

contact

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

LIBERAL WENT OPENLY TO "PROHIBITED" AREA

From "Contact" Correspondent

ENGCOBO: A revealing sidelight was thrown on part of the Transkei evidence heard by the Paarl Riot Inquiry by the trial of Mr. Randolph Vigne, former national deputy chairman of the Liberal Party, in Engcobo, Transkei, on 26th April.

The Paarl Inquiry's Interim Report, written by the Commissioner, Mr. Justice Snyman, was acclaimed by Minister of Justice Vorster as the basis for the new repressive laws being rushed through Parliament to deal with the threats to peace in South Africa that the Report sought to reveal.

Mr. Vigne was charged with entering a prohibited area, Nkondlo location, Engcobo district, without a Bantu Affairs Commissioner's permit to do so, as required by the Transkei Emergency Regulations (Proclamation 400 of 1960, which declare the entire Transkei, excluding the White zones, a prohibited area).

Mr. Vigne had been given the opportunity of paying R20 admission of guilt, when summonsed in Cape Town. According to points made in court by defending attorney L. F. Gibson, however, he stood trial in order to submit to cross-examination if necessary. Mr. Gibson also pointed out that he had entered the area in broad daylight in an identifiable motor-car, and that there had been nothing "surreptitious" in his action.

The State led no evidence and Mr. Vigne was fined R20 or 20 days' imprisonment. (The maximum penalty

under Proclamation 400 is R300 and three years' imprisonment.)

The relevance of this to the Paarl Inquiry, which aroused local interest in the case, was that at the Umtata hearing of the Inquiry, Chief Kaizer Matanzima had accused Liberals of being connected with Poqo and with acts of violence "always preceded by visits of White Liberals and Communists". The trial of a White

Liberal accused of visiting Nkondlo location without a permit would have appeared likely to test the substance of Chief Matanzima's remarks. Nkondlo location is the site of ex-Regent Chief Mayeza Dalasile's kraal, scene of a night attack on 8th December, 1962, in which the Chief was seriously injured and his uncle killed.

Vigne's appearance in court was locally understood to indicate that the Liberal Party had nothing to hide in its Transkei activities, and that it completely repudiated Chief Matanzima's accusations before Mr. Justice Snyman.

Police Watch on Vigne

THE trial of Mr. Randolph Vigne was surrounded by obvious police activity in Engcobo. Mr. Vigne was appearing after having had to submit to "conditions" imposed on his travelling to Engcobo, as he is confined to the Cape Town magisterial district, in terms of a Suppression of Communism Act ban.

○ The Tembu tribesmen and other local residents who had come to hear the case were warned not to communicate with Mr. Vigne in any way.

○ A prominent local man, Mr. Lewis Majija, was detained in the S.A. Police Charge Office during the court hearing. Also detained was his brother, Mr. Hammington Majija, a Liberal Party official from Cape Town who had accompanied Mr. Vigne to Engcobo. They were released at the conclusion of the brief hearing.

○ A motor-car containing four Special Branch detectives followed Mr. Vigne's car to the Kei River. (A passenger in Mr. Vigne's car told *Contact* that the Special Branch men had to wait for three hours in Butterworth while the car was serviced at a local garage.)

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VIEWPOINT

ANSWER — OR ELSE

MINISTER of Justice B. J. Vorster looked and sounded almost benign when he bulldozed his latest General Law Amendment Bill through Parliament. The old story — with its Pogo twist — was dredged out and all the menaces to "right-thinking" South Africa were presented. Outside, the protests were pale ghosts of the furore of May 1962. And so, white racialism has taken its new powers to circumvent the courts and to threaten all who oppose it with 90 days inside, continuous imprisonment and several other choice instruments of rule by edict and justice the Vorster way.

WITHOUT CONSENT

For those determined, whatever the dangers, to remove Mr. Vorster and his colleagues from power, this new Act is just one more obstacle to be overcome, and one more product of the fear that obsesses men who rule without consent and govern without thought of the real needs of most of our people.

