

● **Mandela's Speech
In Court**

● **Trouble Brews
At Langa**

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ATROCITIES ALLEGED ON ROBBERN ISLAND

Cape Town: CONDITIONS ON ROBBERN ISLAND AND IN OTHER PRISONS AND POLICE STATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY HAVE FALLEN UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL SPOTLIGHT WITH THE PUBLICATION RECENTLY BY THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID OF A COLLECTION OF STATEMENTS AND AFFIDAVITS TAKEN FROM 90-DAY DETAINEES.

It is understood that the report, which bears the official imprint of the United Nations General Assembly, has been translated into many languages and widely distributed overseas. The detailed allegations it contains are expected to have international repercussions.

The 33-page document consists of 16 sworn statements and six affidavits which were collected by the American Committee on Africa and sent to the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid.

In a covering letter Mr. George Houser, executive director of the A.C.A. states that "the cool and calculated use of sophisticated forms of physical torture marks a new development in the annals of white supremacy". Mr. Houser goes on to explain that "the truth contained in the statements was sworn to before lawyers" and that names have been deleted in order to protect the detainees.

All of the statements and affidavits allege assault by warders, prison officials, members of the Special Branch and policemen - both African and European. In addition eight of the statements allege electrical torture.

The material makes horrifying reading and much of it "is extremely damaging to the reputation of the South African police. For example the following allegations are made:

•From Robben Island - "Once I saw a man being beaten by warders and then placed up to his neck in a hole. Whilst he was in the hole a warder urinated into his mouth. Other warders stood round and

laughed...On numerous occasions I saw political prisoners being beaten by warders and non-political prisoners";

•"They hit me and pushed me to the floor. There I was severely kicked and beaten for almost an hour. All the time I was being kicked on my chest, head and legs, they continued to hit me and question me about Poqo. For three days I was questioned for about one hour a day and each time I was beaten and kicked and the police swore at me";

•"I was only left with my underpants. They then started to hit me while undressing with clenched fists. For some days I could not open my left jaw. They handcuffed me and ordered me to squat with my knees protruding - a pole was put between my under knees and above my arms so that I was placed in a helpless position and a canvas bag was pulled over my head to the neck which made breathing difficult. While my face was covered with this canvas bag I could feel something tied round my two

thumbs and my left little finger. From there I felt the electric shock as if it was being switched on and off time and again and at the same time they kept on asking me questions as they switched off, and when I refused to answer the questions they switched on";

•"They beat me up with a stick. When the White officers had finished tea, I was once more taken to the office. A sack was put over my head and face and wires were connected and this time I was made to squat and electric current was switched on. I was at last released from this ordeal, but my whole body was painful and my feet were swollen as I had been thrashed with a house pipe and sticks on my feet and shoulders and on my buttocks".

At this stage it is not known what the Government is doing to counter these allegations. There have over the last few months been a series of strong calls for the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the allegations of torture and brutality.

It is understood that a refusal by the South African government to institute such an enquiry would cause people to accept the truth of all the various allegations more readily.

FOOTNOTE: In reply to a question by Mrs. Helen Suzman, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, said in the Assembly last week that there were 1,395 people serving prison terms on Robben Island, 907 of whom are political prisoners.



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Innocent— But Gaoled For 1 Year

AS FAR AS the law courts are concerned, the Pogo affair in the Western Cape is now over. The last appeal was heard about ten days ago. Hundreds of men are serving terms of rigorous imprisonment; hundreds of others are trying to retrieve something out of the chaos of lives disrupted by sudden arrest, months in prison awaiting trial, lost jobs and frequent endorsement out of this area.

One such man is 32-year old Simon Leslea. Married, with a wife and two young children in Matielie in the Transkei, he was one of those Western Cape workers obliged to ske out his living far from home and with any hope of having his family around him. Since 1953 he had worked for the firm of Everitt Ltd. in Brackenfell and each day he would set out early in the morning from the Stellenbosch location.

This routine ended for Simon Leslea on 22nd April, 1963, when he was arrested in an anti-Pogo swoop and, with many others vanished into the prisons of the Cape.

