

contact

FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

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

• 3-day Circus in Pretoria

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• The Example of Bultfontein

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Cape L.P. Congress Demands

RELEASE SOBUKWE!

CAPE TOWN: A resolution calling for the immediate release of Pan Africanist leader Mr. Robert Sobukwe - presently detained on Robben Island seven miles off Cape Town - was passed unanimously by delegates to the 11th annual Provincial Congress of the Cape Division of the Liberal Party which was held recently in Cape Town.

The resolution went on to speak of the Congress's "strong objection to the existing law which permits indefinite detention of political prisoners after they have completed their sentence".

The General Laws Amendment Bill was rushed through Parliament a year ago in order to enable the authorities to detain Mr. Sobukwe before the sentence he had been serving expired. In another resolution the Congress "viewed with abhorrence the existence of the 90-day detention clause;" resolved to "continue to expose the suffering resulting from it;" and strongly supported all efforts to prevent its re-promulgation.

Other resolutions

• called for the immediate establishment of an independent commission of enquiry to investigate the allegations

of torture and police brutality made during the past year;

• condemned the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill on the grounds that "it further deprives Africans of their few remaining rights" and would lead to the destruction of African family life;

• deplored the Government's attempts to "stifle all real opposition through bans, banishments, detention and other oppressive and intimidatory measures" and emphasised that the Party refused to be intimidated. The Congress was well attended by more than 40 delegates from all over the Cape Peninsula.

Mr. Barney Zaakon was elected Chairman of the Cape Division and Miss Ann Tobias Deputy Chairman.

A comprehensive plan of activities for the coming year was drawn up.

S.W.A. Unity Talks Opposed

UNION OR FEDERATION?



Chief Hosea Kutako

CAPE TOWN: At the time of writing a National Convention is being held at Okakarara, South West Africa, which has as its object the dissolution of all existing non-White political parties in the territory and the formation of one party which will be united in its opposition to the apartheid policies of the South African government.

The Convention has been called by the Chief's Council of the Herero nation under their venerable, 95-year old Chief Hosea Kutako.

In the invitation issued early last month to "all political and tribal leaders in South West Africa" the Chief's Council said:

"We feel the time has come for the inhabitants of South West Africa to come together and to discuss ways and

means of how to unite. officials should be elected in this convention. Besides that you are cordially but earnestly requested to air your views freely at this meeting."

Support for the Convention was immediately indicated by Chief Samuel Witbooi of the Namas and Mr. Allan Louw, Chairman of the Baster Assembly at Rehoboth. However, the leaders of the two existing non-White political organizations - the South West African Peoples Organisation and the South West African National Union - have refused to take part.

The leaders of these organisations recently came together to form the South West African National Liberation Front which favours a federation of the existing political parties which are largely based on tribal allegiance. They are therefore opposed to the union

Blackspots Scandal

TYPHOID IN MONDLO

PIETERMARITZBURG: The number of typhoid victims in the "blackspot" removal township of Mondlo has risen to 60 since "Contact" carried the report of the epidemic on January 10th. Over twenty patients have been admitted to an Anglican Mission Hospital at Nqutu during January and February and at one stage cases were being notified at the rate of three a day.

The authorities - who early last year refused permission for a clinic to be set up in the township - have built three emergency wards at the hospital to cope with the influx of seriously ill people.

The hospital is also reported to have a large number of children from Mondlo suffering from severe pellagra - an acute nutritional disease.

The authorities have started work on a rudimentary sanitation system, - one year after the Africans were dispossessed of their freehold land at Besterspruit near Vryheid - a removal justified by the Government Information Department on the grounds that there were no proper sanitary facilities.

People who were moved have stated that when they were taken to Mondlo and given a tent to live in there was no water supply. The water in a nearby dam was so foul that no one could drink it. Water brought into the township by tanker was insufficient and many people resorted to digging for water in the waterlogged soil. In one portion of the township the soil was so waterlogged that latrines caved in as soon as they were dug.

Complaints have also been made about the price of the land at Mondlo. The township area was originally purchased by the Government for approximately R10 per acre - and immediately sold to blackspot victims, who had no choice but to accept it, at R160 an acre.



Members of the Chief's Council of the Hereros from left to right: Ewald Kaveterua, Rehabeam Uzukwani, Clement Kapuu (Chief Designate), Rev. B. Karuera, Isaac Riruako.

means of how to unite.

"The aim of this circular letter is to bring home to you, as leaders, that a joint meeting will be called whereby a UNITED POLITICAL ORGANISATION for the people of South West Africa may be called into being.

"The constitution, name of such an organisation, Headquarters and all the

proposed by the National Convention.

Both the Liberation Front and the National Convention are opposed to the Odendaal Plan and want South Africa out of South West which, they maintain, is an international territory.

A full report of the proceedings of the Convention will be published in the next issue of CONTACT.

contact

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CONGRESS ON "COMMUNISM"

LIKE MOST performances of its kind, the three-day circus in Pretoria last week attracted its fair share of clowns, crackpots, dwarfs in understanding and giants in prejudice. Described as a Conference to combat communism, it quickly demonstrated just how little its delegates or those who addressed them really knew about the subject of their ludicrous gathering; it showed also that the real purpose of its conveners was to serve out a warning that those who break from the dead-end of white racialism will be hunted and harried and heaped with all the contumely that bigoted Calvinism can devise.