Just what will the political police learn from a man locked away for three months on their instructions that they are not able to find out by their present methods of questioning? If nearly three years of emergency has not stopped resistance in the Transkei, how will the extension of one of its worst features crush radical opposition or halt violence in the whole country? It will not stop, nor may it seriously hamper the most dangerous enemies of White baasskap.

WITHOUT REDRESS

Those it will hurt are the men and women who have openly attacked White racialism. They are easier to find and penalise. In prison they will be asked questions impossible to answer because they will not have the information Mr. Vorster and his police expect from them. They will, therefore, be punished without trial and without redress because they are innocent of the "crimes" being investigated.

In the unreal world of the debate on this new Act, the Minister of Justice asked the Opposition to believe his warnings and to give him the benefit of the doubt. But this is exactly what his police will deny the victims of the detention clause.

WITHOUT CURE

After fifteen years of laws that stifle and oppress, this new Vorster Act will horrify only those who still delude themselves that South Africa is governed by reasonable men who respect the customs and the rules of civilised society. To the majority of us, who have learnt to know just what sort of men Mr. Vorster and his fellow Nationalists are, this is just a few more hobnails on the jackboot or a heavier and harder truncheon. And jackboots and truncheons will never cure the real illness of our country, no matter how strongly they are made or how cruelly they are used.

Using Poqo as an Excuse

Vorster Forced U.P. to Back New Act

A SCIENTIST of Ancient Greece once said: "Give me a lever and I will move the world." In South Africa last week and early this week Minister of Justice B. J. Vorster might have echoed him with: "Give me Poqo for an excuse and my propaganda campaign of the past three months to frighten the White electorate and I shall obtain a lever to move all those I fear and dislike into a prison." With his latest General Law Amendment Act he has been given the crudest and ugliest of levers.

Rushed through Parliament with the Minister alternately aggressive and wheedling, this newest and worst of Vorster Gestapo Acts:

○ Allows the State to keep political prisoners locked up after they have served their sentences. First victim of the Act will be the leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Robert M. Sobukwe. He is due to

be released on 3rd May after serving a three-year sentence—without any remission—for leading the P.A.C. anti-pass campaign and strike in 1960. Mr. Sobukwe, according to Mr. Vorster, has not been persuaded by his three years in a South African gaol to change his views. "He has had no change of heart during the time he has not been in our midst," said the Minister.

○ Widens the definition in the already amended sections of the Suppression of Communism Act under which people may be banned or placed under house arrest.

○ Extends the definition in this Act to include "other undesirable activities".

New Treason

○ Equates training in sabotage or in carrying on the activities of a banned organisation received outside South Africa with treason. Also treasonable and subject to the death sentence down to a minimum of five years in prison is any plea, made abroad, for armed intervention against apartheid. This particular section is retrospective to 1950. One man immediately affected by it is Mr. Patrick Duncan, a former leading member of the Liberal Party who has joined the P.A.C. and who has made statements abroad which infringe the new Act.

○ Gives post offices power to seize letters and other matter sent through them.

○ Controls the granting of bail and provides for summary trials and special courts.

○ Enables a commissioned officer of police to have a person arrested and held for questioning for up to 90 days. Any person held under this section of the Act will have no right

"Watch Umkonto" Warns Minister

PEOPLE in South Africa should "not stare themselves blind against Poqo but should also keep an eye on Umkonto wa Sizwe", said Mr. Vorster when he introduced his new General Law Amendment Bill to Parliament last week. Police had not had as much success with Umkonto (The Spear of the Nation) as, he claimed, they had had with Poqo.

On 24th April, he said, 894 cases were pending against 1,555 alleged Poqo members and a further 200 to 300 had been held. In the 26 Poqo cases the accused had been indicted for murder. In these 124 accused had been found guilty and 77 committed for trial after preparatory examinations.

Since the previous General Law Amendment Act had been passed last year, 2,888 people had been indicted under its provisions.

to see a lawyer, a doctor or any relative. Although detention is restricted to 90 days, a person held could be released and arrested again.

U.P. Support

While it criticised and tried to change some sections—particularly the 90-day detention clause—the United Party supported the Bill in principle during its crucial second reading. "Reluctantly", explained Sir De Villiers Graaff.