No bail was allowed and he was remanded in prison until 1st August when he appeared with 22 other men before a magistrate in the Worcester Regional Court on a charge of belonging to an unlawful organisation. Twenty of these men, including Simon Leslea, were found guilty and were given prison sentences of two and three years.

He was among those who appealed against their conviction and by right he should have continued as a waiting trial prisoner. Instead, he was made to start serving his sentence and six months went by before his case came up in

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THE LONG VIEW

SOLVING OUR PROBLEMS



— by Alan Paton

IT HAS GROWN expedient of late for white South Africans to say that we must be left alone to solve our problems in our own way. Any white person who suggests anything else is a near-traitor. I propose to put down my views on this proposition. I know it troubles quite a few people.

In the first place let me say that as far as love of country is concerned, my love is for South Africa. I do not yearn to live in Backs, Notts, Staffs, Yorks, Conn, Penn or Mo. or Me., not even Miss. I don't want Khrushchev for my President, or Mao to control my destiny. I don't like living under Verwoerd, but I'd rather live under him than Nao, because I think Mao would kill me and Verwoerd wouldn't.

Can we solve our problems in our own way? I must honestly write that I see at this moment no likelihood of that whatsoever. There is only one proposition that white South Africa will consider today, and that is a policy of racial separation and authoritarian rule. I see no future for that either. If anything makes it impossible for us to solve things in our own way, it is Apartheid. Apartheid is the one guarantee that the outside world will not let us alone.

If the outside world leaves us alone, will we solve our problems? I see no hope of that whatsoever. All I can see is more 90-days, more banning, more intimidation, more trials. It is a ghastly prospect. It appeals only to the trigger-happy Nationalist who confuses cruelty with strength.

Do I see white South Africa undergoing a change of heart? I certainly do not, not until the threat of the outside world is inescapable. Do I see white South Africans standing backs to the wall, and dying to the last man? I certainly do not. But I see them declaring their intention to do so until the very last moment - like a lot of ostriches playing a game of chicken.

Afrikaner zealots say that God made the Afrikaner nation, and that if it is His will, He will destroy it. Are there many of these zealots? My answer is, not so many as people think.

So that's the situation.

The outside world - a big part of it - is determined to make white South Africans give a better life to their fellow-citizens, and white South Africans are determined - and I write this with a full understanding of what I am doing - to give no more than they need to. It looks like an impasse. And so it is for the moment.

What happens next? There is one thing that will not happen, and that is that white South Africa will get stronger, and the outside pressures weaker. There is one thing that will happen, and that is that outside pressures will get stronger and South African resistance weaker. The only real question is, how long will it be before this changing strength-ratio begins to alter our whole situation? I don't know the answer to that.

If one believes - as I do - that these changes are inevitable then it is one's responsible duty to consider how one adapts oneself to them. I do not think it is sensible or loyal to continue along a path which Dr. Verwoerd believes leads to life, and I believe leads to suicide.

I don't want to see the outside world enter South Africa by force and impose a solution on us by force. That I believe would be suicidal. It would let loose a flood of hatred and make responsible adaptation impossible.

I declare myself in favour of examining fully the proposals of the United Nations for a new national convention.

I declare my belief - and I do not expect all liberals or liberals to agree with me - that the change-over from white supremacy to non-racial democracy may well get beyond our powers to engineer safely, and that we will need help to bring it about. This help can come only from the United Nations.

Many people are appalled by the idea of a national convention, by the idea that centuries-old patterns of life will have to change, by the idea that the wealth of South Africa will have to be differently distributed. Let these people rather be appalled by the idea of revolution. Let them rather be appalled by the possible imposition of a solution in which they have had no say.

ACTION!

THE EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION in this country does not disagree about ends - only about the means by which those agreed ends should be achieved.

For example the Non-European Unity Movement, the Congress Alliance and the Liberal Party all demand a universal adult suffrage and the end of apartheid.

The argument between these and similar organizations has always been an ideological one. Conflict has arisen over the question 'How best should the end (on which we are agreed) be achieved?'