With "communism" as a convenient slogan, it directed its venom at what really frightens the minority that rules South Africa - the "liberalistic" press, racial integration and churches and churchmen who not only preach but also practise their religion. As the Cape Argus rather wearily observed, the proceedings in Pretoria "have borne out the expectations that were aroused when it was first mooted".

For most South Africans these dreary demonstrations mean very little and prove only the mental poverty of racialist conformity. While delegates in Pretoria spoke of the communist threat to freedom, the Government they support rules with the clumsy brutality of its special laws, its political police and its blind rejection of the rights of our people and of real democracy.

What the conference decided, therefore, will do nothing to impede the communism it claims to fear. It offered no hope for a better South Africa restored to sanity and the only substance in its final proposals were the threats they contained. And in one of these threats may be seen the pattern of likely legislation in 1965.

Speaking in the Cape recently, the Minister of Justice said that while he contemplated no immediate action against the more outspoken press critics of the Government, pressure of public opinion might eventually force him to take action. The Pretoria conference, claiming to be widely representative of what Mr. Vorster would regard as "public opinion", has now appealed to the Government to act against the "liberalistic" press in South Africa. This press, it added, was operating under the cover of freedom of the press to soften the public up for communism and generally to undermine the authority of the State.

Soon we shall have the final report of the Press Commission and this, no doubt, will show what is meant by the "liberalistic press" and un-South African journalists. We may be certain it will also recommend how to deal with this press and its journalists.

The old familiar process of restrictive legislation moves along. The "reluctant" Minister, the clamant "public" and the detailed report which comes up with the answer that may be converted into law. And this time the burden of oppression will be laid not on liberals, so-called communists or the struggling radical press, but on some of the largest newspapers in South Africa.

THE LONG VIEW



Elliott Mngadi

AN EXAMPLE FOR US ALL

IN MARCH 1964 Mr. Balthazar John Vorster, Minister of Justice, using the tremendous powers given to him under the Suppression of Communism Act, placed Mr. Elliott Mngadi, Organiser of the Liberal Party in Natal, under a banning order. This means that Mr. Mngadi may not attend meetings, and is confined to a restricted area around his Ladysmith home.

Mr. Mngadi was banned because, in the Minister's opinion, he was furthering the aims of Communism. Let us have a closer look at this man. Let us put down all the known facts about his activities. We can do that because we know even more facts about him than the Security Police. We can say more than that - the Security Police do not know one single important fact about Mr. Mngadi which is not known to us.

If anyone lived an open life - and an honourable one - it was Elliott Mngadi. He organised the Liberal Party. He was also Secretary of the Northern Natal African Landowners' Association, a body that was formed to fight expropriation of the "black spots", and to resist being pushed back under "Bantu" control. This work he also did openly.

In September 1963 he organised a meeting of prayer and protest at Roosboom, near Ladysmith, attended by many hundreds of landowners. It began with Divine Service and ended with a protest meeting and a signing of a petition. Some church leaders disapproved of the combining of prayer with protest; that such a thing was wrong never entered the mind of Elliott Mngadi.

Though one of the consequences of his Christian belief is that he is a strict teetotaler, he arranged for utshwala to be supplied to those who felt thirsty after the prayer and protest. If some Christians felt that it was right to drink utshwala after prayer, that was good enough for him. He is the soul of tolerance. If I wished to learn about tolerance and understanding, I should go to him, not to Mr. Vorster. He knows more about Christian civilisation than the Minister who has banned him.

Mngadi does not eat pork, but he

does not regard as unclean those who do. If he is told that some meat dish he is eating contains pork, he will be seriously taken aback, but when he sees that he is being teased, he face will break into a smile which cannot be surpassed in Africa, even in the newly independent countries. In many ways his nature is childlike, but his courage is that of a man who knows all the wickedness - and the goodness - of the world.

Life didn't come easy to Mngadi - it doesn't come easily now. He started life in domestic service, broke into the commercial world, then became a Messenger of the Court. He wore a tremendous hat with the crown undented, big moustaches, and leather leggings, which gave him a fierce appearance. Yet his nature is gentle. If he were a member of a Government it would be one that would have every regard for the personality of men, even its enemies. This is not because he is sentimental, but because he is good. He understands things of which Mr. Vorster has no comprehension.

He might have gone far if he had stuck to being a Messenger of the Court. But instead of that, he joined the Liberal Party and embarked on a course of which he knew all the dangers. If he could have been intimidated, he would have been by his imprisonment during the emergency of 1960, along with Peter Brown, Hans Meidner, Frank Bhengu, and Derick Marsh. If further warnings were needed, he received them when his home was searched on several occasions. Never did he think of changing his course. One of his most striking characteristics is his cheerfulness, but it is the cheerfulness of a man who has had to endure more than most of us. In this he is Elliott the Exemplar.

I would be tempted to say of him what Tennyson said of Galahad, that his strength is as the strength of ten, because his heart is pure. But he wouldn't like it. So I won't say it.

To those Liberals who are feeling dispirited, I would recommend that they should study Elliott the Exemplar. He is an example for us all.

A Naive Reply

THOSE WHO are constantly complaining about the unfair overseas press received by South Africa would do well to study an article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of 25th February, 1964 - summarized elsewhere in this issue.

Quoting affidavits and statements alleging police brutality in South Africa, and giving as background to these certain widely-publicised court cases in which similar allegations were made, the paper nevertheless treats the subject with caution, and follows the article with comments by the South African Ambassador, Mr. Naude.

