—claiming to be acting on their own initiative and not as the result of any request from South Africa—swooped on the P.A.C.-in-exile in Maseru. The P.A.C. offices were raided and several men were detained "for questioning".

Mr. Leballo disappeared before he could be detained and at the time of going to press a search was being made for him.

A British Embassy official in Cape Town said the Maseru arrests were not made to hand over people wanted in South Africa.

Pondo Statement Indicates a Break with Matanzima

HOPES were raised by the announcement last month that the Qaukeni (East Pondo) Regional Authority has issued a statement reassuring white Transkeians that their trading rights would not be interfered with and that the "two-mile-radius" rule would be retained. Some observers saw the statement as evidence of a sharp difference of opinion between Chief Kaizer Matanzima and the East Pondos, led by Paramount Chief Botha Sigcawu.

Matanzima had upset white Transkeians and discomfited Dr. Verwoerd himself, by his press statement threatening to curb white trading by scrapping the "two-mile-radius" rule. Verwoerd had called it "regrettable" in Parliament, while the United Party feasted off the Government's embarrassment.

But the statement from Chief Botha's Authority was in fact released by Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner Leibbrandt, and may therefore be taken as a put-up job, organized to silence the U.P. attack.

The Qaukeni Regional Authority is not given to making statements embarrassing to the Government and

the only word from East Pondoland that Verwoerd could have regretted recently was in fact a demand from the influential Mr. Colenso Mnyani of Tabankulu for African "economic freedom" on the lines of the "black monopoly of trade" sought by Matanzima. This was made in a letter to *Umthunywa*, Umtata, in mid-1962 and was attacked in a *Daily Dispatch* (East London) leading article.

They were also no doubt put out by the one and only East Pondo tribal meeting at which Bantustan was to be discussed, held in May, 1962. The tribesmen refused to do

(Continued on Page Eight)

Federal Police Hunted Down South African Refugees

From "Contact" Correspondent

BECHUANALAND: Recent arrests of South African and other refugees passing through the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were the biggest police haul since the exodus from South Africa began in 1960. They coincided with the conclusion of a new extradition arrangement between South Africa and the Federation which was announced over the radio shortly before the arrests.

Within a month, close to 60 people—bringing the total to well over 100 in seven months—from South Africa, South West Africa and Mocambique, including at least three big political names, have been either sent back to their countries, jailed in Southern Rhodesia or redirected across the border into Bechuanaland.

The present whereabouts of a number of other people is unknown and they are recorded as missing by their organizations. An entirely new development has been that most of the arrests were made in the interior of Federal territory as police for the first time raided trains and hunted down refugees in a Lusaka township.

Contrary to popular belief, the Kaunda Administration in Northern Rhodesia is not able to help refugees and will probably remain so as long as the Federation as at present constituted continues intact. In fact, most of the recent arrests were made in Federal-policed Northern Rhodesia: 37 were reported there.

Among the recently arrested people are Mr. Selby Temba Ngendane, of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress; Mr. Maxton Joseph, External Representative (Bechuanaland) of the South West Africa People's Organization; and Mr. Mario Mondlane, a former internal President of the Uniao Democratica Nacional Africana de Mocambique.

This is the second time that Mr. Ngendane, who had done a two-year term of imprisonment following the

1960 campaign of the P.A.C., has been arrested in the Federation. Together with Mr. John Mahapa, also a prison graduate, they were betrayed to Federal police in Nyasaland last year by a man against whose treatment of them they had complained to some Malawi Congress Party officials.

The two men were then flown to South Africa to stand trial for leaving the country illegally, but escaped while on bail of R100 each. They were granted temporary political asylum in Bechuanaland and remained in Francistown until towards the end of February, when they crossed the border into Southern Rhodesia.

Up to the time of writing, no new light has been thrown on the mystery surrounding the circumstances of the arrest and deportation of Mr. Ngendane and a companion believed to be Mr. Mahapa. The mystery was created by a report in the Johannes-

burg Star which said the two men were arrested after crossing the Bechuanaland border into South Africa. This version was repeated several days later by Radio South Africa.

I can, however, say for certain that the arrest of the two men was not and could not have been effected in South African territory as alleged in the report.

Reports from all round indicate that Rhodesian police are more than ever before, tightening the screws against South African refugees. Mr. Angelo V. Lisboa Mucavel, a Portuguese East African student who was deported to Bechuanaland because he was believed to have come from Swaziland, reports that Rhodesian police have greatly intensified their raids on the Bechuanaland border.

Mr. Mucavel travelled from Francistown together with Mr. Mahapa, who was to rejoin Mr. Ngendane near the Rhodesian border. With two other people he crossed the border a day after Mr. Mahapa and another man, believed to be Mr. Ngendane, had done so. He was arrested together with the two others within half a mile of Rhodesian territory. A Rhodesian owner of a donkey cart who followed after them with their luggage was also arrested.

ZULUSTAN SETBACK — (Continued from Page Five)

introduction of Bantu Authorities among his Buthelezi until they have agreed to it. He is unlikely to do the Government's dirty work without the support of his councillors and people, despite the strong pull of loyalty to his cousin, Paramount Chief Cyprian.

There is also the absurdity of Zululand's geographical shape. It is an archipelago of tribal land among a sea of white farmland. Even the coastal bays are to be linked up with white areas by corridors running through the intended Zulustan. So hard-up was De Wet Nel for an argument to explain away Zululand's fragmented state, that he told a reporter in 1962 that if East and West Pakistan were separated by 1,000 miles of India, why shouldn't Zululand be cut up a bit?