The result has been an extraordinary dissipation of energy and, finally, the virtual break-down of the freedom movement. All this of course has been said before and people have talked interminably of 'unity' - and still they lack freedom.

The reason is clear. The various movements have been so concerned with the POLITICS of the freedom struggle that they have lost contact with the masses of the people - now regarded as an old-fashioned concept.

Without mass support freedom will never be achieved.

The problem therefore is a two-fold one: how to effectively unite the extra-parliamentary opposition, and how to win the support of the people.

The masses of the people are not interested in the politics of politics. This is a cliché and everybody knows it but nobody does anything about it. People are concerned with what most directly and materially affects them. A man who has to walk 200 yards every morning to fetch water for his family to wash in is more likely to be impressed by the organization which gets a tap fitted outside his door than with one which argues about 'collaboration' or 'communism' or 'revisionism'.

It is only the extra-parliamentary opposition which can hope to gain the support of the mass of the people for only it is prepared to offer the essential prerequisite of mass support - one man one vote. But as long as the opposition groups are split and continue to fight each other on ideological grounds, the mass support which we seek will remain out of our grasp, if only for reasons of sheer man-power shortage.

But the ideological differences do exist. Therefore to achieve the unity which is necessary the various organizations must cooperate over things into which ideology does not enter. What better example of this than civic grievances? The people whose confidence we must hope to win are basically concerned with problems like the tap, like street lights, like pavements, like play-grounds - therefore it is with securing these things that the opposition must concern itself.

The plan we propose is as follows. Area committees should be established. These should be composed of individuals (in their private capacities) who belong to the various organizations we are seeking to unite. Area committees would undertake practical welfare work. They would be concerned with the redress of civic grievances and would quickly become known among the people for whose benefit they are working. They would win the peoples' support and confidence. Political differences amongst the members of the committees would not arise.

Each area committee would put forward one of its members to sit on a central committee which would discuss and coordinate the work being undertaken in the various areas.

Clearly the object of all this welfare work would be to gain the support and confidence of the masses of the people so that when the time came and support was assured the people could then be called upon to act in an effective political way over any specific issue.

The whole organization could collapse at two points. Firstly if the call to action was issued before the people were prepared and secondly if the various organizations which had been cooperating together were unable to agree on the correct course of action to be adopted in the face of the chosen issue. Both contingencies would have to be carefully guarded against. Should political issues arise over which there was no possibility of agreement between the various organizations, the issues would have to be ignored - though of course the various organizations would be free as always to act individually in whatever way they saw fit. The unity committee would then find its time for an issue on which all could agree.

Ideally the movement should begin in one centre and gradually spread until it became national. There would be no necessity for secrecy since the various area committees would be civic and not political bodies.

Steps have already been taken to establish such an organization in Cape Town.



Nusas Man Banned

MR. THAMI MHLAMBISO (above) formerly Vice-President of NUSAS and Chairman of the Joint Board of the Students Representative Councils of the University of Natal was banned last month under the Suppression of Communism Act by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster.

It is not yet known if he will be allowed to continue with his studies.

In a statement issued recently, Mr. Jonty Driver, President of NUSAS said: "It is obvious that the main cause of Mr. Mhlambiso's banning is his long and close association with NUSAS and his valuable contribution to the work of NUSAS".

Mr. Mhlambiso, who is studying law at the University of Natal, is married and has two children.

PRAYERS FOR THE POLICE

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: A "Prayer for the Police" has been published in the latest issue of Good Hope official organ of the diocese of Cape Town.

"At this time", says the preamble, "when members of the Police Force are subject to, and increasing numbers yielding to, such terrible temptations to brutality, they need all the prayers we can give them".

Part of the prayer runs: "We beseech Thee to hear our prayers at this time for our policemen and gaoles. Protect them in their temptation to such deeds of violence, and grant them grace at all times to temper justice with mercy..."

DETAINEE REPLIES TO HIS INTERROGATORS

THE FOLLOWING is an extract from a statement contained in the collection of statements and affidavits published recently by the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. It is an account of a conversation which took place between interrogators "K" and "L" and a detainee in The Fort, Johannesburg.

