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### "Daily Mirror" Publishes Robben Island Affidavit

# MORE ALLEGATIONS - STILL NO DENIAL

UNDER THE HEADLINE "Terrible Allegations Concerning Robben Island", the Cape Nationalist Newspaper "Die Burger" carried a report on 16 May of a story which had appeared the day before in the London "Daily Mirror" about allegations of atrocities and brutality on Robben Island.

"Die Burger" quoted extensively and without comment from the "Daily Mirror" story which

#### HELL AND HATE

was written by Basil Davidson. "Die Burger" was the only newspaper in South Africa to report the allegations which are substantially the same as those contained in the UN publication quoted in the last issue of "Contact".

The "Daily Mirror" story was printed under the headline: "I hear of torture on South Africa's Devils Island - Basil Davidson reports on 'hell and hate' jails".

The following is an extract from the report:

I have before me fresh and terrible allegations of brutality to political prisoners in South Africa.

It has long been clear that Prime Minister Verwoerd's prisons, shielded by the law from impartial inquiry, make life a hell on earth for their inmates, especially those arrested for political reasons.

The last few months have judicially proved that South African police brutalise, torture and even kill their prisoners.

But it seems that there is always a more hateful dungeon in South Africa's hell.

Detailed allegations now suggest that the most hateful of all is Robben Island, an old leper colony off the Cape of Good Hope which is today the dreaded "maximum security" prison for jailed opponents of apartheid.

#### GENUINE

The evidence before me is in three affidavits sworn to Cape Town lawyers by "politicals" lately released from this "Devil's Island" of South Africa.

While I have to protect these men from official persecution by withholding their names, I am satisfied that the affidavits are genuine and must be taken seriously.

In painfully convincing detail, they accuse warders on Robben Island - where, according to South African Minister of Justice Balthazar Vorster, there were 912

"politicals" last month - of beating and starving political prisoners, of abusing them by cruel and revolting methods, of permitting or even encouraging homosexual abuse of "politicals" by criminal prisoners also held on the island, and generally of trying by every means to break the spirit of these men.

#### BURIED

In one of the affidavits, for example, an ex-prisoner from Robben Island, who says that he himself was not badly treated, swears that:

"The (political) prisoners who worked in the quarries were ordered to build a hill of sand and forced to wheel barrows up this soft sand, and if they fell while doing this they were beaten.

"One day we saw a warder speaking to a political prisoner. This prisoner later told us that the warder had told him that if he told about the political organisation and the political activity he had at one time taken part in, he would be given a lighter job.

"This man refused to give any information. The criminal prisoners were then called and asked to dig a hole in which the man who had refused to give information was placed.

"He was then buried up to his neck in the sand. The warder then urinated in his face.

"The name of this prisoner is Johnson Mlambo... Other political prisoners told me that this was often done..."

#### "IRREGULAR TREATMENT"

Invention? Exaggeration? Verwoerd's spokesmen will say so. But consider these facts

In January, a South African constable who had killed a prisoner in the Transvaal by hitting him with a stick was fined £75.

In March, four policemen were on trial at Bloemfontein. They received sentences for torturing prisoners of from three to nine years, two of them being found guilty of culpable homicide.

In April, a white detective was fined £25 and two African detectives £5 each for assaulting three prisoners by use of an electric shock machine.

In April, too, faced by growing public uneasiness at these revelations, Minister of Justice Vorster admitted that 354 policemen and warders had been convicted between 1960 and 1963 of "offences involving irregular treatment" of

persons in custody.

These convictions show that the rule of law is not yet dead in South Africa. But they do not absolve the men who run that country. On the contrary.

Neither the allegations contained in this article nor those in the last issue of "Contact" have been officially denied. In fact they have provoked no official response whatsoever.

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary we must therefore assume that all the allegations are substantially correct.

In the face of officialdom's silence we must not allow these terrible things either to be ignored or simply forgotten.



## ONE ON ROBBER ISLAND

DENNIS BRUTUS (above) at present serving an 18 months sentence on Robben Island is internationally known for his brilliant expose of apartheid, as a poet and as an articulate and fearless opponent of racialism. Mr. Brutus, who was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, was convicted of attending a meeting and of leaving the country illegally. He was shot and wounded whilst attempting to escape from custody in Johannesburg last year. He is married and has seven children.

**contact**

*an independent fortnightly working for non-racial democracy through united action against apartheid and all forms of totalitarianism and imperialism.*  
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## 90-DAY SYMPTOM

JEW, CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM have come together on one platform in condemnation of the so-called 90-day detention clause. All honour is due to the leaders of these religious communities who were bold enough to declare publicly that this measure is repugnant to their religious conscience, and who called upon the State President to withhold his assent from its promulgation.

Yet there was something missing from the statements made at the great meeting of petition that was held in Cape Town. Perhaps it was expedient and desirable that attention should be directed at one specific act of our sovereign Parliament. But the 90-day clause is only one of many measures - among them house-arrest, territorial confinement, banishment and so on - that should equally be repugnant to the religious conscience.

Protest against detention without trial, however courageous and however justified, is a spotlight on a single evil that tends to obscure the wider evil from which that single evil is derived. By highlighting a symptom it tends to distract attention from the disease.

It is not sufficient - in fact, it is misleading - to declare that no-one should be deprived of his liberty without being found guilty by the courts of having contavened the law. The law derives its sanctity only from the consent of the governed and the observance of natural principles of justice, neither of which is consistent with the implementation of apartheid. The religious conscience must be stirred to an appreciation of this basic proposition.

## "CONTACT" AND COMMUNISM

A NEW ATTEMPT to muzzle the liberal press in South Africa is imminent according to a report in the latest issue of the "Swiss Press Review and News Report" published weekly in Berne, Switzerland.