"Because it filled in gaps in law which were absolutely essential for the State's safety," said U.P. Transvaal leader Henry Tucker. "Any unbiased person who reads the full debate must come to the conclusion that the United Party adopted a thoroughly responsible attitude."

Dismal Record

"Responsible to whom for what?" will be the question asked by the majority of South Africans and by future generations when they examine the dismal record of the United Party during the decline and fall of white domination in this country.

The only person in Parliament to vote solidly against the Bill was the Progressive Party's lone M.P., Mrs. Helen Suzman. "No matter what strong measures Mr. Vorster cooks up in the dark watches of the night," she warned, "South Africa will not be at peace with itself, nor will South Africans rest peacefully at night."

Another Step Nearer Hitler

"MR. VORSTER'S new Bill takes the Nationalists one step nearer Hitler," said Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party. "They haven't got far to go now."

"There is no point in concentrating on the details of this Bill. The whole thing is vicious in the extreme. It strikes a series of blows at some of the few civilised standards of public life which remain to us—the right of an individual to be tried expeditiously for any offence, the testing right of the courts, and the ancient maxim that a person should only be punished once for the same offence and that, having been punished in a manner judged appropriate by the courts, he should then go free.

"The sentences proposed in the Bill are barbarous and its intrusions into individual liberty monstrous.

"A system which needs such laws as this to sustain it is basically so unstable and insecure and rotten that it cannot possibly last."



Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party of South Africa

ACCORDING to Mr. De Wet Nel there are 250 "Blackspots" in Natal. According to apartheid each one is offensive and must be removed. According to Mr. De Wet Nel it is his policy to see that they move soon.

What is a "blackspot"? It is a place where Africans live in freehold in what the Nationalist Party calls "White South Africa". Most Natal "blackspots" have been in existence since before 1910. Some are farms owned by individuals; some are "mixed" suburbs of rural towns; some are country areas, bought initially by a tribe or a group of individuals, where families live on small freehold plots. All of them are distinguished by the fact that the people who live in them bought their land legally, believing that by doing so they were buying security of tenure and that a "White" government meant it when it said that a title-deed gave such security.

Most of them have built up community lives based on western institutions. All of them are distinguished by the independence of their people and these people's pride in their homes, schools, churches and small businesses . . . and their

THE LONG VIEW

'BLACKSPOTS'

What Apartheid 400,000 People

- The South African Government claims that "Blackspot" removals are necessary to preserve what is called "white civilisation". In fact the removals destroy one of the basic principles of western society, the sanctity of individual property.
- A civilisation worth preserving keeps its promises. The Government is deliberately breaking promises made to African purchasers of land by its predecessors of 60 years ago.

desire to be left in peace to live where they are.

According to a rough survey made in 19 "blackspots" in 1958, and presuming these represent a cross-section of the 250, the effect of the removal plan will be to uproot some 400,000 people, either freeholders or their tenants, and to destroy some 80,000 homes, 700 churches, 350 shops and 300 schools.

Bare Waste

Where will the "blackspot" people go to? Charlestown "squatters" are at this moment being moved to Duckponds, six miles from Newcastle and 40 miles from their present homes. Other Charlestown residents have been told that they will go to Buffalo Flats, 18 miles from Newcastle, over 50 from their present homes, a bare and unattractive waste. People from Besterspruit have gone to Mondlo.

Until recently, it was possible only to guess what would happen to a "blackspot" when it was moved. Now the experience of Besterspruit has shown that, whatever the fears may have been, the reality is likely to be much worse.

Besterspruit was a small community of some 3,000 people on the outskirts of the Northern Natal town of Vryheid. At the beginning of this century a Mr. Bain sub-divided his farm and sold land, which would have fetched £3 an acre for farming purposes, to Africans, for £10 an acre, for residential purposes.

By 1963 there were some 400 families living in freehold at Besterspruit and a number of other families living as their tenants. When removal came this February the freeholders were offered alternative accommodation at Mondlo. The accommodation at Mondlo consisted of a tent on a 2,000 sq. ft. site.