"K" When we came here we were hopeful that if you gave us the information which the police have reason to know you are in possession of, we could see to it that you were out of this mess. You must understand you are in a sinking ship. Everybody is getting out of it while there is still time. Where are your advocates, who are your legal advisers? Let us tell you the Jewboys are crumbling and you will be left alone in this shit. Whom can you blame for your state but yourself - you won't work, you eat from the cupped hand of the Jewboy, you sleep in the Jewboy's blankets - you have no home, you do not live in the location.

"L" If he went there the Bantu would chop off his head.

"K" Of course the Bantu are happy in this country, they don't want agitators like him - towards who work underground. If you don't like this country why don't you get out of it? Men like Tambo left when they were dissatisfied. Why don't you leave too?

"Self" I am not going to leave my country. South Africa

is my country.

"K" He can't go to the Transkei because he will starve there. The Bantu are lazy. They merely have big mouths to talk, but won't work. I was in the Transkei recently. They lie the whole day in the sun. Let me outline the case against you when we go to Court. We will show that the reason why you do not leave the country is that you have specific instructions to remain in the country to carry out underground activities. Yes, you are the central figure in spreading propaganda amongst the Bantu in the name of the ANC. We have a plan in black and white and we must get to the bottom of this, whatever cost. Pretoria Gaol is too good for you, and as we brought you here we shall remove you and put you in another place where the climate will be more suitable to make you talk. You just sit there like a brick wall. That's what I can't tolerate with you. It would be better even if you said what your political standpoint is. You are a brain-washed Communist, a diehard who is abusing whites. I don't want to crush you, speak....

"K" and "L" then leave and return a week later when the detainee makes the following reply:

"Self" Last week you raised a number of points. Firstly, let me hasten to say that all matters that have legal bearing we can safely leave to the Courts. I am going to deal with the political aspect of your attack.

Last week you observed correctly, though derisively, that I was not young. I can therefore claim that most of the history of South Africa after 1910 has taken shape before my eyes. You have said that you have been keeping a record of my activities for a long time. My political outlook has hardly changed since first you started keeping a record of those activities and in addition there are my writings to back them up. My standpoint is one: It is a fact that there are four main racial groups who live in South Africa. South Africa is their country and their home. I accept that as a fact and apply all my energies towards ensuring that the people of South Africa shall live together side by side. Whether it is African or Afrikaner who sows seeds of racial conflict amongst the people of this country, I shall oppose them. South Africa belongs to all who live in it. You referred disparagingly to the fact that I was living with Jewboys and eating from their hands. Let us remind you that when the farm economy broke down in the twenties, Afrikaners used to seek shelter in my own home, and my aged mother gave them food. It never occurred to us that they were thereby eating out of our cupped hand. I was sorry I received the scones from you last week (it had been offered to him by "K"), but I had done so because the act of giving and receiving distinguishes man from animals."

Police Gaol SWAPO Leaders

From "Contact" Correspondent OSHINKANGO: Policemen wielding batons and sticks broke up a SWAPO meeting in Owafo, Ovambo-land, on 28 March and arrested five SWAPO leaders who, it is alleged, were brutally assaulted.

Contact learns that the incident occurred when the Native Commissioner at Oshinkango, Mr. Strydom, heard that the SWA Peoples Organisation planned to hold a meeting at Owafo to protest against the arrest and detention of Mr. Simon Kuzungwa, a branch chairman of SWAPO in Ovambo-land. The meeting was already

in progress when the police arrived. Our correspondent reports that after the meeting had been broken up, the police arrested five of the leaders. They are Messrs. Elias Tuhadeleni, Aseli Simon, Isamele Shifidi, Titus Namweja and Olavi Malleenge. Mr. Tuhadeleni is alleged to have been severely beaten about the head with sticks and is reported to be seriously ill.

As far as Contact has been able to ascertain, the five men are still in gaol in Oshinkango.

Political observers in South West Africa regard the

incident as an indication of a new get-tough attitude on the part of the authorities.