The report goes on to point out that anti-apartheid journals like CONTACT and THE NEW AFRICAN have been living under fire for years. "Those who produce them have shown an incredible devotion to their cause in resisting and continuing to publish in the face of all manner of overt and covert pressures on readers and advertisers alike to stop their support" says the Review.

The report states that "liberals in South Africa are uncompromisingly anti-apartheid; they are also anti-Communist. This can be stated without a doubt. In particular CONTACT has printed over the years a large number of articles which have

## THE LONG VIEW



- by Alan Paton

# HIS CRIME is LOYALTY

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE has imposed a new ban - the fourth - on Chief Luthuli. This ban imposes a new restriction, in that it forbids the Chief to go to the small neighbouring town of Stanger. So he is now virtually under house arrest.

Therefore, for some thirteen years of his life - if there is no change in our situation - Luthuli will have been condemned to a seclusion which has grown more restrictive as he has grown older. It is a stupendous punishment which has no parallel in those Western countries which find in us, according to Dr. Verwoerd, their staunchest ally.

What is Luthuli being punished for? In one sense, this is impossible to say. He has never been found guilty of high treason. He was charged with high treason, but the State eventually dropped the charge against him.

Yet in another sense it is easy to say why Luthuli has been punished. He has been punished because he refuses to accept the ideology of apartheid, separate development and Bantustans. He claims that all South Africa is his country, as much as it is Dr. Verwoerd's. The idea that he and his people can be relegated to separate pieces of land distributed throughout South Africa, he regards as absurd, quite apart from its injustice. The idea that separate development can bring liberty and self-fulfilment to African people, he regards as preposterous. He believes - as many of us believe - that these separate territories will remain for ever poor.

Luthuli not only held these views, he went out and associated

thrown more light on Communist subversion tactics in Africa than any South African government publications have. The Review points out that fresh evidence of the "sordid truth behind the 'ideals' of apartheid" is always needed and that it is newspapers such as CONTACT which continually provide this evidence.

Readers of CONTACT will know that while the paper remains opposed to all forms of totalitarianism, which include communism and fascism, it does not believe that communism now in this country is anything like the enemy that apartheid is.

CONTACT consequently is not at present interested in "throwing light" on so-called "communist subversion tactics" and on the contrary is prepared to work with all shades of ideological opinion against the genuinely subversive tactics of the apartheid government of this country.

CONTACT therefore, in the South African context, is non-communist rather than anti-communist and sees no reason why it should aid the South African government in its fight against a body of opinion many of whose aims are precisely the same as

himself with those who held them; in particular, he associated with them in the African National Congress. His Congress made repeated representations and requests to the government of the day. It made demands too, as all self-respecting political organisations do. But it was like knocking on a closed door. Luthuli went over to passive resistance. He was banned. He was tried for treason. He was banned again, and yet again.

From a political point of view - and from other points of view - Luthuli has led a brave and honourable and tolerant life. His political struggle has many parallels with the struggle of Hertzog, Malan and Strijdom. Yet it was harder, for Luthuli's people had no franchise, nor the hope that an enfranchised majority would eventually put their leader into power. Afrikaner Nationalists sneer at him, but he compares in stature with any of their own heroes. His crime is not treachery, but loyalty. And his loyalty, while having much in common with that of the Nationalists, is more inclusive, less intolerant.

History will say - and unequivocally - that Luthuli's aims were just and reasonable. History will say - unequivocally - that some of Luthuli's people turned to sabotage because there was nothing else to do. History will say - unequivocally - that Afrikaner Nationalism's treatment of African patriots was cruel, unjust and foolish. And history will not hesitate to place much of the blame on the shoulders of the Prime Minister and his Minister of Justice, who think they can hold back destiny with the aid of lightweights like Matanzima.

this newspaper's.

Least there by any misunderstanding about this, let us make it perfectly clear that both communism and this newspaper are opposed to apartheid and committed to secure its downfall. Both communism and this newspaper believe in universal franchise and majority rule. Once this has been achieved our ways will probably part, but until it has been achieved CONTACT will work with anybody with the same immediate aims. If the end of apartheid and the bringing about of majority rule and universal franchise are among the aims of communism, CONTACT is committed to furthering those aims - and is proud of it.

But if CONTACT is to continue in the task it has set itself, it needs money. Money must come from you who read this. CONTACT has faced a succession of financial crises over the last two years and has managed to survive only through the generosity of its readers who believe that not only has CONTACT consistently said what needs to be said, but that it is now the only newspaper left in South Africa which is able and willing to go on saying it. CONTACT needs money. Now.

## Transkei "Parliament" — the First Four Weeks

## NO SHOCKS YET

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The first four weeks of the Umkonto "parliament" — the Transkeian Legislative Assembly — has brought surprises but no earth-shaking shocks.

The impression of well-informed observers is that the hard-hitting stuff is still to come, though Chiefs Kaizer and George Matanzima, Chief Minister and Minister of Justice respectively, have already made sharply vindictive attacks on individuals in the opposition.

Some distinctive features have been these:

- Government and opposition numbers have firmed at 61-44, the latest to cross the floor being Chief Diko of Tabankulu (Qaukeni region) who has rejoined the opposition ranks. The erosion from the Democratic Party ranks seems to have stopped, though Chief Kaizer Matanzima has made the "transfer" to his side of the house seem attractive to waverers by giving committee and TNIP executive posts to Messrs Canca, Sinaba, and Mabandla, all deserters from Chief Poto's ranks.

## TRUMP-CARD

- Opposition members have outshone Government members — outstanding speeches having been made in the No Confidence debate, for instance, by Messrs Guzana, Nogcantsi and Diko (not to be confused with the Chief mentioned above, and also representing Qaukeni). Mr Guzana has proved the DP trump-card thus far. Paramount Chief Victor Poto has impressed observers, even from the right-wing press, with his command of the situation. With few exceptions, the elected members have

eclipsed the ex-officio members (chiefs).