The Government could scarcely expect fairer treatment than that, yet, following on similar exposures last year in the Observer and New York Times, the overall impression of brutality is horribly convincing.

This is partly due to the mutually corroborative wealth of detail in the statements, combining to portray a callously inhuman approach towards the interrogation of prisoners not even convicted of any crime. It is also, however, partly due to the unconvincing naivete of Mr. Naude's reply.

That this reply is inaccurate has already been pointed out by the Cape Times. The South African Medical Association report quoted by him had nothing to do with the detentions of last year. Nor, for that matter, has the detention of Robert Sobukwe, however unpleasant his apparently endless isolation must be, much in common with the detention conditions of those held for one, or more, periods of 90 days for interrogation. If the Red Cross were in fact invited to visit not only him but any other detainee, they have been

gravely at fault in not doing so, but, if this is the case, it is surprising that Mr. Vorster has not mentioned his invitation and their omission in the course of dealing with the determined and persistent questioning he has faced in Parliament on the subject.

Mr. Naude's reply is also based largely on recent assurances by Minister Vorster in Parliament, assurances which carry little weight after that given by him last year, when he said that no-one would be held for longer than the prescribed 90 days.

But perhaps the most politically naive and self-damaging aspect of the reply, if Mr. Naude is quoted accurately, is his concluding comment "that the persons detained were involved, either directly or indirectly, in a campaign whose aims range from subversion to anarchy ...".

What is to be "indirectly involved"? Can criticism of the Government be construed as indirect encouragement of such a campaign? Or is friendship across the colour-bar "indirect involvement", because, as is so often stated, it sabotages the traditional South African way of life? Where is the line drawn?

Even if Mr. Naude means only those engaging in planning the violent overthrow of the Government, how can he state with such assurance that men arbitrarily detained without trial are in fact guilty?

And finally, even if they are guilty of the words that Mr. Naude and the readers of the Christian Science Monitor can imagine, does this, in a country which calls itself civilised, Christian and democratic, justify torture?

Diabolical Application of an Old Political Principal**THE BANTUSTAN FRAUD**

CAPE TOWN: The proposed Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, it has been shown, removes most remaining rights of Africans in the areas outside the so-called "homelands". Much has been written, said and protested about the iniquity of this and all other legislation which has emerged from the "whites only" political institutions of this country over the many years of our history.

But perhaps the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill should be seen in a broader context than merely the further removal of rights. We believe it should be seen, clearly, against the backdrop of the whole structure of Bantustan, and be connected to it, if we are to understand the possible insidious and diabolically clever purpose it may serve.

In creating a further unsettled and rightless urban African population, and making the urban African population feel totally insecure, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill is fulfilling part of the Bantustan idea. The whole concept of Bantustan, what some enthusiasts would call 'positive apartheid' (if a negative idea could ever have positive aspects) is very much the result of a period of directionless thinking by the ruling group, followed and accompanied by heavy political pressure from the radicals of this country and international criticism of barely concealed economic exploitation and political domination.

SILENCED!

**Criticism of
government
policy is
'misconduct'**

Dr. R. E. van der Ross

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The transfer of Coloured education to the Coloured Affairs Department which came into effect in the Cape Province on January 1 this year has had one immediate and particularly sinister consequence.

The situation was highlighted recently when Dr. R.E. van der Ross, Principal of the Battswood Teachers Training College, was asked by a Cape Town newspaper to comment on the proposed establishment of the so-called Coloured "Parliament".

Dr. van der Ross, a leading figure in Coloured political circles for nearly 20 years, refused. He pointed out that in terms of the Act which now governs Coloured education, a teacher who publicly criticises Government policy is liable to be charged with "misconduct" and may even lose his job. Dr. van der Ross went on: "This means that only the teacher who supports Government policy is free to speak. In the circumstances," Dr van der Ross added, "I would rather not comment."

In a country where nearly every other avenue is barred, both African and Coloured intellectuals have naturally tended to gravitate towards the teaching profession.

Now with the creation of "Coloured" education, and its transfer to a Government-controlled body, virtually all non-white intellectual opposition has been effectively silenced. And since there will be now no one to say nay, the Government will soon be telling us that this is what the non-Whites wanted.

We ought not to be fooled.

The effect of this pressure and the need to find a 'final solution' led the ruling group to follow a principle of politics which is standard practice in one form or another, in situations where there is minority rule. In Britain in the 19th century, the un-enfranchised masses demanded political rights. Gradually through the century they were admitted to the established political institutions. Their allegiance to the establishment was gained and the pressure on the ruling group removed. From then on change was a gradual reforming process.

In West Africa (Ghana or Nigeria are good examples) the same principle was followed. The radical elements were admitted to the political bodies, after a long hard fight, and their whole role was legitimized; they became part of the political machinery. Their goal was achieved and the colonial power was forced to leave.