Mr. Nathaniel Machuilili, chief Vice-President of SWAPO in South West Africa, was sentenced in Windhoek at the beginning of April to four months imprisonment without the option of a fine. According to a statement issued recently by the Dar-es-Salaam office of SWAPO, the conviction arose out of an attempt by Mr. Machuilili to organise a protest meeting against the Oshinkango Commission.

It is alleged that Mr. Simon Kuzungwa was gaoled for the same reason.

HOUSE ARRESTED



For 16 Months

MR. ALEX LA GUMA (above) has now been under continuous house arrest in Cape Town for the last sixteen months.

A former chairman of the South African Coloured Peoples Organization, Mr. La Guma was on the staff of the newspaper "New Age" for five years before it was banned.

Mr. La Guma has one highly successful novel to his credit ("A Walk in the Night") and another ("A Three-Fold Cord") which was written while he was under house arrest is due to be published this year. A collection of his short stories is due out soon and he has just finished a biography of his father, Jimmy, who prior to his death in 1960 had been prominent in political circles in Cape Town for many years.

Mr. La Guma's wife, Bianche, is banned but a clause in her banning order permits her to communicate with her husband. They are not allowed to receive any visitors and Mr. La Guma is not allowed outside his garden.

His house arrest order will expire in November, 1967.

SWA: No Convention

CAPE TOWN: The magistrate at Rehoboth, South West Africa, has refused permission to Chief Hosea Kutako and his council to hold a national convention at Rehoboth to launch a new united non-White political organization.

Contact in its last issue promised to carry a full report of the proceedings but regrets that this is now impossible.

It is not known why the magistrate refused permission for the convention to be held.

UNREST IN LANGA

CAPE TOWN: A growing mood of unrest has settled over the Langa township here with the local residents complaining bitterly about the high-handed actions of the City Council.

Officials have recently been going from house to house in the bachelor zones ripping out the floors and ceilings and interleading doors which the residents themselves had installed in an effort to make their quarters more comfortable and private.

The Council claims that the floors and ceilings are "unhygienic" and contribute to the high incidence of TB in the location. Residents point out that the ceilings are necessary because moisture condenses on the corrugated iron roofs at night and water drops on them while they are asleep. They say the rooms are bitterly cold because of the concrete floors and as they have put down wooden planks.

But perhaps the main cause of the anger and bitterness - which undoubtedly exists - is the question of the interleading doors. These the men have erected at their own expense and most of the doors have been fitted with Yale-type locks. The men say this gives them a certain amount of privacy and, more importantly, enables them to leave their belongings in

safety when they go to work.

The authorities say that they "do not consider the doors necessary". They point out that the houses are built on the dormitory principle with 16 men to a house sharing cooking and washing facilities.

They say that each house is composed of men from the same tribe who come from the same area and that there is therefore no need for privacy.

The men however reject this. As one put it: "We are not animals. We want doors like everybody else".

Men that I spoke to said that they were "very angry" about what the City Council is doing. They say they received no warning from the Council and many have come home from work at night to find all their belongings piled up outside and their floors and their ceilings and doors ripped out and thrown into the dirt.

Asked to comment, Mr. R. Worrall, Assistant Manager of the location, said that the City Council was considering putting aside the sum of R130,000 for new floors and ceilings but doors would not be allowed.

A number of the residents told me that they thought the reason why the Council had forbidden doors was to facilitate the periodic pass raids which the police carry out in the bachelor zones.

Open Letter to Vorster

LIBERAL IS DEFIANT

CAPE TOWN: The Minister of Justice Mr. Vorster has been accused of carrying out a deliberate campaign to destroy the Liberal Party.

The accusation is contained in an open letter sent to the Minister by Mr. C.K.Hill, a prominent member of the Liberal Party in Natal who received a magisterial warning recently to the effect that if he did not cease certain of his political activities he would be banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

"By your bannings," states Mr. Hill in his letter, "you are steadily silencing your liberal opponents, smearing them in the process with a taint of communist-like intolerance and ruthlessness which they do not have but which your Government does

have.

"I charge you with carrying out a deliberate campaign to destroy the Liberal Party by individual bannings, and by searing individual members, while delaying banning of the party as such in order to be able to pretend to the world that you pursue liberal opposition.