- The proceedings, though not free of the shadow of Proclamation 400 of 1960, have an air of reality never apparent in the formal servility of the old Territorial Authority and its predecessor. Though the DP members do not overrate this "dummy" parliament, and in no way accept it as a substitute for equal rights in the Republic as a whole, they have an air of dedication and do not lack the necessary stiffening provided by the presence of freedom fighters who have attacked the Government from much weaker positions before, and have suffered for it. If the TLA is a "dummy", it is one which may be put to good use by its DP members.

## GOOD BOY

- Chief Kaizer Matanzima has not produced the rabbit out of the hat as was predicted. No demands for the nine districts adjoining the Transkei, no lifting of Proclamation 400, no drastic changes in Bantu Education, no economic hand-outs or "bread and circuses" to the masses — only the "sober" budget (made possible by a measly R13 millions out of the Republic's budget of R1,000 million plus.)

- There is a noticeable air of the "good boy" about Chief Kaizer Matanzima, in spite of dire threats by the United Party and others that he would turn on the Government when in office. The demand for land, the scrapping of Bantu Education, and more recently, the "Bantu Battalion" idea were all expected to be promoted by him, instead of which

he has been conciliatory to the Republic and surprisingly thankful for the small subsidy granted the Transkei.

- The "independence" issue remains as vague as when BAD Minister Nel spoke of "creative self-withdrawal" with no time schedule, at the formal opening of the TLA in December 1963. Chief Matanzima is not clamouring for it and the DP — in somewhat of a dilemma since they also oppose the excision of the Transkei from the Republic in the first place — are not in a position to challenge him to force the issue with the Republic.

## U.S. AND S.A.

## PARTNERS IN APARTHEID

PARTNERS IN APARTHEID is the title of a booklet issued recently by the American Committee on Africa which seeks to demonstrate to what extent "the United States is responsible for making apartheid so prosperous"

"In recent United Nations debates," say the authors, "the United States has condemned South Africa for its racist policies but has opposed economic pressure to force a change".

The booklet makes the following points:

- It is now generally accepted that unless economic pressure forces South Africa to negotiate a peaceful solution of its racial problems, there will be an armed conflict between white and black which could spread to other parts of Africa and lead to East-West involvement;

- It is impossible to operate a business in South Africa without violating U.S. ideals;

- The high profits earned on US investments in South Africa depend upon the low wages imposed by apartheid;

- The United States presently boycotts and embargoes countries in which over a third of the world's population lives. Yet it has been unwilling to go beyond a ban on arms and ammunition to implement UN resolutions against apartheid;

- One reason given by the US for refusing to put economic pressure on South Africa is that it would hurt the very Africans it was designed to help by making them even poorer. But spokesmen for the black African majority say that outside economic pressure is the only remaining weapon short of bloodshed, and are themselves the strongest advocates of a boycott of their country.

American companies doing business in South Africa are averaging profits of about 27 per cent on invested capital. This means that they can get their money back in four or five years and the high dividends indicate that investors do not expect their investments to survive very long. As Anthony Sampson writing in the London OBSERVER put it recently: "The investor is being asked to take an interest in the edge of a volcano.. The swimming pool parties, the charity balls and the fetes become granger and longer, while the army and the police are digging themselves in for the military show-down."



Potlako Leballo

PAC STATEMENT:  
NO SPLIT

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: A ten-page pamphlet issued by the Presidential Council of the PAC in Basutoland on 11 May has been widely circulated in South Africa.

The statement which is signed by Messrs. J.N. Pokela and Z.B. Molete gives an account of the recent attempt in Maseru on the life of Mr P.K. Leballo, controversial acting-President of the PAC.

The statement alleges that

the bomb attack on Mr Leballo was "a joint action of imperialists and Basutoland Communists". It also denies that there is any split in the ranks of the PAC and claims that "The PAC throughout the length and breadth of South Africa ... stands solidly behind the leadership of Potlako Leballo and his lieutenants".

## FORCES OF EVIL

The following is an extract from the account of the incident contained in the statement:

The forces of evil, "those things that creep by night" planted a powerful and devastating bomb underneath the PAC van in the sanguine hope that P.K. would be the first person to get into the vehicle the following morning. Two party men, however, who arrived at P.K.'s home after midnight to keep a guard on their leader entered the van in the small hours of the morning to escape from the winter cold for a while. Little did the brave and dedicated defenders of freedom know that they were entering a death trap. Little did they know that they were destined to bear the full brunt of the fiery and murderous assault intended for their leader. The blast of the bomb rocked the entire town of Maseru and pulled out the whole population from slumber. The Party jeep was blown into smithereens, throwing clean off the two unfortunate guards who had just entered it. Soon thereafter the entire structure was consumed by fire. The two stalwarts are now battling for their lives in the Maseru hospital.

## Rivonia Verdict Soon

# NINE ON TRIAL

CAPE TOWN: The "Rivonia Trial" is now reaching its end at the Pretoria Palace of Justice. For the benefit of readers CONTACT gives here brief biographies of the accused.

● **Accused No. 1. Nelson Mandela.** Son of a prominent Transkei chief, he is a cousin to Paramount Chief



Sabata Dalindyebo and Chief Kaiser Matanzima, First Minister of the Transkeian Bantustan 'Government'.

When still a young man he had decided to follow in the footsteps of the great African chiefs and leaders. He entered student politics at Fort Hare University College where he received his B.A. degree. According to traditional African custom a marriage was arranged for him by his family but Mandela fled to Johannesburg in 1941. In Johannesburg he met Walter Sisulu (one of his co-accused) and Dr Yusuf Dadoo the overseas representative of the Indian Congress. He became active in the African National Congress where he was noted as a future leader. One of the original 'Africanists' with Lembede, the late African youth leader, Mandela who was then articled to a Johannesburg attorney changed his views and accepted multi-racialism after the 1949 conference of the A.N.C. He and Oliver Tambo (the overseas representative of the A.N.C.) started the Youth League and also went into partnership in a legal firm.