MONDLO IS 20 MILES FROM VRYHEID. A PERSON WORKING

— By Peter Brown

'REMOVALS

What is Doing to People in Natal

- A principle of any civilisation is the integrity of family life. Blackspot removals will convert to migrant labourers, or to rightless serfs, the members of 250 communities which had spent two generations building some degree of family security against great odds.
- Some 400,000 people who had escaped from the straightjackets of tribalism and municipal location regulations will be forced back into one or the other.

IN VRYHEID WHO WISHED TO CONTINUE TO LIVE WITH HIS FAMILY WOULD HAVE TO TRAVEL 40 MILES TO AND FROM WORK, EACH DAY. HIS BUS FARE WOULD BE 50 CENTS A DAY. IF HE WORKED SIX DAYS A WEEK HIS TRAVELLING EXPENSES WOULD BE R12 A MONTH. AN AVERAGE WAGE FOR AN AFRICAN WORKER IN VRYHEID IS R10 A MONTH.

Two Alternatives

A man who decided that he could not afford this travelling had two alternatives. He could decide to break up his family, deposit his wife and children at Mondlo and live in "bachelor" quarters in Vryheid. His other alternative was to abandon his hard-won freehold rights, and agree to move into the municipal location.

The implications of such a decision are enormous. Under existing urban areas legislation the man could be

ejected from the location at any time that he became and remained unemployed. If the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill is passed as it stands the authorities will be able to eject him from it at any time that they decide that it is in the public interest that they should do so.

A visit to Vryheid soon after the Besterspruit removal provided an

enlightening picture of the workings of apartheid. On one side of the main Zululand road out of the town were gardens dotted with fruit-trees and, in among them, heaps of rubble. Sometimes the rubble was wattle-and-daub, sometimes it was brick, but always it was the remains of a once-cherished home. On the other side of the road, some few hundred yards away, stood rows of tents, arranged with military precision. There was no accommodation in Vryheid location for the families which had chosen to move there. There they were in their tents, a quarter of a mile away from, and still in sight of, the bulldozed remains of their once substantial houses.

Wet for Weeks

SOON AFTER THE PEOPLE MOVED INTO THE TENTS THE RAIN STARTED. IT WAS WET FOR WEEKS. COOKING HAD TO BE DONE IN THE TENTS, BEDDING WAS SOAKED AND RUINED, SANITARY ARRANGEMENTS WERE APPALLING, AND THIEVING WAS RIFE. IT IS SAID THAT AT LEAST FIVE SEWING MACHINES DISAPPEARED FROM UNDER THE FLAPS OF THOSE TENTS — EACH ONE REPRESENTING HOW MANY YEARS OF PAINFUL SAVING?

If Besterspruit means anything, it will take a long, long time for any "Blackspot" family to re-establish itself at anything like the same level of life to which it has struggled up over the years.

The "Blackspot" removal plan is an assault on principles fundamental to the Christian and the western way of life. What are White opponents of apartheid, who claim to uphold these values, going to do about it?