"From the steady banning by you of active members of my party whom I know to be genuinely concerned for the lives and happiness of all in South Africa, I can come to no other conclusion.

"In these circumstances I have no alternative but to continue my political activities in opposition to apartheid and to your government to the best of my ability..."

Mandela Talks

The Ideals I am Prepared to Die for

THE FOLLOWING POINTS were made by Nelson Mandela, accused No 1 in the Rivonia Trial, during the course of his 4½ hour statement to the court.

•I did not plan sabotage in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by the Whites.

•We felt that without sabotage there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of White supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the Government.

•The Government has always sought to label all its opposition as communists. This allegation has been repeated in the present case. But as I will show, the ANC is not, and never has been, a communist organization.

•We of the ANC had always stood for a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they already were. But the hard facts were that fifty years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights.

•A government which uses force to maintain its rule teaches the oppressed to use force to oppose it.

•Unknown to we Sizwe was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to its members right from the start that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning and carrying out operations.

•The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African nationalism. It is not the concept of African Nationalism expressed in the cry, "Drive the White man into the sea". The African Nationalism for which the ANC stands is the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own land.

•The ANC has never at

any period of its history advocated a revolutionary change in the economic structure of the country; nor has it, to the best of my recollection, ever condemned capitalist society.

•We all accept the need for some form of Socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of the world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists.

•Basically we fight against two features which



Nelson Mandela

are the hallmarks of African life in South Africa and which are entrenched by legislation which we seek to have repealed. These features are poverty and lack of human dignity, and we do not need Communists or so-called "agitators" to teach us about these things.

•The Whites enjoy what may well be the highest standards of living in the world, whilst Africans live in poverty and misery. Forty per cent of the Africans live in hopelessly over-crowded and, in some cases, drought-stricken reserves, where soil erosion and the overworking of the soil, makes it impossible for them to live properly off the land. Thirty per cent are labourers, labour tenants and squatters on white farms and work and live under conditions similar to those of the serfs of the Middle Ages. The other thirty per cent live in towns where they have developed economic and social habits which bring them closer in many respects to White standards. Yet most Africans,

even in this group, are impoverished by low incomes and the high cost of living.

•The complaint of Africans is not only that they are poor and the Whites are rich, but that the laws which are made by the Whites are designed to preserve this situation.

•The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of White supremacy. White supremacy implies Black inferiority.

•Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the Whites in this country, because the majority of the voters will be Africans. This makes the White man fear democracy. But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on colour, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another. The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy.

•During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.....

R2 a Day— In Five Years!

CAPE TOWN: Complimenting the Minister of Transport on his decision to raise the wages of Coloured workers on the Railways by 15c a day, Mr. M.V. Holland (Coloured People's Representative) said that the revised wage scales would mean that Coloured workers would be able to reach a wage of R2 a day in five years instead of in ten years as in the past...

He was Innocent

(Continued from page 2)

the Cape Supreme Court on 3rd February. Judgment was reserved and was finally given on 31st March. Simon Lesiea and four others had their convictions set aside.

"Dealing with Simon Lesiea," reported the Cape Argus on 1st April. "the judge said that the magistrate, in his judgement, said that Lesiea was identified by a State witness, Reginald Mbatini, as appearing on a photograph taken of a group of Bantu on a football field during a Poqo meeting.

"In fact no such witness gave evidence," the judge said. "Nor did any witnesses identify Lesiea as appearing on the photograph. Indeed there was positive evidence that Lesiea was not at the meeting on the football field and was not present when the photograph was taken.

"This misdirection on the part of the magistrate amounts to a material irregularity, and accordingly the conviction cannot stand unless this court concludes that a reasonable court properly instructed would inevitably have convicted this appellant. In view of fact that Lesiea was only identified by one witness as having attended Poqo meetings, I am not satisfied that a reasonable court would inevitably have convicted him."

An innocent man had, by this time, spent nearly a year in prison and his release should have been immediate. In fact, Simon Lesiea was only freed on 20th April, almost three weeks after his appeal succeeded.