In the SA context, the same principle but with a devious and cunning twist, has been followed. The pressure which the genuine radical opposition in this country has exerted on the structure of white supremacy, plus the international volley of reproach which has been aimed at apartheid, forced the regime to attempt to deflect the internal pressure, and thereby placate (they hope) international criticism. (Note the SA House advert in the NY Times when Bantustan in the Transkei was launched - "First Independent Bantu State in South Africa" - or words to that effect). What the architects of apartheid have done is this. They have created the Transkeian Bantustan, with its Legislative Assembly and its Civil Service as a model for other Bantustans. They have launched it with all the pomp and ceremony of the bogus kind, which is so familiar to those who talk about "ox culture", and now hope that the existence of these bodies and institutions will provide an outlet for the political aspirations of the African people of the area, and hence deflect their pressure from the apartheid and the white supremacy structure. The powers of the TLA, are as we know limited. But it is the intention of the Government that despite this, Xhosa speaking people will develop an interest in the Transkei and its institutions and expend their political energies in the framework which it provides, which has NO direct relevance to the essential seat of power, and will have no direct influence on white supremacy.

Where does the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill come in? Simply, we suggest like this; by creating an apparent security in the Bantustan (more are to come, we are told) and by forcing

an INsecurity in the urban areas, the Government plans to direct the interest of the Xhosa speaking Africans (in the case of the Transkei) away from the urban areas and hence away from the essential seat of White power and apartheid, and towards the bogus and powerless Bantustan Legislative Authority. It hopes too that by providing jobs in Government posts, civil service and even private companies it will create a politically (and economically?) satisfied African population, which will no longer demand entry (as did the British middle and working classes, as did the majority of the subject colonial peoples under European rule) into the actual areas of power, and hence will no longer constitute a threat to white rule.

What chance is there that this diabolical application of the old political principle will succeed? Let's be realistic. Those who oppose apartheid and the whole system of politico-economic exploitation, do so because they believe in the true and real potential of a genuinely democratic South Africa. Under any circumstances, we believe that this is the ONLY way to really release the great potential of our country, and provide a genuine place in the sun for all - on an equal footing. However, let the Bantustan concept not be too easily dismissed as a failure. It is possible that it might - for a while at least - serve its limited purpose of protecting white rule from attack and reducing the pressure on it. If so-called 'white capital' is permitted to enter the Transkei, if the so-called border industries do develop (and maybe capitalists WILL bring industry to where there is labour) and if the people do find an outlet for political energies and frustrations in the Bantustan institutions, THEN we must be prepared for a lowering of the lance directed at apartheid, and be equally prepared for a period of quiet, which may last anything up to 10 or more years. It may not occur at all - it may last awhile. The fraud may be seen immediately. But, as we said, if the "ifs" all happen, accompanied by even a slight rise in the standard of living, there is the chance that the radical leadership of the freedom movement may find difficulty in building up effective support for defeating apartheid.

These are pessimistic thoughts for those who believe in genuine freedom - economic, political and social - but we put them forward as ideas not to be thrown out too quickly, and with the intent of arguing that fascism of the 1964 model is a far more sophisticated and clever beast than its counterpart of the 1930's.

D.P. Meeting in the Transkei**MATANZIMA CHALLENGED**

UNTATA: Organised by Mr. Mowonga Nkunkuma, one of the ticket-of-four defeated by Chief Kaizer Matanzima's nominees in Emigrant Tembuland, the Democratic Party held a successful meeting in Cala, magisterial headquarters in Chief Kaizer's Xalanga district, on 14 March. Messrs. K.M. Guzana and A.T. Raziya of the D.P. (Dalindyebo M.L.A.s) spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of 150.

Mr. Nkunkuma emphasized that it was only permit problems with Proclamation 400 that accounted for the fact that the hall was not full. Many had doubted whether a permit would be issued for the meeting and had stayed away. He assured the meeting that the Democratic Party in Cala was as united and solid as ever. Both main speakers were applauded throughout. These points were made by Mr. Guzana, secretary of the Democratic Party:

● When the chief minister was being elected, certain M.L.A.s who had promised to support Chief Poto started to be doubtful after lunch. "They appeared not to have had lunch only but something else as well."

● Separate Development, the policy

favoured by Matanzima's party, would be to the detriment of the African workers in the cities who would be sent back to their so-called homelands which would be reservoirs of cheap labour for the mines and farms of the Republic's whites.

● He attacked the "iniquitous" Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, which was a vital part of the separate development programme. He challenged Chief Matanzima to defend the Bill as part of the policy he upholds.

● Bantu Education: "is used to stifle the economic, cultural and political development of the African people".

● The Government was attacked for "trying by all means to prevent people from meeting and talking".

Mr. Raziya assured the audience that the Democratic Party would expose the suffering of the people in the Transkei and elsewhere in the Republic.

"The Democratic Party has pledged itself to expose any evil law or its practical application", he declared.

A vote of confidence in the Democratic Party was passed by an overwhelming majority.

Matanzima and the Rule of Law**VIGNE IN UMTATA**

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Persons connected with the current case against Mr. Randolph Vigne in Umtata estimated that it might be resumed in anything from two weeks' to several months' time. The alleged offence against Proclamation 400 of 1960 was committed in January 1962. Mr. Vigne, then national vice-chairman of the Liberal Party appeared on this charge in August 1962, was summonsed again for January this year, and remanded again until 17 March. He was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act in March 1963.

Mr. Vigne is alleged to have made statements likely to interfere with the authority of the State or one of its officers, namely Chief Kaiser Matanzima, by means, on the first count of a press-collect telegram handed in at Umtata Post Office, and on the second, of publishing the statement in Contact, of which he was alleged to have been a "servant".