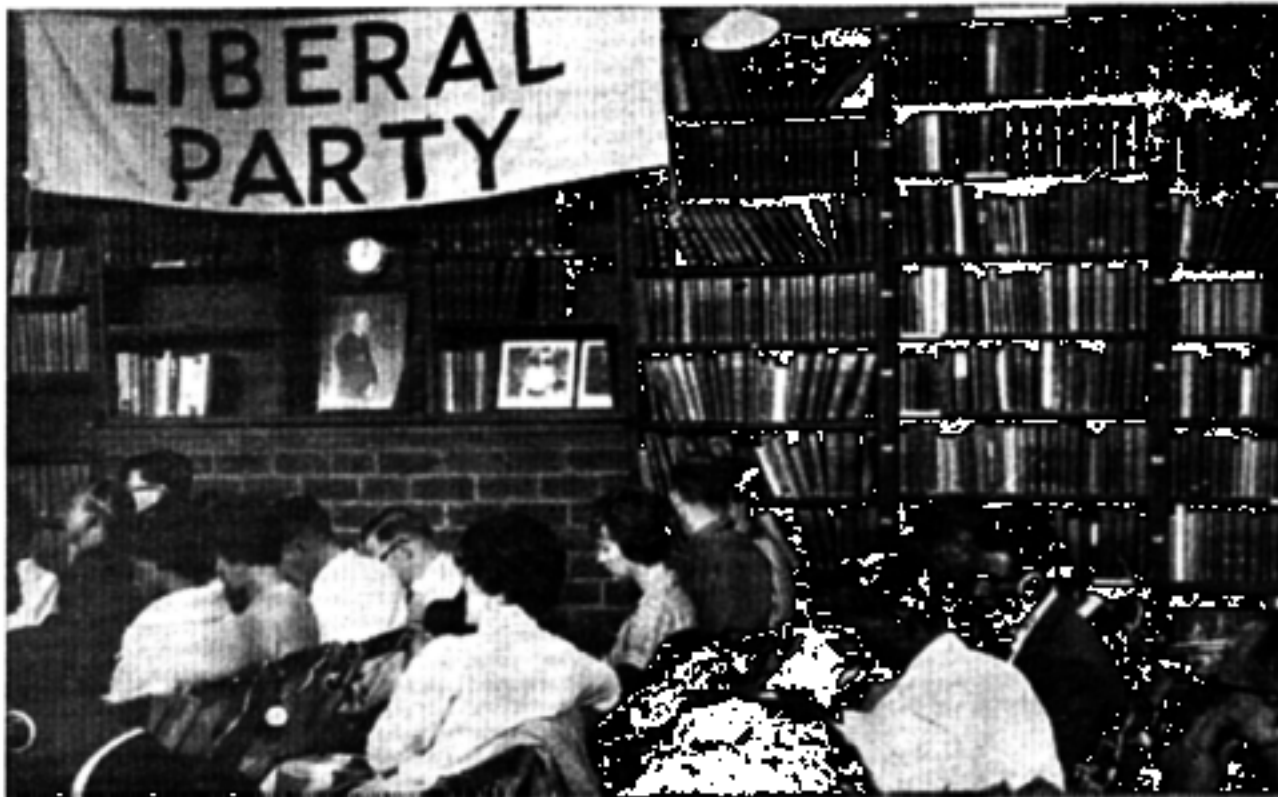
THE HIGH COSTS OF MOVING

FOR the people who moved to Mondlo the picture is no prettier. It is not only the cost of transport which is prohibitive. Bricks which cost R8 a thousand at Vryheid cost R14 at Mondlo. Meat is twice as expensive. Mealie-meal is R4.50 a bag as against R3.45.

There is no building sand at Mondlo; in the early days the only water came by lorry; and all

wood must be bought. Even on the basis of reasonable compensation at Besterspruit, it would have been virtually impossible for anyone to reestablish an equivalent home at Mondlo. But the compensation at Besterspruit was not reasonable. As an example, one freeholder, in his ignorance, accepted compensation of R400 for a property later valued by a sworn valuator at R800.

One Man Two Voices at L.P. Transvaal Congress



MEMBERS of the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party at their annual congress held in Johannesburg in April. Using the Party's simultaneous translation system, delegates discussed a wide range of topics covering all aspects of life in South Africa.

A resolution was passed emphasising the Party's belief in the rule of law as the "bastion of a free society", adding: "The Liberal Party lays the responsibility for the present political crisis at the

door of the Government which has provoked unrest by its deliberate policy of social, political and economic injustice and inequality."

Mr. David Craighead, a national vice-chairman of the Party, was unanimously elected chairman of the division for the coming year. In his address to the congress, he paid tribute to the work of the outgoing chairman, Mr. E. M. Wentzel, during the past two years.

WOMEN IN ROAD GANG EARN R4 A MONTH

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: In the Northern Transvaal, not far from Pietersburg, where oranges and bananas were thrown away or given to cattle to the great indignation of all who knew of the starvation and malnutrition rife in these parts, bands of African women are toiling at clearing the bush. This is in preparation for the making of a main road to Pietersburg, and their task is little short of slavery.

Forced by near-starvation to take on this work, the women labour from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. for a wage of R4 a month. The bush is thick and the work hard and sometimes hazardous.