In 1952 Mandela became Transvaal President of the A.N.C. under the Presidency of ex-Chief Albert Lutuli. In this year he became too chief volunteer of the passive Defiance Campaign against unjust laws and was arrested with eight thousand other defiers. Shortly afterwards he was the victim of the first of a series of banning orders, arrests and jail sentences.

In 1956 he was arrested and charged in the "Treason Trial".

In 1961 Mandela was appointed secretary of the All-in African Conference held at Pietermaritzburg which became known as the 'African Convention' Movement. He called a national strike of people of all races in protest against the declaration of the White Republic and was forced to go underground. During this period he became known internationally as the 'Black Pimpernel' of South African politics and visited countries in Africa and Europe where he met all the leaders in an effort to put to them personally the plight of the Non-White people in South Africa. After living underground for eighteen months he was arrested in 1962 in Natal. He was gaoled for three years for inciting people to strike and two years for leaving the country without a passport. He was serv-

ing this sentence when the police made their raid on 'Rivonia' and he was charged with being a member of the High Command of the 'Umkonto we Sizwe' (Spear of the Nation) sabotage organisation. Twice married, Mandela has five children. His second wife Winnie is the daughter of the Transkei 'Governments' Minister of Agriculture, Mr Columbus Madikizela. She is also banned and confined to the magisterial district of Johannesburg.

● **Govan Mbeki.** A Fort Hare graduate, with a B.Sc. in Economics, Govan Mbeki is recognised as one of the ablest of African leaders in Southern Africa.

After graduating he became a teacher but gave this up when the Nationalist Government implemented



the Bantu Education Act in 1952. He took to journalism and became the Eastern Province editor of "New Age" and later "Spark". Mbeki is recognised as one of the leading authorities on the Transkei African Reserve and wrote a brilliant essay about it called "The Transkei in the making".

Once a member of the Transkei Bunga, Mbeki became the leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape where he became famous for his organisational capabilities. It is generally admitted that his area was the most disciplined and organised in the country.

Son of a wealthy Xhosa family, Mbeki is married and has four children.

He too was a treason trialist and was one of those detained for the duration of the 1960 State of Emergency.

● **Walter Sisulu.** When Walter Sisulu was married in 1944, Anton Lembede, the late African Youth



League leader told Sisulu's bride "You are marrying a man who is already married to the Nation".

And this has been Sisulu's life ever since he first entered ANC politics in 1940. Known throughout the country as 'a man of the people', Walter Sisulu was born in the Engcobo District of the Transkei. He went to the Reef where he worked for a time in the Gold mines. Later he became active in social and cultural work in Johannesburg until he was introduced to politics by a

co-worker at a bakery. Here Sisulu was introduced too to Trade Unionism and he helped to organise a strike at the bakery. It failed. But Sisulu never gave up in his fight to improve the conditions of the non-whites.

Nine years after he joined the ANC he became its General Secretary and served in that capacity under the presidency of Dr Moroka and then Chief Lutuli.

Sisulu is also known as the most arrested politician in South Africa. In 1962 when he was facing charges under the Suppression of Communism Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act and numerous other laws he jumped bail of R6,000 and went underground. He was arrested at Rivonia. In 1956 he was among those arrested in the 'Treason' swoop and in 1960 he was detained during the five-month State of Emergency.

● **Ahmad Kathrada.** Was a founder member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress and worked as a full-time organiser at the age of 18, for the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council.

In 1946 he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for his part in the passive resistance campaign. In 1952 he was one of



the chief Indian organisers of the Defiance Campaign and was sentenced with other political leaders to nine months' imprisonment suspended for three years.

Has been a member/official of the Indian Congress, the S.A. Peace Council, and numerous other political organisations. In 1955 he was one of those people who established the Central Indian High School in Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

Listed as a Communist, Kathrada was placed under 24 hours house arrest in 1962. He disappeared and was arrested at Rivonia.

He too was a treason trialist and was detained during the 1960 State of Emergency.

● **Lionel Bernstein** former secretary of the Labour Party's Youth League. Joined the Communist Party in 1939 at the age of 19. One of the younger leaders of the South African anti-Fascist



Pictures: DRUM

League, Bernstein, an architect, became chief of the Communist

## THE REAL LESSON OF PAARL

# NO PERMIT TO LIVE

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: They are all South Africans, born and bred, who have never left their country, yet the only place they can legally occupy without being gaoled for being there is a grave.

This is one of the horrible, shocking and inhuman truths in the lives of hundreds of Black-skinned South Africans who are 'endorsed out' under South Africa's apartheid laws.

Take Mr. Tutusi Kooplyn, a 41-year old father of seven children, who lives illegally in the town of Paarl in the Western Cape.

### DIABETES

Born in a little Transkei town, Mr. Kooplyn went to live in Paarl in 1939. In 1943 he returned to his hometown to be married and then took his wife to live with him in Paarl. In 1954 tragedy struck the family when Mr. Kooplyn was bedridden with diabetes. He lost his job and could find no other work because of his illness. No longer able to be used for his

Party's Johannesburg propaganda department. Later he was married and became secretary of the Communist Party's district Committee. In 1942 he joined the army and became a gunner with the 6th Field Regiment of the South African Artillery in Italy.

In 1948 Bernstein became editor of the Springbok Legion's journal 'Fighting Talk' which he continued to produce as an independent political journal after the Legion was dissolved in 1953. A founder member of the Congress of Democrats and a member of its National Executive, he became Propaganda Chief of the Congress Alliance and was a treason trialist and a 1960 State of Emergency detainee. He is married and has one child.

© Dennis Goldberg. A B.Sc. (Civil Engineering) graduate at the age of 20 he was married at



21 and has two children.