He went back to Stellenbosch and then called on his employers who told him that they had been unable to hold his job open for a whole year. A sum of R11.63 was given to him as back pay and, with this in his pocket, he went to the registration office to obtain permission to seek another job. This, he was informed, was not possible because he had broken his period in the Western Cape by spending six months in 1957 at home with his family. In terms of Government Notice 1032 of 1959 Section 67 (6), he did not qualify to remain in the area and would have to be endorsed out. As he had been given back pay by his former employers he would have to pay his own fare home. The Defence & Aid Fund, which has watched over his case, paid the R13.30 fare. An organisation struggling to assist in hundreds of cases, it could not do much to compensate his family left destitute for the year he was in prison. On 2nd May Simon

(Continued on next page)

Poto Addresses Rally

D.P. May Repeal T'kei Constitution

From "Contact" Correspondent

IDUTWA: As part of a series of Democratic Party rallies and meetings, Paramount Chief Victor Poto addressed a gathering of between 300 and 400 people at Willowvale on Saturday 25 April. It was one of the most orderly political meetings held in the area, and the first to be attended by approximately a dozen White residents (including ladies) of the Village and White traders from the district.

Outlining the Democratic Party policy, Paramount Chief Poto emphasised that his Party will always accept the Whites as legitimate inhabitants of the Transkei and that under no circumstances will his Party advocate that they should be driven out, as envisaged in the present Republican Government's plan and under the policy of the Transkei National Independence Party.

The policy of separate development was not new, said Chief Poto. It was initiated by General Hertzog, when he made sure that Africans were kept off the Common Voters' Roll for fear that numerically they might one day, as they progressed politically, overwhelm the Whites and rule the country. "Separate development means that the African will forever be barred from knowledge and skills needed to rule the country; the Democratic Party stands to express the views, ideals and aspirations of all those who subscribe to its policy be they Black or White.

This assertion was immediately followed by a lively speech by Mr. K.M.N. Guzama who stated that the Policy

Lesiea left Cape Town.

His story is the record of just another man caught up in the mess apartheid is making of South Africa. It is one of many in the bulging files of the Defence & Aid Fund. We tell it now because, more than any editorial comment, it explains why men and women continue to fight tyranny in South Africa; why a great effort is made to maintain the Defence & Aid Fund; and why newspapers like Contact are kept vigilantly alive to expose the evils and sometimes to throw a light into the darkness that has descended on our country.

of the Democratic Party was meant to accommodate the aspirations of the people of the whole of Africa. And that it was meant to keep the races in harmony and mutual understanding, for the interests of the Continent as a whole. The Democratic Party did not believe in sectionalism; it believed in a universal educational policy, not in Bantu Education and the like, through which the present-day standard of English has degenerated to such a low level that a so-called J.C. student can hardly write correctly one sentence with a subordinate clause. "English should enjoy the high status of the past, as it is one of the international languages. It is one of the tasks of the Democratic Party to see to this." Special attention should be given to the "three R's" These things will happen when the Democratic Party comes into power." (Cheers.)

In answer to questions from the audience Mr. Guzama said that the Democratic Party would change the Transkei Constitution any time the people desire it to be changed, by way of amendments or even repeal. He also said that if the Transkei is to be really self-governing Proclamation 400 of 1960, will have to go. "It is there to safe-guard those chiefs who do not wish to be questioned or are unwilling to account for their actions to the people, those chiefs that need bodyguards. With the Democratic Party it will be different, the need or the usefulness of a State of Emergency will not be there!" In answer to a further question Chief Poto said that only those areas whose residents want rehabilitation schemes will have them otherwise no area will be rehabilitated against the will of the residents.

The whole meeting expressed full confidence in Paramount Chief Victor Poto's leadership and his Democratic Party, with the exception of three known Chief K.D. Matanzima's supporters, who were boo-ed down. The Chairman Headman Sotshankana, who was deputising for Paramount Chief Zwelidumile Sigcau, who was away from the district on a sudden and important business, announced that 7 head of cattle had been donated and that one was slaughtered for a braai which had been organised in honour of the visitors.