Recently one woman was nearly killed by a falling tree. Many of them must walk as much as 15 miles to and from work, and some sleep in the open to avoid being dismissed for unpunctuality. They are given neither shelter nor food.

But the men are away in the towns, earning a living completely insufficient to keep themselves and their families, and the children are starving.

Denied even the fruit discarded by the farmers nearby, they remain the emaciated products of malnutrition. This is what drives the women to endure such hardships for such a meagre reward.

LIBERALS AT AFRICA DAY MEETING

AFRICA DAY meetings in Cape Town were not well attended this year, and that organised by the Liberal Party and held at lunch-hour on Friday, 19th April, in the Banqueting Hall, was no exception. This was felt to be significant of general impatience with words in the face of Government oppression.

The chairman, Mr. Eddie Daniels, pointed out that the Nationalist Party campaign against all real opposition to baasskap had recently been intensified. He foresaw the

banning of more members of the Liberal Party and possibly of the Party itself, but declared that the Government would never be able to ban its ideals.

Mr. Terence Beard, Deputy Chairman of the Liberal Party in the Cape, spoke of the significance of Africa Day for South Africa, where, instead of being a time of joyful celebration, it must be a day of dedication to the freedom struggle. He said that change would inevitably come, for the Government was

trying ineffectively to legislate against the forces which would bring their downfall.

Mr. Cromwell Nododile, speaking of the effort necessary to attain freedom, said that those who wanted it must not fear to go to gaol.

Drawing attention to the need to look beyond the time of change, whatever form it might take, Miss Ann Tobias said that the foundations of future good government must be laid now.

BAN ORDERS ON CAPE LAWYERS

BANNING orders were served last week on two Cape lawyers well known for their strong opposition to apartheid and for the many times they have ably defended its victims in the courts.

In the Transkei, Mr. R. S. Canca, the Idutywa attorney, has been prohibited from attending political and social gatherings for five years and is also under other restrictions.

In Cape Town, Advocate A. L. Sachs, a former member of the banned Congress of Democrats and a deputy chairman of the Cape Town Branch of the Defence and Aid Fund, was served with an order banning him from all gatherings for five years.

No Publishing

He is also confined to the magisterial districts of Cape Town, Wynberg, Bellville and Simonstown; he may not communicate with any banned person; and he is barred from any association with the publication of newspapers, magazines or pamphlets. He also may not enter a Coloured group area, a location or a harbour.

Friends of Mr. Sachs, who is a bachelor, have been amused by the latest piece of official stupidity included in his banning order. He is prohibited from "giving any educational instruction in any manner or form to any person other than a person of whom you are a parent".

Banned Twice

This is the second time that Mr. Sachs has been banned. The first order, for five years, was served on him in 1955.

The banning of Mr. Sachs is the second blow in less than three months against the very active Cape Town Branch of the Defence and Aid Fund. Mr. Sachs was recently elected a deputy chairman of the Fund. In February this year, the chairman of the Fund, Mr. Peter Hjul, was banned.

"Political Cases"

Richard Sidney Canca, attorney, Idutywa, was served with a five-year ban on 24th April, forbidding him to attend all social and political gatherings. He was ordered to report to the S.A. Police, Idutywa, every Saturday.

One of the most respected residents of the Transkei, Mr. Canca, who is 39, married with four children, and an M.A. of the University of Cape Town, has set an example to South Africa's lawyers by his preparedness to act in "political" cases wherever he is called upon to do so. He has defended countless groups and individuals caught up in the harsh provisions of the Transkei Emergency Regulations. After the East Pondoland risings of 1960-1, he was called upon to brief counsel, and himself attended the inquiry into Pondoland's "Sharpeville", the Ngquza Hill shooting. When the Transkei emergency was declared on 30th November, 1960, he and his then partner were imprisoned. Mr. Canca was released shortly afterwards on health grounds. Politically, he made a name for himself in the All-African Convention, of which he was secretary at the time of his banning. He was also a leading figure in the Transkei Organised Bodies' Association, which fought Bantu Education, and also played an important part in the inquiry into the



EICHAB

WILL CHOOSE A NEW REGENT

IN Engcobo during the trial of Mr. R. Vigne on 26th April was Chief Mayeza Dalasile, who recently abdicated as Regent of the AmaQwathi tribe of the Engcobo district. Chief Mayeza's kraal was attacked on 8th December. Next week, in the Umtata Circuit Court, two residents of Nkondlo location are to be tried for the murder of Chief Mayeza's uncle, which took place during the attack.