Became involved in politics after taking part in the activities of a society which studied the effects of the colour bar on youth. Joined the Congress of Democrats and became a member of its Cape Executive. A former technical assistant in the South African Railways he lost his job because of his political work during the Congress of the People campaign that led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

While working as resident engineer on a R400,000 highway contract he was arrested during the 1960 State of Emergency and detained for five months. After the 90 day detention clause came into effect he disappeared and was arrested at 'Rivonia'.

The three other accused are  
ANDREW MHLANGENI  
ELIAS MOTSOALEDI  
RAYMOND MHLABA

labour, he and his family were endorsed out of the Paarl area by the Superintendent of Paarl's Bantu Affairs Department in compliance with the Nationalist Government's scheme for the removal of Africans from the Western Cape.

### QUALIFY

Under this scheme, all Africans residing in the Western Cape are eventually to be moved to the Transkei Bantustan.

When Mr. Kooplyn and his family arrived at the town where he and his wife were born, they were told by the authorities that they could not live there because they had been gone from the area for more than three years. Mr. Kooplyn's mother-in-law, however, owned a morgen of land which she shared with nine other people and volunteered to look after Mrs. Kooplyn and three of their children for a while. Mr. Kooplyn and his four other children, all under the age of fifteen, then began wandering about the country looking for a place to live. But to no avail. Everywhere they went they were told "Sorry you cannot live here, you do not qualify."

Mr. Kooplyn's illness got worse and he went slowly blind. Sick and desperate he decided to sell the last of the family's meagre possessions - his wife's sewing machine - and with the money took himself and his four children back to Paarl. There he was admitted to hospital, where an urgent operation saved his life. Meanwhile friends, themselves illegal residents of the area, looked after the children. When Mr. Kooplyn was discharged from hospital, his wife and their three other children joined him. He built a shanty in Langabuya location and has been living there illegally ever since.

### STATELESS PERSONS

The search for a place to live is for hundreds of Africans a futile search. They have become stateless persons because of the country's obnoxious "Bantu" laws. They are "criminals" who have committed no crime, and they live on the run because they can be gaoled at any time for being "illegal" residents of South Africa.

And the situation is becoming alarmingly worse. The Nationalist Government is presently pushing a Bill through Parliament called the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, 1964, which, when it becomes law (and this is certain) will entrench this state of affairs as a way of life.

This law will entrench the migratory labour system and rigidly and mercilessly control the movements of ALL Africans from birth to death and even beyond.

Under this Act, children will even have to get permission to join their parents. And those who have been away at school for more than a year will not be given permission to live or work near their homes permanently - only to visit for short periods.

All those Africans who were born outside the Reserves (7,000,000 of a total of 11,000,000 Africans in the Republic) will have no rights whatsoever in the land of their birth.

Under the new law too,

police will have the right to arrest any African boy or girl over the age of 15 for not being at school, or not being employed, and have them sent as labour to another part of the country, without any obligation on the part of the authorities to inform the parents of the child of his/her arrest and removal.

This then is the state of South Africa, where not a single Black South African will have any rights to be anywhere in the country of his birth. Except that is, a grave. And even then there is a law to ensure that that grave is in an area set aside for Black people ...

### SWANU Statement

## FREEDOM NOW!

"SOUTH WEST AFRICA must be free from the Republic of South Africa Government and all new and old colonialists get out of Africa," according to a statement issued recently by the Francistown office of the South West African National Union.

"Everything reactionary is the same, if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor. As a rule where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.

"We want to explain to our brothers and sisters of Asia and Africa that our comrades and friends drew this conclusion from experience gained 15 years ago during the Asia revolution. Reach the mind in simple terms, and the truth will be clear that imperialism and all reactionaries will never leave the stage of history of their own accord.

"Following those of Asia, the people of various African countries who have had enough of imperialist colonial oppression have awakened and have united. They are waging an heroic indomitable struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The storms of national revolution in Africa are shaking the last stronghold of the imperialist colonialist system. In 1960, from west to east over the vast expanse of black Africa the flags of new born republics have been hoisted one after another.

"In less than one year alone, thanks to their people's struggle, 28 countries have shaken off their colonial chains and declared independence.

"What about South West Africa? We Herero people who are here in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, we are here for persisting in our national liberation movement against South Africa Government and colonialism. Here in the Bechuanaland Protectorate we know that the United Nations has discussed the question of South West Africa for 15 years without positive results.

"The South West Africa National Union demands the freedom of South West Africa so that what our forefathers lost on the battlefield in terms of freedom and property can be recovered. This can only be done through a militant struggle to assert our political rights.

"Long live the great unity of the working class and people of the world!

"Long live world peace!"

## South West Merry-Go-Round

# UNITY IS ESSENTIAL

THE RIFT BETWEEN the four non-White political organizations in South West Africa is apparently widening.

The organizations are all opposed to apartheid and all demand the complete withdrawal from the territory of the South African administration.

However, the only political activity undertaken by the four organizations is the periodic issuing of statements to the Press. These without exception either attack one or more of the other organizations or else defend the organization issuing the statement against attacks already made on it by the others.

### FEDERATION

This activity is revolutionary therefore only in the sense that it is going round in circles.

Just for the record, the latest contribution to the argument is signed by the Rev. B.G. Karuera and comes from the Chief's Council of the Hereros, one of the four main contenders. It is a reply to an attack on the Council made recently by Mr. John Muundjua and Mr. Levi Nganjone which was published in the WINDHOEK ADVERTISER on 3 April.

Messrs. Muundjua and Nganjone are both executive members of the SWA National Liberation Front which was formed in October last year and is the second of the four contenders. The other two are the only non-White political parties of any significance in the Territory - the SWA National Union and the SWA People's Organization.

### NATIONAL CONVENTION

The Liberation Front was originally supposed to be a federation of the leaders of the two parties - Mr. Muundjua representing SWANU and Mr. Nganjone representing SWAPO. But following the rejection of the Front by Mr. Sam Nujoma, SWAPO President exiled in Dar es Salaam, the organization which has no popular following seems to have branched out on its own.

In their statement to the WINDHOEK ADVERTISER Messrs. Muundjua and Nganjone alleged that the National Convention which had been called by the Chief's Council and was due to have taken place on 7 May would result in an organization which would merely be an organ of the Herero Council.

### IDEOLOGICAL

According to Mr. Clement Kapuuo, Chief-designate of the Hereros, the object of the Convention was to have been the dissolution of all existing political parties and the formation of one, united party.

But Messrs. Muundjua and Nganjone point out in their statement that only Hereros are represented on the Chief's Council and that therefore the National Convention which it was seeking to call was simply designed to "preserve Herero supremacy". They also alleged that Kapuuo was a "dictator and a tribalist and badly in need of political education".

The Council in its reply claims that Messrs. Muundjua and Nganjone have "committed a political blunder unequalled in the history of world politics". The statement goes on to reiterate

the Council's faith in a National Convention to which ALL groups would be invited and out of which would emerge some sort of political unity. "Our struggle," says the statement, with some point "is to destroy apartheid and colonialism and not each other."

Unfortunately the proposed National Convention never materialised - though that was due to the efforts of the South African administration rather than to any incompetence on the part of the Chief's Council. The Magistrate at Rheoboth refused to allow the convention to be held there. He gave no reasons for his refusal. The Council then applied for permission to hold the Convention at Okakarara in the Waterberg Reserve and were



Mr. Clement Kapuuo and Rev. B. G. Karuera

told that the Convention could be held, but only Hereros would be admitted to the Reserve.

The Council, for obvious reasons, rejected the offer and on 12 May petitioned the United Nations to intervene. The petition, which was signed by Hosea Kutako (95-year old chief of the Hereros), Samuel Witbooi (Chief of the Namas) and Allan Louw (leader of the Rheoboth Basters) pointed out that the Convention was "absolutely necessary" and that permission to hold it had been refused by the South African Government.

At the time of writing it is not known whether the plea elicited any response from the UN.

### LEAST TRIBAL

Before permission to hold the Convention had been refused, SWAPO and SWANU and the Liberation Front had all indicated that they would not support it.

Quite apart from any ideological differences which may exist between it and the Chief's Council, the Liberation Front is committed to the federal principle and is therefore opposed to the dissolution of parties proposed by the Council. The Front has neither popular support from the followers of the two parties it has sought to bring together, nor has it the backing of SWAPO. Ideologically, it stands on much the same ground as SWANU which has long been to the left of the more conservative SWAPO. The Front might in fact be regarded as the educated (by SWA standards) and articulate head of SWANU, an exclusively Herero/Banderu organization.

### REVOLUTIONARY

SWAPO, originally the Ovambo-land People's Organization, is the largest and oldest of the political parties and though its membership is predominantly Ovambo it is the least tribal in attitude and comes closest to being a national party. It is understandably opposed to the Convention on the grounds that it is pointless to dissolve an organization which has slowly and painfully been built up over

the years. They claim that the framework for a united political organization already exists in SWAPO - a proposition which is clearly opposed by the ideologically differing SWANU and SWANLIF.

Thus the only effect so far of the proposed Convention has been a break in the previously good relations between the Chief's Council and SWAPO. Previously all statements and petitions to the UN had gone out over the joint signatures of Kutako, Witbooi and SWAPO.

Meanwhile the position has been further complicated by a statement which appeared in the WINDHOEK ADVERTISER of 6 May signed by seven men claiming to be supporters of Chief Manjuku II.

### GOVERNMENT STOOGES

The Chief was brought back from voluntary exile in Bechuanaland in 1961 to lead the Banderu tribe, an estranged branch of the Hereros. The Chief's Council has refused to acknowledge Manjuku's chieftaincy on the grounds that the Hereros have always had only one chief - at present Hosea Kutako. They also alleged that Manjuku was a "government stooge" but this has been totally disproved by Manjuku's opposition to the recommendations of the Odendaal Report which was every bit as outspoken as that of the Hereros.

The split between the Hereros and the Banderus has thus been perpetuated and the authors of the statement which was published in the WINDHOEK ADVERTISER accuse Chief-designate Kapuuo of "political lunacy" in seeking to call a National Convention. They allege that groups opposed to the ideals of the Convention were not invited to attend (untrue by all accounts) and that Kapuuo, who is a "dictator" and a "tribalist" should go to a "political training college". However, the statement bears a certain similarity to that issued by the Liberation Front and may well reflect the attitudes of SWANU rather than those of Manjuku.

### FLED THE COUNTRY

Clearly the situation is as depressing as it is complex. Matters are further complicated by the fact that the majority of South West Africa's non-White leaders have fled the country and established offices all over independent Africa where not only are the internal splits reflected but often there is little agreement, or even contact, between members of the same organization inside and outside the country.

Everybody concerned is agreed that a united political front is highly desirable - if only to present a solid body of opinion to the UN. The question of "how" in a territory as vast, as sparsely populated and politically unsophisticated as South West Africa, is an extremely difficult one to answer.

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# CAN MASSIVE INVESTMENT BREAK APARTHEID?

THERE IS a considerable body of opinion in business and financial circles overseas which maintains that massive investment in this country is the surest way to break apartheid.

Increased investment, so the argument runs, means more work, higher wages and greater prosperity for all. This, in turn, will lead to the rise of a stable, extensive and prosperous middle class which will use its influence and new-found wealth to wring political concessions from the ruling class.

## NO GUARANTEE

Obviously the project is a long term one and there is no guarantee that a rising middle class will succeed in securing significant political rights by peaceful non-violent means. And it is with this of course that overseas investors are primarily concerned.

Britain alone has more than R2,000 million invested in South Africa and stands to lose the lot in the event of a violent overthrow of the existing order.