Mr. Guzama

Liberals Support UN Call For National Covention

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT on the UN Committee of Experts' call for a national convention in South Africa has been issued by Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

"The United Nations Committee of experts which has put forward to the Security Council its proposals to help resolve the South African problem has produced a most encouraging and sensible document.

It is quite clear from its proposals that the Committee does not regard white South Africans or the industrial economy of South Africa as expendable. It is looking for ways which will make it possible for us to come together and work out together a future course which will satisfy the aspirations of all South Africans and give them an opportunity to develop together the great economic and human potential of our country.

The Liberal Party gives its unreserved support to the proposal for the declaration of a political amnesty followed by the calling of a new National Convention. To us this seems the essential first step towards building a stable future for our country

on the basis of agreement between all sections of our community. Delegates should not go to the Convention to grind any particular political axe but determined to find a solution to our country's problems which would give reasonable security to all South Africans and hope for the future to those who at present have none. No doubt there would have to be give and take on all sides, but how else will we resolve peacefully the vast problems which confront us?

The United Nations Committee has shown South Africa a way out of her dilemma. I make this urgent appeal to political leaders of all persuasions and of all groups to respond to it, to rally to the call for a new National Convention and to go to that Convention determined to find a solution. The only alternative to the holding of such a Convention that I can see is growing isolation from the world, growing violence and racial tension in South Africa and the implementation of international sanctions at some time in the future. The growing deterioration which will result from these combined pressures will lead to

a new National Convention some day, of that I am convinced, but where it would then take place against a background of bitterness and resentment, a National Convention held now, after the declaration of a political amnesty, would, as the Committee says, take place in an atmosphere in which "fear and bitterness could be set aside" and a "new confidence created."

In the nature of things the first response to this new initiative must come from white South Africans. I hope for the future of us all that they are big enough to respond without unnecessary delay."

Special Branch Intimidation

PIETERMARITZBURG: Special Branch and South African Police intimidation of Liberal Party members reached new heights during the weeks preceding the Natal Provincial Conference of the Party.

A Branch meeting to elect Conference delegates in Durban produced a record turn-out of the Special Branch. The Party worker who attended the meeting was threatened with arrest for trespass - he was not trespassing - and an attempt was made to frighten the owner of the hall in which the meeting was held.

In Northern Natal a leading African member has repeatedly been taken from his work for questioning. The reason for this is obviously to put the idea into his employer's mind that he is a dangerous man to employ. A leading white member was raided three times in the week before the Conference and his home searched, documents taken and threats made. Frequent visits were paid by the Special Branch to areas where the Party has branches and some areas were visited as many as three times during the week before the conference. Great indignation was caused when, in the Bergville area, the funeral of a prominent Party member was interrupted and a member taken away to his home for questioning.

In spite of these attentions the Conference was the best attended for years and certainly one of the most lively ever held.

Bantu Laws Bill

Principles Violated

CAPE TOWN: In a protest signed by 800 citizens, Grahamstown has placed on record its abhorrence of "the inhumanity of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill".

The protest states three basic principles against which the Bill offends.

The first of these is "that no human being should be at the complete mercy of another human being". In an explanatory paragraph, the protest points out that if, in the opinion of a government official, an African is "work-shy", "undesirable" or "superfluous" (in the words of the Bill), he can be removed from a town no matter whether he was born there and regardless of the length of time he has lived there.

He may be sent to an "aid-centre", from where, if he does not accept the job offered to him or runs away, he may be sent to a specified district, where he and his family may have no means of support.

The protest comments:

"Such a district is designated a 'homeland' in spite of the fact that a family sent there may never have been there before, and may reject the claim that it is in any sense their home".

The second principle violated is "that no man should live in constant fear of having his life uprooted and of losing the fruits of his life's work". The protest notes that the Bill provides for the termination of contract of employment if the official considers that in that job an African is "likely to impair the safety of the State" (again in the words of the Bill). He may then be endorsed out or sent to an aid-centre.

The third principle is "that no human being should exist solely to satisfy the needs of another human being". It is explained that under the Bill Africans may only continue to live in White areas as long as they are useful to the Whites, that, in the words of the Leader of the Opposition, being reduced to the status of "chattels" or "labour units".