The Qwathis are to choose a new Regent for their pre-matric schoolboy Chief, Mzikayize Dalasile. Ex-Regent Mayeza is believed to be living at Umzimkulu, 200 miles distant.

Tembuland troubles in 1958.

Other banning orders have been served in the last few weeks. Unable to support himself or his dependents because of such an order is Mr. Mountain Qumbela, of Nyanga. He was a member of the A.N.C. Youth League. He was served with a banning order on 4th April, among other things restricting him to the Wynberg Magisterial District.

This resulted in the loss of his job. When he sought permission to look for work, he was simply told to wait. Three weeks later he was still waiting. And no one has told him how he is expected to support himself in the meantime.

Quit Job to Join Struggle

IN a letter to *Contact*, Mr. Abie Eichab, described as the first and only qualified African Art Specialist Teacher in Windhoek, has announced his intention of abandoning the teaching profession in order to "join the struggling people of South West Africa".

Mr. Eichab speaks of the determination of the people of South West Africa to achieve freedom from the "destructive" laws of the South African Government. He states that the people of South West Africa "believe in peace, harmony and co-operation among nations", but they are being sorely provoked by the Nationalist administration.

COFFIN FOR "CHILD" OF TEN YEARS

Wina "Buries" Federation

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: A mock burial of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was conducted by Mr. Sikota Wina, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare in Northern Rhodesia. This followed after Mr. Wina had addressed a mass rally.

Mr. Wina said that it was clear that Federation would end, because the present governments of all three territories were anti-Federation. Sir Roy Welensky and his Federationists had forgotten that it is always difficult to fight against what is right, and freedom was the birthright of everyone.

"We saw the birth of the child, Federation, in 1953. The child, however, was unhealthy despite £9,000,000 spent on trying to cure him. He lived for ten years, and today, in 1963, we bury him."

Speaking of "situpas" (identification certificates) Mr. Wina said, "There must be freedom of movement for every citizen of Northern Rhodesia. Situpas have been made illegal under the present government." Mr. Wina described situpas as "discriminatory" and "a symbol of slavery".