Appearing for Mr. Vigne, Mr. A.M. Wilson of Durban, instructed by Messrs. Zackon and Birkan, Cape Town, said that the State had failed to prove that Mr. Vigne had sent the telegram. Furthermore, the mere sending of a telegram did not subvert the authority of the State or of Chief Matanzima. In addition there was nothing to connect the accused with the article published in Contact. There was

no evidence that he worked for Contact and was a "servant of the publication." Mr. Wilson also stated that the fact that some measure had been sanctioned by Parliament did not mean it was within the rule of law (Mr. H.A. McKitterick, the prosecutor, had denied that the facts adduced in the article constituted "examples of suspension of the rule of law" as the article claimed.)

"Parliament has passed a great many things which have been condemned by legal bodies both inside and outside South Africa as transgressing the rule of law. Proclamation 400 is legal, but it is one of those measures in this country which has been condemned as falling outside the rule of law."

At the close of the case on 18th March, the magistrate, Mr. H.J. Potgieter said the entire State case depended on whether it could prove that the signature on the telegram handed in at Umtata was in fact the accused's. "I feel that to arrive at a just judgement the court must have the assistance of an expert to decide. If it is not the same handwriting, the State case must collapse."

Earlier, evidence was given by Captain D.J. Rossouw, officer in charge of the Security Police, Umtata at the time of the publication of the article, Mr. Peter Breakfast, secretary to Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and others.

The hearings were well attended. Mr. Vigne travelled to Umtata and back in a police vehicle accompanied by Captain D.J. Rossouw and a Security Branch Police sergeant, in terms of a condition imposed on him by the mahi condition imposed on him by the magistrate, Cape Town, and set out in a letter accompanying his summons.

FOOTNOTE: We naturally regret that we are unable to reprint the story Mr. Vigne is alleged to have written. But readers may be interested to learn that the report in question is published in full in the issue of the Spectator, London, dated March 13, together with comment we ourselves cannot make while the case remains sub judice - Ed.



Randolph Vigne

News Shorts**ACTION IN BECHUANALAND**

FRANCISTOWN: Action-packed weeks have enlivened the political atmosphere of Francistown, Bechuanaland Protectorate. In a short space of time there have been the 1963 Riots trial, an incident with South African pressmen, the arrival of ever more refugees at the White House, the deportation order on SWAPO leaders, a Sharpeville commemoration, and P.A.C. reshuffles.

© 1963 Riots Trial. On 18 March Mr. Justice Williams dismissed five men appearing on a charge of arson following last November's Beer Riots, after which 300 men and women were arrested by the police. The B.P.P. briefed a Bulawayo advocate, Mr. L. Baron. After a day and a half of hearings, the Judge dismissed the case in a five-minute address, thus freeing the accused, all African nationalists. One of them was Mr. S. Maimela, a refugee from the Republic. The best traditions of British justice were upheld by the Judge's verdict, in the view of the great crowd who attended the trial or followed its progress.

© Republic pressmen chased out. During the mid-March weekend, two newspapermen and their driver, from the Republic of South Africa, narrowly escaped with their lives from the attack of a mob of refugees. They were chased with stones and knob-kieries in the belief that they were busy with espionage work. The refugees complained to the District Commissioner about these reporters, believed to be from the Vaderland, Johannesburg. They, and the reporters were warned to keep the peace. Police later raided the refugees' quarters and confiscated sticks.

© More refugees. The majority of B.P. Africans welcome the refugees who continue to come to the Protectorate. Most are now housed at the White House, bought by Amnesty International in June 1963, but before that African families willingly cared for the refugees, whatever shades of political opinion they held. The 25 break-away-PAC refugees expelled by Mr. Potlako K. Leballo, acting head of the organisation and based in Maseru, have begun to break up. Eleven have gone to Northern Rhodesia. It is reported that 19 of the 25 have been offered scholarships by the African-American Institute at Dar-es-Salaam, thanks to the efforts of Commander Cunningham of Amnesty. They all intend remaining political activists. Their present campaign is to hold a Represent-

ative Conference of the P.A.C. to heal rifts caused by the suspension of Mr. Peter Molotsi, formerly in charge at Dar-es-Salaam, and other points of conflict between the Maseru leadership and the 25, whose secretary is Mr. Tsheliana. The Leballo group is represented in Francistown by Mr. S. Ndlovu.

© Deportation of SWAPO leaders. Messrs. Sam Nujoma, Jacob Kuhangwa and Emil Appolus, all SWAPO leaders, were ordered, on 20th March, to leave Bechuanaland. On 3rd April they had still not left. The reasons given were their holding Tanganyika passports and therefore not being refugees, and their refusal to be fingerprinted on arrival. Mr. J. Kozonguizi has also been a recent visitor to the Protectorate. The SWANU leader stayed harmoniously with Mr. Nujoma, SWAPO president, at the White House. Francistown has been shocked at the subsequent deportations.

© Sharpeville commemorated. The climax to events in the Territory - excluding the B.P.P. conference held on Easter Weekend - was the Sharpeville service held on 21 March. Silently and reverently all political parties joined in the commemoration day. This event followed the entry into Francistown of the Yorkshire and Lancaster Regiment from Swaziland, which arrived on 20th March. They paraded at the Sports ground and marched with brass band accompaniment to the delight of Francistown residents.

PIETERMARITZBURG: Opposition to the "blackspot" removals has suffered a grievous blow with the banning order served on Mr. Elliott Mngadi, energetic National Treasurer of the Liberal Party and Secretary of the Northern Natal African Landowners Association.