To protect her investments Britain must be anxious to see the initiation of a plan which could conceivably lead to the peaceful end of apartheid. She would then use such a plan as a foil to deflect the pressure to which she is being increasingly subjected by both the United Nations and the Commonwealth to impose drastic economic sanctions against this country.

## FRENCH REVOLUTION

But the difficulty is, will a prolonged boom necessarily lead to the crumbling and gradual collapse of the apartheid structure?

The French Revolution provides us with an interesting object lesson. France prior to 1789 could roughly be divided into three classes - the aristocracy, a newly rich middle class and the peasantry. The Revolution which followed was a middle class one and came about as the result of the dissatisfaction of the middle classes with the great difference which existed between their wealth and their political power. They did not have the political rights which they felt ought to have accompanied their new and powerful economic position. The aristocracy refused to grant these rights which had therefore to be taken by force.

## PROLONGED BOOM

The parallel is obvious. As a community, the Coloured people in this country stand to benefit more immediately than the Africans from a prolonged boom. Thus the old French aristocracy here are the Whites, the rising middle class will be the Coloured people and the peasantry, the Africans.

It may well be another 15 or 20 years before the Coloured people become dissatisfied with their new-found wealth and begin to demand the political rights

which they will feel should accompany it. What will happen then is anybody's guess - but we do know what happened in 1789.

Of course there are those who will say that apartheid and the Nationalists cannot last that long. There are groups all over the country which since the beginning of this year have been accused of seeking to overthrow the state by means of violent revolution. If indeed this was their intention, clearly they have failed.

Therefore the only other way is through a "change of heart" on the part of the White electorate. This, in the opinion of many, means getting the Nationalists out and the United Party in and then the United Party out and the Progressives in. What happens then is anybody's guess.

But whether we are to rely on the investment method or on the White electorate, change is going to be a long time coming. In all probability the two methods will go hand in hand and it would seem that the Nationalist government with its policy of separate development is creating exactly the conditions which will most favour gradual change.

## AGITATORS

There seems little doubt that many Coloured people will accept the Government's policy of "good neighbourliness" - enough of them at any rate to enable the Government to discount all those who oppose it as mere "agitators".

The tendency will be to accept the more dubious political offerings out of sheer gratitude to the State for its generosity and bounty in the practical sphere.

The position of the Africans is even more clear-cut. Because of the territorial separation to which they are being subjected, their political autonomy is less obviously an illusion. It may again be 15 or 20 years before it strikes the majority that in fact they have been sold a political pup.

## DUMMY RIGHTS

All this means that because the Government has waved a strong arm with considerable success and because it seems well on the way to seducing a significant number of the non-White people with dummy political rights, another long period of virtual stability (which is a necessary condition for continued and increasing investment) is assured.

This and the passage of time must lead to a change in the country's political complexion which may result in the gradual and peaceful ceding of real political rights to the non-White people and the consequent end of apartheid.

To describe this attitude as "reactionary" is singularly unhelpful. Is there any alternative to it other than a vague faith in "outside intervention" or the desperate assertion that "things here are bound to blow up sooner or later" ?

## CHIEF LUTHULI BANNED AGAIN



THE RE-BANNING of ex-Chief Albert Lutuli has been described as an "act of madness" in a statement issued recently by Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party.

"Mr. Vorster's reimposition of a banning order on Chief Lutuli for a further five years is not surprising," says Mr. Brown, "in view of our experience of the way the Minister uses his powers. That does not make his action less blind or senseless.

"We do not know what the next five years will hold for South Africa but we certainly cannot afford to spend them without the benefit of Chief Lutuli's presence in our public life. To silence once again Africa's greatest exponent of race co-operation is madness. But Chief Lutuli's new ban is not only an act of madness, it is one of extraordinary meanness. It will prevent him even from visiting the small town of Stanger and will confine him to the limits of Groutville reserve. In the past the Chief has kept some contact with the outside world through his visits to Stanger. He is now to be denied even this small outlet. Only those whom the Bantu Administration Department chooses to allow to see him will now be able to do so.

"Having made it impossible for the Chief to publicise his views in South Africa, it is clearly now Mr. Vorster's intention to make it almost impossible for them to reach the outside world. Unfortunately for Mr. Vorster, the world - and most South Africans - know his Government's views and they know Chief Lutuli's and they have long since decided that they prefer the Chief's."

## APDUSA Attacks Liberals

CAPE TOWN: The "unity of the oppressed people" is being cemented, according to a pamphlet issued this week by the African People's Democratic Union of S.A. (APDUSA). The pamphlet was pushed under the doors of homes in non-White areas.

The pamphlet says that "Freedom shall come to the oppressed under the banner of the Non-European Unity Movement and APDUSA".

Entitled "The Real Opposition to Herrenvolkism" the pamphlet warns against the belief that the Poto-Sabata opposition in the Transkei "baboon parliament" is a "real opposition". "The only opposition is the oppressed people and their organizations OUTSIDE the machinery of the Verwoerd chiefs and the Liberal-U.P.-Progressive parties".

Other points are:

- The non-White oppressed people have "arrived" politically;
- The people have since 1945 been taught to reject inferior councils and dummy parliaments, talking shops and toy-telephones;
- The lockkeys, the tools of the government have no right to speak for the oppressed people;
- The people are unified as never before in the rejection of inferiority.

## REVIEW

## BLACKSPOTS

"Blackspots A Study of Apartheid in Action". Published by the Liberal Party of South Africa. Price 10c.

THIS SMALL BOOK gives an easy-to-read account of a survey conducted by the Natal Division of the Liberal Party from 1958 onwards in three so-called Blackspots.

Places like Charlestown, Kumalosville and Besterspruit have hardly been heard of by the average South Africa. Yet these are only three out of some 350 localities where people tried to live reasonably normal lives as peasants, traders and businessmen - where they held land in freehold under titledeeds and created communities with their own churches, schools and such amenities as their comparative poverty could afford.

These people, and there are a quarter of a million involved, are guilty of the offence of being black.

According to South Africa's "traditional way of life", black people who aspire to live independent lives must be made subject to location regulations and all the other bureaucratic regimentation of the various "Bantu" laws which have been devised by successive governments before and since Union.

So the dwellers in these Blackspots must be bulldozed out of their homes and moved into rural or urban locations.

Under the pretext of "slum clearance" they are forced into slums.

"It is a fact that Blackspot removals are tearing families apart converting independent householders into migrant workers, destroying established businesses and shattering community life built up over two generations."

## 15th LIBERAL BANNED

CAPE TOWN: Mr. Eddie Daniels, a member of the executive of the Cape Division of the Liberal Party, has been banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act by the Minister of Justice, Mr Vorster.

In terms of the order which was served on him on 16 May, Mr. Daniels is confined to the magisterial district of Wynberg.



Mr. Eddie Daniels

Mr. Daniels is the fifteenth member of the Liberal Party to have been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act during the last two years. The others are Messrs. Evans, Ngubane, Bhengu, Harris, Beard, Vigne, Hjul, Duncan, Nkatlo, Majija, Mgadi, Naidoo and Kloppenberg and Mrs. Adelain Haine.

In a statement issued recently, Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, said that Mr. Daniels had been banned "because he was a non-racialist".

The statement continues: "Racial tolerance is a foreign and subversive ideology to Mr. Vorster. That is why he bans and silences its exponents. In the process he does the future of South Africans of all races a grave disservice. If South Africa one day subsides into racial strife Mr. Vorster and his banning powers will bear a large share of the responsibility."

This little book proves these facts conclusively in the cases of the three places mentioned. It also relates the personal experience of a number of individuals who lost their titledeeds, homes and livelihood - all in the name of the government's declared policy of "good neighbourliness".

The book is good ammunition in the hands of those who want to expose and fight apartheid and it should be read by all thinking South Africans.

But perhaps the saddest part of the report is its final appeal to the "White conscience of South Africa" to prevent the removal of some 199 remaining Blackspots in Natal "and so win back for itself some of the lost integrity which African freeholders thought to be the guarantee of their security..."

Surely "White conscience" has given its answer in the latest enactments of its White Parliament.  
T.F.

## LETTERS

## PROG ATTACK . . .

Sir,  
The Liberal Party policy if put into practice would fail because:

(1) If the policy of one man, one vote was put forward, the African vote would be exploited by African nationalists, who are daily being driven to extremes by the Nationalist Party. This would create chaos in our country.

(2) The Liberal Party policy has no safeguards whatsoever for minority groups such as in the Progressive Party Senate plan.

(3) Under the Liberal Party policy compulsory integration is inevitable. What if I do not want to integrate? I agree integration is inevitable and will be essential but it must not be forced on anyone.

(4) In a Liberal parliament ignorant and illiterate people could rule our land. But how well? South Africa must be ruled by civilized men. How does one define a civilized person? The only practical way is by education, and one's capability in working.

These are some of the weaknesses in the Liberal Party policy. There are many others. The Progressive Party is the hope for a non-racial South Africa.

Yours,

Barry Streek. East London.

## LIBERAL REPLY

Sir,

The time for gradual change (as a study of the history of African movements would show) was fifteen to twenty years ago, and it is therefore the Progressive Party that is not moving with the times. In the Africa of today, with its general atmosphere of freedom and votes for all, it is unrealistic, if not utterly irresponsible, to talk in terms of minority safeguards and the qualified vote.

It is perhaps natural in group-conscious South Africa for a member of a minority group to think in terms of his

safety when the majority has its opportunity for revenge. But he should realize that neither the qualified franchise nor the so-called anti-racial senate will save him if black South Africans are in the mood for revenge at the time of change.

The surest way to promote race hostility in post-change South Africa would be to restrict the franchise in such a way that whites must remain in control for many years. This is exactly what Progressive policy does. Not satisfied with that, it panders further to white fears by devising its "anti-racial" senate, an idea which must perpetuate group consciousness because of the need to register according to race. Further, unlike the Liberals, the Progressive Party has not fully faced the social and economic implications of non-racialism.

That these implications are complex and difficult the Liberal Party does not deny, but, as far as can be done in advance, it is at least getting to grips with the problems involved. It recognises that, unless the state intervenes fairly drastically in the opening up of opportunities for non-whites, re-distribution of wealth and breakdown of poverty will be so gradual as to be meaningless for generations. The removal of restrictive legislation is not enough. In the same way, Progressive attempts to break whites slowly in to the meaning of integration - by, for instance, allowing neighbourhoods to restrict occupation as they wish - are blatantly unjust to those who at the time will have been deprived of most of their economic rights, including that of ownership. It must be remembered that these will be the poorest people and the least able to buy property and open up other opportunities for themselves. They will be entering the economic race with an insurmountable handicap.

I have answered arguments of expediency with similar arguments, but I want to make very clear that to me, as to most Liberals of all shades, shapes and sizes, acceptance of one man one vote without group safeguards is a matter primarily of principle. A Liberal government would be responsible to every adult citizen, and would therefore have to take his wishes and interests into account. This is the most reliable insurance against unjust and oppressive government, and we do not need to look beyond our boundaries to see what can be done to those who have no vote. I may add that education is no safeguard against irresponsibility and, indeed, the reverse can be true. Nazi Germany is the most obvious illustration of this fact.

Progressives have played a valuable rôle in making more white people face the real political issues in this country than have ever done so before, but it is time that they themselves faced the end results and implications of their policies more fully. Only if they have the courage to do so will they be able to play their optimum rôle in promoting South Africa's hope for the future, non-racial democracy.

Yours faithfully,

(Miss) Ann Tobias