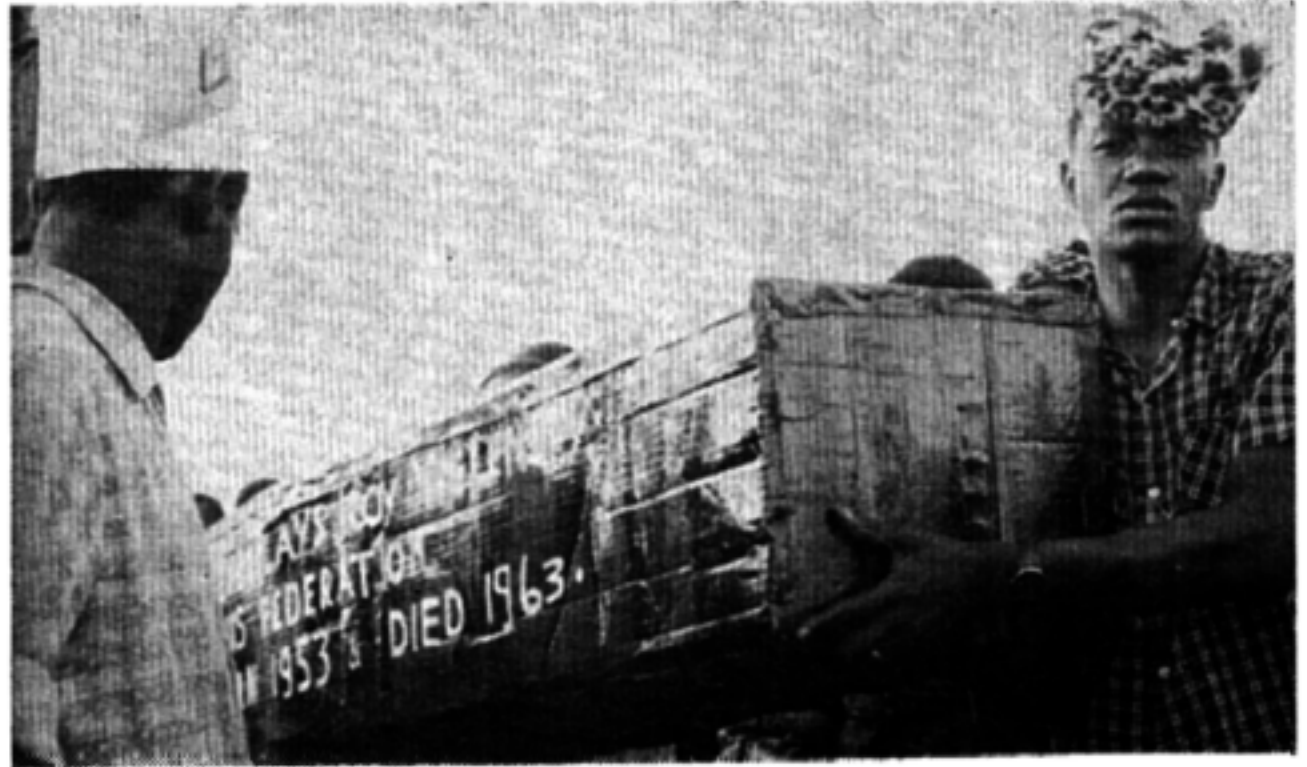
Over 1,000 situpas were burnt and ashes buried in the same grave as Sir Roy's Federation.

DETAINED IN TRANSKEI

UMTATA: Messrs. Lewis Majija, Edward Khala and five others were released from Umtata gaol on 24th April after detention under the Transkei Emergency Regulations, Proclamation 400 of 1960. They were arrested for questioning on 4th January, so spent 20 days more than the usual three months in detention.

Unavailing efforts are understood to have been made by Mr. Majija's lawyers, Messrs. Blakeway and Leppan of Umtata to secure his release on a number of occasions.

Mr. Majija was also detained in 1960-1 immediately after the issuing of the Emergency Regulations, and was detained for ten days during a crucial stage of the discussion of the Tembu Constitutional Committee of which he was chairman, during 1962.



Mr. Sikota Wina carries the coffin to the grave.

SERETSE'S PARTY SAYS INDEPENDENCE BY 1965

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: A major policy change in its programme for Constitutional advance appears to have been made by the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, a quasi-government party which makes up the unofficial membership of the Legislative Council, led by Mr. Seretse Khama, former Paramount Chief-designate of the Bamangwato.

In a somewhat confused retreat from the Party's former position on Constitutional advance, Mr. Khama now speaks of Independence in 1965.

The Party's declared programme is as follows:

- To attain one man one vote and an African majority in the Legislative Council by the next elections.
- To attain full internal self-government based on a proper ministerial system by the following elections.
- To attain an economically viable and fully independent state thereafter, using every available form of financial and other assistance.

As "the next elections" and "the following elections" in the above aims are understood to refer respec-

tively to the 1965 and 1970 elections, the programme means that the Party aims at Independence after 1970. This, in fact, is what the Party has always stood for, clearly stated at its founding at the beginning of last year.

In an interview, however, Mr. Khama maintained that the above aims referred to the same elections — in 1965. He said that the attainment of internal self-government would be as good as the attainment of Independence, as it might then be only a matter of a month before Independence was declared.

This interview with Mr. Khama was at the end of a two-day annual conference during the Easter weekend at which the main business was to amend the Party's constitution. Yet the conference did not find it necessary to remove the ambiguity of the Party's aims.

This has led to the criticism that the Party is deliberately speaking with two voices; one to pacify African opinion at home which, led by the Bechuanaland People's Party, is clamouring for immediate Independence; the other to soothe the fears of White settlers and to curry favour with the British Government.