Mr. Mngadi, a landowner in one of the remaining blackspots near Ladysmith, Natal, has been confined to the Klipriver District for a period of five years. During this period he is prohibited from attending any meeting or social gathering and he has to report to the Ladysmith police every Monday.

The banning order was served on him just a week after publication of

ELLIOTT MNGADI**13th Liberal Banned**

a petition he had organized, signed by 18 prominent Natal personalities - among them Archbishop Hurley, Bishop Inman, Alan Paton, R.A.F. Swart, Peter Brown and D.G. Shepstone, former administrator of Natal, - calling for a stop to the removals and pointing out that the land had been bought in good faith by responsible, provident and hardworking people, and that to interfere with freehold rights was to destroy all sense of legal security.

Mr. Mngadi became secretary of the Landowners Association at its inception in 1958 and was released from his organizer's post in the Liberal Party for two years to work full time in building up the association.

Statements and Affidavits on Torture and Police Brutality

CAPE TOWN: In its issue of 25th February, the Christian Science Monitor published an article quoting affidavits and statements from South Africa alleging ill-treatment and torture of non-white political prisoners.

These documents, according to the article, are in the hands of African specialists at Harvard University, officials of the State Department in Washington and members of the United Nations subcommittee on apartheid. They may be submitted to the Security Council.

The writer of the article states that the documents follow rumours and charges, some aired in South African courts, that there is ill-treatment of prisoners; and cites the cases of Mpandlana John Menzeli, who alleged that he was given electric shocks during interrogation, and Solwandle Ngudle, found hanged in his cell, whose lawyer alleged torture but of whom police stated that he "suddenly became a coward" after offering to inform on other Africans. Deputy Attorney General Percy Yutar is quoted as having told a judge that a senior police officer had investigated one of the complaints but it was not considered advisable to disclose the officer's report.

These examples set the stage for the rest of the article, which consists largely of quotations from the documents, names being withheld for fear of police retaliation.

Two statements allege electric shock torture, and are quoted fully. One complainant says he was "told to undress except for my trousers. One African policeman was called (by the white policeman) and handcuffed me with my hands behind my back and a sack over my head.

"On my small fingers electric wires were connected to a current. I cried and fell down. If it got loose it would be inserted under my trousers. I was knocked with fists and sticks. I then promised to talk.

"When I complained I was being killed, wires were once more connected.

When I fell down a police (man) stood on my head with his feet. My face was swollen and my jaws were stiff. I was unable to eat for a week except to drink liquids."

The other describes similar treatment and adds: "One detective said if I reported what had been done to me to the magistrate I would once more be given electric shocks."

None of the five sworn affidavits alleges electric shock treatment, but they do complain of police brutality. These men allege being held for periods varying between 2½ and 7 months, all then being released either without being charged at all or because the case against them had been withdrawn.

One of them, held from 1st June 1963, to 10th September, when he was released with no charge brought against him, says that during interrogation policemen "would hit me with a cane, and beat me across my body, they hit me with their fists, and at times I would be knocked to the ground and would lose consciousness.

"Because my face was badly swollen as a result of the beatings I received, and also because I could not hear in one ear and had a great deal of pain I asked if I could see a doctor. When I saw whom I thought was the doctor he took my pulse but did not examine me further."

The article continues: "After his release, this man was told he had lost his job and was given 20 days in which to leave Cape Town and told to go back to the Transkei. Prior to his arrest he had lived in Cape Town for 10 years."

The article concludes with an explanation that, "if the story of these men is true", they are obviously being held under the Sabotage Act, "which permits police to arrest suspects, hold them incommunicado, without trial and without legal representation and without right of appeal except to the police themselves, for a period of 90 days. At the end of the first 90 days

the detention can be repeated for a further 90 days, and consequently indefinitely."

Mr. W.C. Naude, South African Ambassador to the United States, was invited by the Christian Science Monitor to comment on the article. He said that Dr. George Hoffman, of the International Red Cross, having been invited by the Government to visit any detainee he wished, had so far visited only Robert Sobukwe, who had no complaints. He went on to quote a South African Medical Association report, issued in December 1963, in which it was stated that the Association had conducted a full enquiry and "was satisfied that the allegations of maltreatment were unfounded."

It should be noted here that the Cape Times, in its leader of 24th March, has already drawn attention to the erroneous nature of this comment, based as it is on an inaccurate newspaper report published last year and later corrected. In fact, the South African Medical Association report was published long before the 90-day era.

Mr. Naude comments further that detainees are visited once a week by a magistrate to receive complaints, as the law requires; that Minister of Justice Vorster has stated in Parliament that "every allegation of ill-treatment had been investigated"; that Mr. Vorster had said further that in some cases people had made allegations to the press but had refused to make sworn affidavits; and that certain allegations, according to Mr. Vorster, were being investigated, but none so far proven.

In conclusion, Mr. Naude is quoted as saying: "The persons detained were involved, either directly or indirectly, in a campaign whose aims range from subversion to anarchy with the help of countries which have repeatedly threatened South Africa, many of whom are open in their sympathy with international communism."

Blackspots Removals

A REPLY TO THE MINISTER

From "Contact" Correspondent.

PIETERMARITZBURG: The Minister of Bantu Admin. and Development in a letter replying to an appeal for the cessation of the blackspots removals in Natal has said that though the removals may carry "a stigma of undue hardship and inconvenience, experience has shown again and again that the ultimate advantages to the Bantu of such removals far outweigh the initial disadvantage and inconvenience".

This reply was made to the Northern Natal African Landowners Association in response to their letter appealing for the abandonment of the evictions.

The Minister takes the Association to task for making "the inference that the proposed removal is the result of the present Government's apartheid policy" - as though the forced removal and deprivation of freehold rights of 250,000 landowners and tenants was a normal sociological phenomenon.

He claims that it is untrue that landowners in 'blackspots' are summarily dispossessed of their land and left at the mercy of the elements - but possibly the Minister is unaware of the fact that Besterspruit was demolished at a weeks notice and the people housed in tents within sight of their demolished homes during a period of torrential rain and that four months later in mid-winter prefabs had still not been erected to replace the majority of the tents.

The Minister says that all transportation of goods was done free of charge - perhaps the Minister will explain why transport costs were deducted from compensation money of the people sent to Mondlo?

The Minister says that tents were loaned gratis - perhaps the Minister will explain why there was a rental of R1 per month of the tents at Vryheid location?

He argues that the blackspots "have no proper sanitary conveniences, (or) water supplies" - we refer the

Minister to the situation at Mondlo, at present in the throes of a typhoid epidemic caused by the lack of just these things.

The Minister mentions that white farmers have also been dispossessed of their land - and have also lost forever the right to own freehold land again no doubt?

The Minister says that the next-of-kin of blackspot owners "may in certain circumstances be allowed to accompany the owner who receives compensatory land in a Bantu Area - each case being considered on its merits". Are we to infer from this that the next-of-kin of white farmers may also be allowed to accompany them - "each case being considered on its merits"?

The Honourable Minister states that landowners, "invariably receive more land in exchange in their homeland than they had in a "blackspot",



A Tent at Mondlo - Bantu city of the future. Mud huts in the background

and more than adequate compensation is paid both for land and improvements." Perhaps the Minister is unaware that the people of Khumalosville received ½ acre plots in exchange for their 2 acre sites; or that one Besterspruit owner was offered R84 for land bought for R80 and a house built for R580, and that when he protested the authorities admitted their mistake and offered him R184?

The Minister has said that "experience has shown again and again that the ultimate advantages ... far outweigh the initial inconvenience". As the only experience so far has been the scandal of Besterspruit and the only concrete "ultimate advantage" has been typhoid and pellagra in Mondlo, and believing the Minister to be a sincere man, we humbly suggest that the Minister be more certain of his facts.

The New African

CAPE TOWN: If as a subscriber you have not had your 28 March New African, write a postcard to the Manager, Box 2068, Cape Town, saying so.

On 9 March in a four-hour raid on the offices of The New African, Contact, and the Liberal Party, the entire subscription records, as well as all other correspondence and back numbers of The New African, were taken away by the eight Security Police and one uniformed man who conducted the raid. A month later, not a single rubber stamp, cheque book or addressograph plate has been returned, despite repeated calls by the office manager, and two lawyer's letters. No subscription lists means no copies to subscribers. So, say The New African staff, please let us know if your subscription is paid up, and we'll send you

a copy of the 28 March issue.

In a leader, the editor says "the suggestion has been made that the operation was intended to intimidate all connected with The New African". He states that, as far as the editorial and production staff are concerned, the operation has failed. He hopes that it has not only failed for subscribers, other readers and agents, but that it will inspire them all to support The New African more strongly than before.

*** The issue contains a short story, "The Fugitives" by Can Temba, articles by the "Soviet Africanist" A.B. Davidson, Lord Listowel, former Governor-General of Ghana, J.S. Trimmingham on "Africa's Own Brand of Islam" and others, with drawings by the Khartoum artist, Ibrahim Salehi.

LIBERAL PARTY DEFENDED

Sir,

Most Liberals must have been dismayed to find that one of their number could write in the vein of your correspondent, "Worried", of Benoni.

I hope that sufficient replies will have reached you to make it clear to the world that this is not Liberal thinking, though I fear that the majority of Liberal Party members will have decided to treat the letter with the contempt they feel it deserves, especially in view of its lack of signature.

It was in the context of an unpleasant incident involving a white family that a priest's wife once advised me never to lend money but always, where the cause seems good, to give; for lending, she said, results more often than not in non-payment of the debt through inability or forgetfulness, and hard feelings inevitably follow. Her advice may not have been entirely practical, but her insight into human weakness was excellent. How much money has "Worried" lent to whites? What makes him feel that the failure to repay is a prerogative of being black? If it were not clear that he is in fact sincerely aware of this, one would be tempted to point out that he is fortunate to have been in a position to lend R200 over the last three years.

If it is valid to generalise to the extent of saying that Africans on the whole cannot keep appointments on time and are seldom efficient, then equally

valid must be the generalisations heard just as frequently that Africans have in greater measure than Whites the wonderful qualities of patience, tact, generosity and warmth which make for harmony and good relations between people, also vital aspects of good organisation. What better institution is there than the Liberal Party for complementing the organisational faults and virtues of individuals and, to the extent that these exist, of different cultural groups?

I think most Liberals will endorse that this, at least, the Party has achieved, and has shown its vitality as a non-racial organism in the face of all prophecy to the contrary.