Bantu Laws Bill

Finally, a new snag for the Zululand stunt, which was denounced at Nongoma on 27th March, is the

Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, as a move to increase influx control, which Zulu spokesmen blamed for the increasing poverty of their people. There is a number of Zulu politicians, of all parties, able and willing to awaken the Zulus to such matters and no doubt they will work hard to thwart the Government's next step towards Bantustan. One of these, the veteran Mr. A. W. G. Champion, once head of the Natal section of Kadalie's ICU, supported Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at the meeting.

Nevertheless, over-optimism will be misplaced, as it was proved to be in the Transkei.

The Zulu chiefs at present opposing the Zulustan idea may be attracted by the fallacious argument that, once "self-governing", progress towards real freedom for all may be made. If they do so, they will be toeing the line of Matanzima, however well-intentioned they may be, and history and their own people will judge them accordingly.

Fifty-two Held

In reply to a question in Parliament by Mrs. Helen Suzman, the Minister of Justice said that 52 people were being held in custody on charges of leaving South Africa or South West Africa illegally. They had been arrested between 28th January and 5th March at Beit Bridge, Messina and Mafeking.

N.R., Nyasaland Prepare to Leave Federation

From "Contact" Correspondent

Following a series of talks between Mr. R. A. Butler and Federal, Northern Rhodesian and Southern Rhodesian leaders, Northern Rhodesia has been given the right to withdraw from the Federation.

U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, thus follows Nyasaland's Prime Minister, Mr. Hastings Banda, in preparing to lead his country out of an association of ten years that was opposed from the start by most of the people of the territories involved.

For Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky, the Butler green-light to Kaunda was an "act of betrayal".

But Butler in a television interview has made it clear that Britain has deliberately "taken the line that we cannot keep people in an association against their will, and the best way to build something new is through consenting partners".

He did, however, indicate that something new should be put up in place of Federation and that he would like to see Nyasaland in this association.

Mr. Kaunda has indicated that he "intends moving right away". Mr. Winston Field, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, has emphasized that his white-dominated country also has a right to secede.

According to a correspondent in Blantyre, Nyasaland is making rapid progress with its "secession exercise" being operated by a Working Party.

The main work of this Party is to work out the necessary arrangements for Nyasaland's withdrawal from the Federation. These include finance and the transfer of Federal services to Nyasaland, the most important of which are health, posts and telegrams, customs and excise, immigration and income tax.

In addition, Dr. Banda announced recently that he would also take over the two battalions of the King's African Rifles and the two Federal statutory bodies—the Cold Storage Commission and the Nyasaland Electricity Supply Commission.

Speaking of the future constitutional changes, Mr. Butler (who set up the Working Party) said that there was no question of any conference.

"Dr. Banda is not worried about a conference. He will keep in touch with the British Government. Arrangements have been made for the utmost co-operation between the two governments," he said.

He added that immediately secession was complete, Nyasaland would be a territory on its own:

"So all Federal aspects had to be dealt with. The date for Nyasaland's independence could not be decided until after secession was completed."

Mr. Butler suggested that since there



KAUNDA

was a great deal to do, the work would take many months. But Sir George Curtis, the Chairman of the Party which has—for the first and perhaps the last time—brought together the Federal and Nyasaland Ministers, announced here shortly that the work would be completed "as soon as possible".

In the circumstances it is therefore expected that immediately the Party produces its report to the British Government, secession will be declared when a date for Nyasaland's independence will then follow—without another conference.

PONDO STATEMENT

(Continued from Page Six)

so, claiming that such discussion was impossible while the Emergency proclamations were in force, banning free speech.

If the East Pondo statement was in fact made through Government manoeuvring, there was no hope that it indicated real opposition to Nationalist plans. It may, on the other hand, provide encouraging evidence of the Government's growing desperation with Chief K. D.

Matanzima, in their preparedness to answer him through a Bantu Authorities mouthpiece, at the price of revealing disunity in the T.T.A. executive itself.

Transkeians are recalling that the *Daily Dispatch* special feature on the Transkei on 14th March expressed serious doubts as to the likelihood of Chief K. D. Matanzima's being Chief Minister of the Transkei Bantustan, even quoting Chief Matanzima's own uncertainty on this question. Donald Woods of the *Dispatch* suggested that Paramount Chiefs Sabata and Victor Poto had between them put Matanzima out in front during the sticky passage to Bantustan, and that their supporters would outvote him when electing the Chief Minister, returning Paramount Chief Victor Poto instead. The suggestion was also made that Chief Botha Sigcawu would fall in with this out of loyalty to Chief Poto, who long ago supported his disputed candidature for the East Pondo Paramount Chieftainship against Chief Nelson Sigcawu. But local opinion is doubtful of this view.

Nkomo's Warning to Britain

DAR ES SALAAM: Southern Rhodesia must be handed back to the people of Zimbabwe, said Mr. Joshua Nkomo, President of the banned Zimbabwe African People's Union, at a mass rally in Dar es Salaam on Zimbabwe Day. The day started with a big procession through the streets of the city.

He said, "Britain cannot torture us any longer. She must act

or people will turn to their own resources. Southern Rhodesia is a police state. We appeal to the people of Africa and Asia for assistance to help us achieve our goal."

Mr. Nkomo said the constitution under which Mr. Winston Field and his "cowboy cabinet" was elected was one that was rejected by the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe.