

contact

FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

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RUSSIAN SHIPS MAY CAUSE S.W.A. CRISIS

CAPE TOWN: FISH IN THE WATERS OFF SOUTH WEST AFRICA MAY SEEM REMOTE FROM POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA. BUT THEY ARE SHOWING JUST HOW DELICATE ARE THE RELATIONS OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT WITH A LARGELY HOSTILE WORLD.

Since 1958 or 1959 large Russian factory trawlers have travelled thousands of miles to fish off the African west coast. In 1961 the first of them were seen off South West Africa. Although these ships appeared to keep carefully out of the territory's three-mile limit, they stimulated an appeal for the extension of territorial fishing waters to a 12-mile limit now observed by most coastal nations. This limit was eventually extended by the South African Parliament in 1963 and off the Cape trawlers from Japan, Spain and a few other countries keep well out to sea.

During the past two or three months, however, there has been a marked increase in Russian fishing activities. And on several occasions Russian ships have been seen, not only within twelve miles of the shore, but also well within the old three-mile limit. Encroachment by one or two vessels might be overlooked, but this month an estimated 25 trawlers, depot ships, ferry tugs and refrigerated transports have been seen along the coast from the Kunene River mouth to 150 miles south of Walvis Bay.

To work their large trawl nets, the Russians would usually have to move to sea beyond the 12-mile limit. They have, however, been coming very close in apparently to

tranship their catches to the transports, to do experimental fishing and (according to a Windhoek newspaper) to try suoking up diamond-bearing gravel from the sea bottom.

This clear invasion of territorial waters has stirred up one protest after another in South West Africa. The South African Government has been repeatedly urged to take action; the S.W.A. Administration has been asked to remove catch quotas imposed on the local fishing industry.

RUSSIANS TAKE ALL

"What is the point," says one argument, "of attempting to conserve fish stocks through restrictions on S.W.A. fishermen and factories, while the Russians move in and take all they want."

Under the pressure from S.W.A. supporters and now watched with interest in South Africa after the problem received front-page banner headline treatment in the mass-circulation Sunday Times, the Government could:

1. Issue a general warning to the Russians and others to do their fishing and keep their ships out of South and South West African waters; and
2. If this is ignored, send

~~any fishing vessel it finds violating territorial waters, take it to the nearest port and charge the captain.~~

As a warning is not likely to be heeded unless it is backed by some show of force, it is obvious that the Russian "invasion" will only be halted by the second course.

But direct action against the Russians would, for South Africa, be like sailing blind through a minefield. For example, it is possible that Russia would reject any claim by South Africa to control South West African waters; it might also demand absolute proof that any arrested ship was within claimed limits.

The consequences must seem alarming to a Government which proclaims its indifference to worldwide antagonism to what it is doing to its own people, but which is uncomfortably aware that its survival depends on its keeping out of international entanglements.

It knows too, however, that other nations, large and very small, have not hesitated to stop outside fishing craft from moving into their territorial waters.

But, while the clamour against the Russians rises in South West Africa, supporters of the Nationalist Government are having to realise that their much-vaunted strength and confidence ends at their borders and where the waves wash their desert shores.

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ANOTHER EDITOR IS BANNED

ON THE MORNING of Friday, 9th October, Ann Tobias was Editor of *Contact* and the Cape Deputy Chairman of the Liberal Party. She was able to write for this newspaper, work in its offices, attend meetings and move freely around the country. When these duties spared her, she was able to relax with friends over a drink or a meal and go to a few parties. These, of course, are rights taken so much for granted that it seems ridiculous even to mention them. But on that Friday morning Ann Tobias, like hundreds of South Africans before her, was visited by a few zealous minions of the Minister of Justice who handed her a batch of papers, most of them duplicated. When she received these papers she became what one policeman once called a "prohibited person", consigned without trial or hope of appeal to a dreary existence under a banning order.

In the scale of penalties which white racialism exacts from those who too effectively oppose it, Miss Tobias has escaped some of the most drastic punishments. She might have been subjected, like Mrs. Helen Joseph, Mr. Alex la Guma, and others, to 12-hour or 24-hour house arrest; she might have been one of more than 900 people taken in for a spell of 90-day detention whose hideous cruelties have broken minds and bodies and have driven men to suicide; or, if she had been an African she might have been sent to exile in some remote corner of South Africa.

But all this will be little consolation to an active, dedicated young woman whose world has suddenly been reduced to a small area inside the magisterial boundaries of Cape Town; who can be sent to prison for three years for writing a letter to a newspaper or an article for *Contact*; who may not enter a building containing the offices of any publication or political organisation; who may not communicate in any way with dozens of friends who share her torments of the banned; who must endure the indignity of reporting once a week to a police station; and who may not attend even the most innocent of social gatherings.

To list and explain the

THE LONG VIEW



IT HAS NO doubt come as a great shock to many members of the Liberal Party to find that a number of their colleagues and ex-colleagues have been charged with sabotage and conspiracy. Some of the more innocent among us imagined that recent police detentions were solely motivated by the wish to intimidate the Party, and it has come as a shock to realise that many (or all, who knows?) of these detentions were made for a more serious purpose.

I think by now enough has been said of the actions of members of the Party who commit or conspire to commit sabotage. I should, however, like to point out, as I did at our annual conference in Johannesburg, that many Afrikaner patriots would have reacted in the same way had they been subjected to humiliating racial laws by their British conquerors. There is no essential difference between the patriotism of a Robert Sobukwe and a Daniel Francois Malan, except that the first was fighting white supremacy and the second only British supremacy, and, what is more, a British supremacy that was losing belief in itself.

But that is not my subject today. My theme is a much more heartening one, and that is the way in which the Party itself has reacted to this crisis. Some of its members have shown a courage and a charity towards others which are in a way beyond praise, because when one contemplates them one would rather be silent, as an audience is when a work is too sublime for applause. The Liberal Party is not a religious party, but such clarity is worthy of the highest religion.

A few people have defected from the Party in this crisis and this in spite of the statements issued by Edgar Brookes and myself. Of their action

implications of all the restrictions heaped on Ann Tobias would take nearly an issue of this newspaper. But she would be the first to protest that it is not sympathy she needs now but assurance that the work she has been doing will go on.

In South Africa to-day a banning order must be seen by radicals as an accolade, an order of merit, bestowing on those who receive it the privilege of suffering so that eventually all people in our country shall be free.

There is no measure of effectiveness in opposition to apartheid. Some of the most able and determined radicals have not had their batch of papers; and it is important that there be so many of them that the Security Police will have to exchange their duplicating machine for a printing press, and then place thousands

- by Alan Paton

Something to be Proud of

I have little to say, being in the mood to extol courage rather than other qualities. All I have to say to these defectors is that they may now be able to join a more successful party (though this I think doubtful in the highest degree),

but they will not be able to join a more courageous one. But perhaps in politics courage is a dubious virtue.

I want also to pay a tribute to Edgar Brookes. He could hardly have taken over the Chairmanship at a more critical moment, nor at one less advantageous to himself. He has actually assumed responsibilities that he did not himself incur. His public image - that disgusting phrase - has certainly not been improved, and he has more of a reputation to lose than most. He has proved a tower of strength to us all. With his name I couple that of Leo Marquard, who has become one of our Vice-Presidents. Lucky we are to have two men who understand so deeply the real meaning of the present scene.

There is another heartening thing to be commented upon, and that is the courageous conduct of our African members, who though subject to intimidation and interference on an ever-increasing scale, remain loyal and openly loyal, to the Liberal Party.

Let me say a word to the membership at large. Whatever kind of political party we are, it is not an orthodox one. Whatever anxieties burn us, let us remember that we belong to a party, which, when it is facing danger and crisis, does not indulge in fears and recriminations, but bears itself with a humanity of which any society can be proud.

of political policemen on watch to make sure that a large section of South Africa does not commit the crimes of talking among itself, going to a party, or writing for a newspaper.

More Liberals Are Banned

TWO OTHER LIBERALS have been banned this month. They are Mr. Walter Hain, Chairman of the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party, and Mr. Victor Noel, Treasurer of the Maritzburg branch. Both were members of the National Committee.

Mr. Hain has been given special permission to communicate with his wife Adelaine, who was banned a year ago.

Trials Start in Three Provinces

From Contact Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: October in South Africa has been a month of mounting tension and drama, as one political trial has followed another. Many of the 90-day detainees listed in the last issue of Contact have now been brought to trial with others who had not been detained - on charges varying from sabotage to furthering the aims of Communism.

Still dominating the scene is the station bomb trial of 27-year-old John Harris, charged with the murder of Mrs. Ethel Rhys, who died after the explosion on Johannesburg station on 24th July.

Giving evidence for the State, 90-day detainee, John Lloyd, told the court that Harris had considered some risk to life justified in present circumstances, in order to save more lives in the long run. In a confession read to the court, Harris is alleged to have stated that he intended the station course to be cleared before the explosion, following advance warnings which were to be given to the police and newspapers.

A psychiatric examination of Harris was arranged by the Defence.

Also on trial in Pretoria are Bertram Hirson, Hugh Lewin, Fred Prager, Raymond Eisenstein and Alexander Cox, charged on 12 counts of sabotage. Twenty-five people, including some in detention, others charged elsewhere and some others who have fled the country, have been named by the State as co-conspirators and members of the African Resistance Movement.

Two sabotage trials have opened in Cape Town. In each case the accused have been committed for summary trial beginning in the Supreme Court on 2nd November. A teacher at the Trafalgar High School, Sedick Isaacs, and three pupils, Achmat Cassiem, Abdurachman Abrahams and James Marsh, are charged in connection with a sabotage attempt on a post office, and a plan to sabotage the

"Coloured" university college at Bellville.

The other group, alleged members of the African Resistance Movement, is charged on several counts of sabotage, as well as other acts, including the destruction of pylons and railway property and conspiring to release Robert Sobukwe from Robben Island.

Those charged are Edward Daniels, David (Spike) de Keller, Anthony Trew, Alan Brooks and Stephanie Kemp. Alan Brooks and Stephanie

Kemp have alleged that they were assaulted while held in 90-day detention, and have announced their intention to sue for damages.

In Pietermaritzburg, David Evans and John Laredo are appearing on similar charges; and at the end of September, Subbiah Moodley was convicted of causing an explosion at the Durban Municipal Bantu Affairs Department in 1962, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, two years being suspended.

TO APPEAL

Two of the three men sentenced in Johannesburg last month to 12 years' imprisonment for sabotage, have been granted leave to appeal. They are Marius Schoon and Raymond Thoms. Sentenced with them was Michael Ngubeni.

In Benoni three women have been charged with assisting people to leave the country without valid documents. They are Josephine Moodley, Joyce Mohamed and Christina Thibela.

Many detainees have been charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. In Johannesburg on 28th September, Nolly Doyle, Ivan Schermbroker and

Lewis Baker were charged under the Act and remanded to 16th November, when they will appear with 12 others in the Johannesburg Regional Court.

Included in this group is Abram Fischer, QC, who was allowed bail in order to appear in a case before the Privy Council in England. Another is Sylvia Neame, who was sentenced to imprisonment on 25th September for trying to escape while held under the 90-day clause.

In Port Elizabeth about 300 Africans are awaiting trial on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act, and about 130 have been found guilty. Sentences range from 18 months to six years.

One Port Elizabeth man, Stanley Mabizela, was recently reported to have spent 15 months awaiting trial. It has been estimated that about 1,500 children in Port Elizabeth are "political orphans".

A typical story is that of Frances Baard, who was sentenced in Somerset East to five years' imprisonment for furthering the aims of a banned organisation and for allowing her house to be used for meetings. She was first arrested in October, 1963, tried in Graaf Reinet on two counts under the Suppression of Communism Act, and acquitted. This was in January, 1964. She was immediately re-arrested and spent nine months in solitary confinement before being tried and finally sentenced. Mrs. Baard was the first woman in Port Elizabeth to be placed under house arrest. She is a widow and has three children.

Despite Bannings, Thugs, 'Contact' Can be Printed Again

WE DID NOT try all of the hundreds of printers in South Africa. But our experience with a fair selection of them made it clear that if Contact was ever again to appear as a printed newspaper it would have to subdue its voice to an apologetic whisper. For a radical newspaper in South Africa, this is neither the time nor the place to whisper.

From now on, therefore, Contact prints itself and asks only that its readers make some allowances for its first fumbling steps in an ancient and complex craft.

This printed issue, after two months as a duplicated sheet, has had to be kept to four pages. Next month we shall grow to eight pages, and later, we hope, to twelve pages.

During the past month Contact has not only had to search for a printer. Miss Ann Tobias became the fourth Editor of this newspaper to be served with a banning order. In terms of the order she had to end all association with Contact, but within days she was succeeded by Miss Jill Jessop.

The end of September and early October also brought

another hazard which will have to be faced by those, who in the words of Mr. J. Hamilton-Russell of the Progressive Party are a "lesson and an example to frightened people who cringe before the all-powerful Ministers' threats".

On three occasions in about ten days the offices of Contact, the Liberal Party and the New African were broken into. Typewriters, addressing machines and plates were wantonly smashed, and files destroyed and stolen.

The hooligans responsible left the letters K.R.A. smeared on the walls. We do not know from which sewer the K.R.A. has crawled to ooze its way through the night and show that it has no confidence in the police to suppress the people and ideas it fears. What we do know is that organisations and newspapers which have stood up for years to all the attacks of South Africa's racist government will not now be deterred by a band of skulking thugs, too timid to come out of the dark and too stupid to do anything more than threaten and destroy.

Who is Really to Blame Asks Paton

"Any person who while a member of the Liberal Party plans to use violence against things or persons is not only guilty of an offence against the law", said Mr. Alan Paton, President of the Party, when he opened the Party's National Congress in Johannesburg this month. "He is also guilty of grave disloyalty to the Party."

Mr. Paton went on to say: "Above all, any person who calls himself a Liberal, and who plans violence against persons is not really a Liberal at all. He may burn against injustices to others, and burn to set them right. He may be a zealot. He may be dedicated to his cause. But he is not a Liberal. And what is more, if he persists in his plans, he is likely to do grave damage to the whole cause of Liberalism; how great such damage might be is at the moment impossible to predict."

"It might comfort shallow and fearful people if they placed the whole blame for violence on those who committed it," Mr. Paton said.

"It is comforting to believe that apartheid would have been a glorious success if only people had not opposed it. And it is doubly comforting when those people are believed to be wicked persons, whereas one oneself is almost without sin. One is able to see oneself as the great defender of good against evil. And this is the comfort that many a white South African lays to his soul.

"Yet it is utterly false. The primary cause of sabotage is not the saboteur. The

primary cause of sabotage in South Africa is the policy of apartheid."

It was not only Liberalism that faced a crisis in South Africa, but every kind of non-conformity, whether of politics, religion or literature.

"Every kind of opposition is facing the crisis. Take the most recent example. The Nationalists, disliking the idea of being on the same electoral roll as Coloured people, ordered them to be put on a separate roll; but the Nationalists, disliking equally the idea of sitting in the same Parliament as Coloured people, ordered them to be represented by white persons. Now comes

Now along comes the Progressive Party, prepared to use this form of representation created by the Nationalists. But Dr. Verwoerd is outraged; he warns the Progressive Party not to 'interfere' in non-white politics. How then may a white person solicit the support of Coloured voters? There is only one answer. He must be a Nationalist. I give the reply of the Liberal Party to Dr. Verwoerd's warning. We have no intention whatsoever of heeding it...

Politicians Work Together Along the Escape Route

From Contact Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: Following the sudden departure of Mr. Potlako Leballo from Basutoland for North Africa, two more members of the P.A.C. Presidential Council in Maseru have arrived in Bechuanaland. They are Mr. Z.D. Molete and Mr. Ntantala. They are reported to have been allowed to join a convoy of A.N.C. refugees making their way to Dar es Salaam in August.

Cooperation between the various groups of political refugees in Bechuanaland is excellent, according to a report which has recently reached Contact. At present about 60 members of SWAPO and SWANU are living together with one P.A.C. member and seven members of the A.N.C. Problems of transport are being worked out amicably by refugees of all shades of political opinion.

Eight dissident members of P.A.C. are reported to be stranded at Mbeya. It has been stated that they have been disowned by the leadership following their refusal to sign an oath of allegiance to the present leaders, who, they say, delayed the 1963 revolution in South Africa and caused it to fail.

Two P.A.C. men are in trouble in Zambia. One of them, Mr. David Sibeko, is reported to have been detained by the Zambian Government on the grounds that he allegedly disclosed Party matters without authority in appealing for material assistance to an ex-official of the Southern Rhodesian government.

Mr. R. Tsehiano, also a member of P.A.C., is said to have been refused entry to Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia on the advice of the P.A.C. leadership. His position is being considered by the Zambian Government.



Throughout its deliberations, the National Congress of the Liberal Party was aware of the absence of Mr. Peter Brown, one of the founders of the Party in May 1953 and its leader through some of its most difficult years. Mr. Brown was banned in July and has been forced to resign as Party Chairman. At the Congress Dr. Edgar Brookes was elected to replace him as Chairman.

Liberals Hold Congress

A motion on the role of the Liberal Party and its attitude to sabotage provoked lively discussion at the Party's National Congress in Johannesburg this month.

The motion, drafted by Mr. Alan Paton, National President, and Dr. Edgar Brookes, National Chairman, re-affirmed the Party's policy of non-violence and called on those members, if any, who were not prepared to limit themselves to non-violent methods, to resign from the Party.

"The Party, said the motion, "realises how deep must be the sense of frustration which can lead men and women otherwise endowed with the qualities of good citizenship into subversion and sabotage."

The motion was in part amended to add: "Notwithstanding our profound opposition to violence, the Liberal Party would nevertheless fail in its duty if it did not cite the Nationalist government as responsible for this disastrous development, because the latter has created conditions of gross inequality and injustice and has deliberately set out to destroy effective constitutional opposition to these conditions."

Some members thought the resolution condemned violence without condemning the government's policies, others felt that the amendment condemned the government's policies without sufficiently condemning violence. Mr. Paton was asked to revise both the resolution and the amendment, which he did. His amendment was unanimously accepted.