However, generalisations should never be allowed to stand unqualified, for they are usually at least as misleading as they are true. Though it seems almost too obvious to mention, it must be noted that many an entirely white organisation has foundered on lack of efficiency, and many a black one built up on the best of organisational qualities. Since "Worried" comes from Benoni, perhaps it is fair to deduce that the Transvaal division of the Liberal Party has not succeeded in attracting the most efficient of African members, but, if so, this is insufficient evidence on which to condemn the whole black race, or even every black Liberal.

Perhaps this is a convenient moment to pay tribute to one of the finest and most efficient of Liberals in the country,

one who happens to be black, Elliot Mngadi, recently banned.

But, in any event, the Liberal Party has not based its credo on merit, group or individual. It believes that those who are governed should have a say in government. And if this is what causes "Worried" to assume this non-de-plume then he is right to consider joining the Progressive Party.

It should be pointed out that it is not true to say that 80% of the Liberal Party consists of whites. This may be true of the Party leadership, but the bulk of the membership is in fact black, and I wonder whether "Worried" has paused to consider the risks run by even the ordinary, largely inactive, card-carrying black member, let alone the leader. It is only the active leaders amongst the whites who need have any real fear of measures being taken against them, and it can be debated whether a banning order is more to be feared than endorsement out.

It is strange that one who claims to be a loyal Liberal should air such doubts as these in public before putting them in the proper way before the Party councils. Yet his sincerity is obvious. If "Worried" wishes to join the Progressives, it seems to me that he should not allow the vague, though doubtless admirable, concept of loyalty to stand in his way. "Worried" is clearly not at home in the Liberal Party.

Ann Tobias

Cape Town.

Spotlight on Africa

PEACE IN OUR TIME?

CAPE TOWN: By the end of June the last of the UN forces will have left the Congo. They have been there four years. Can they leave knowing that their task has been completed, and peace restored

once and for all?

Certainly, the Congo to-day is like a baby's bath compared to the tempest and tragedy of the past. But look closer.

UN Under Secretary Ralph Bunche spoke recently of "barbarous raids by ... rebels in the Kwilu Province" (in the west), which have taken many lives. The "rebels" are led by Pierre Mulele, former Minister of Education under Patrice Lumumba; reports are that they have attacked towns and terrorized civilians and missionaries in Kwilu.

But that's not the worst of it. There have been alarming reports of intensive training in guerilla warfare by dissatisfied followers of Tshombe. And again according to Mr. Bunche, troops are massing along the Congo/Angola border, to the south.

U Thant reported on these developments to the Security Council last month. And he said they were "indicative ... of a possible future attempt to challenge the authority of the central government of the Congo from external bases (i.e., in Angola), and thereby to lead another round of violence and disruption in the Congo."

It is very clear that more bloodshed in the Congo must be avoided. It is equally clear that the UN forces cannot stay there permanently. As Mr. Bunche said, "The Congo operation displays vividly the problem: how can a successfully functioning UN peace force ever be withdrawn without disastrous consequences?"

THE MYSTERY of Tanganyika's January mutiny is slowly clearing. No wild-eyed Communists have been found behind trees - nor has anyone thought it necessary to go hunting for them. The jubilant cries of the colonialist-minded faded rapidly away after a week or so, and by and large the rest of the world has turned its attention to other, more exciting, events.

Still mixed up in the incident and its aftermath though, are the trade unionists. Dar es Salaam, like any newly industrial city in a largely agricultural country, has outstripped the rest of Tanganyika. The result is a small but comparatively privileged, body of workers, anxious to improve their conditions and very ready to use their considerable bargaining power to do so.

The trade unionists took advantage of the mutiny. The government alleges that they were in contact with the army mutineers; that they even planned an alternative government; that they were going to call a general strike to force wage concessions. It has arrested 200 men and will put them on trial.

But as South Africans have reason to know, all the trials imaginable will not mend the situation so long as there is resentment and discontent.

What President Nyerere will have to do - and what he seems to be planning at the moment - is to keep the unionists happy with what they have, until the economy of the rest of the country begins to catch up with them. He will need all his celebrated powers of tact and persuasion to do it.

"Contact"

Fund

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Methods of Interrogation

THE FOLLOWING statement was issued recently by Mr. Peter Brown, National chairman of the Liberal Party. "Mr. Vorster has refused to respond to an appeal in the Senate to hold a judicial inquiry into allegations of torture of political detainees. He claimed that there was no substance to such allegations and no need for such an inquiry and he suggested that those people who were demanding one were mischief-makers.

"Mr. Vorster had hardly made this statement when an accused policeman in the Bultfontein trial admitted torturing prisoners, claimed that he had been taught how to do so and went on to say that he doubted whether there was a police station in the country that did not use violence during questioning.

"Without wishing to comment on the Bultfontein trial, this remark raises the whole question of police

methods of interrogation ... and on this question something must be said.

"Prior to this a number of shocking cases of police brutality to prisoners have come before the courts. There have been rumours of other cases which did not reach the courts. Now a statement by a serving policeman has implied that torture has become a regular and recognised means of extracting information from prisoners in South African police-stations. Whether this is so only an independent judicial inquiry can establish.

"Mr. Vorster cannot sidestep this issue any longer. An inquiry is now a matter of extreme urgency. If the Minister will not initiate it of his own accord a petition must go to him with the support of such a volume of opinion behind it that he will find it impossible to disregard it."