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away from Nats**

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New Sabotage Group in South Africa?

A.R.M. CLAIMS THAT IT BLASTED PYLONS

CAPE TOWN: That the old order sometimes changes and gives way to new has been apparent in South Africa these past weeks. Two days after the Rivonia trialists had been convicted an explosion shattered the front of the Vrededorp post office. Later in the same week four electricity pylons were knocked over - two in the Cape and two in the Transvaal - and an organisation calling itself A.R.M. (for African Resistance Movement) claimed to have been responsible.

The Rivonia trial ended after eight months when eight of the nine men remaining in the case were found guilty of charges of sabotage by the Judge President of the Transvaal on 13th June; the following day Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Walter Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Mtscoledi and Andrew Mhlangeni were sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr. Goldberg is in prison in the Transvaal. The other seven men were flown after the trial closed to Cape Town and on the 15th June were taken to Robben Island where they join nearly 1,000 other political prisoners of the South African Nationalist Government.

RE-ARRESTED

Mr. Lionel Bernstein, who was acquitted of the Rivonia charges, was re-arrested almost immediately, he was later released on bail but is being charged with offences under the Suppression of Communism Act.

On 25th June, after he had visited Robben Island, the leader of the defence team, Mr. Abraham Fischer, Q.C. announced that the eight men convicted had instructed their legal advisers not to note an appeal.

FULL RESPONSIBILITY

As Mr. Mandela, Mr. Sisulu and Mr. Mbeki had throughout the trial accepted full responsibility for their actions, no question of appeal arose in their cases.

"The rest of the accused", said Mr. Fischer, "have been advised that they have prospects of appealing successfully either against their convictions or against their sentences or against both.

"In their view, because of the existing legislation in this country, a successful appeal against the convictions would mean the immediate re-arrest and re-charging of the accused.



The handiwork of Cape saboteurs

"In cases where an appeal would lead to a reduction in the length of the sentences, no purpose would be served by appealing, because of the power vested in the Minister of Justice to detain for indefinite periods persons who have served their sentences."

With the closing of the Rivonia chapter, another opened dramatically with the bomb blast in Vrededorp. In the Western Cape and Transvaal

in the early morning of 19th June explosions broke supporting legs of four pylons which toppled over, badly disrupting electricity supplies in the areas served by the lines they carried.

Another pylon was knocked over at Vloottenburg near Stellenbosch on 22nd June.

On the day of the four attacks THE CAPE TIMES was telephoned by a "well-spoken" man who said they had been carried out by the African Resistance Movement.

This telephone call was followed three or four days later by the circulation through the post of a duplicated notice which said that ARM aimed to assist in establishing a democratic society in terms of the basic principles of socialism. For the present it would inconvenience and confuse, disrupt and destroy. It saluted the men of Rivonia and said that, while it might differ from them and from other groups in the freedom struggle, it believed in the unification of all forces fighting for the new order in South Africa.

Bravo to Sports No

CAPE TOWN: A Russian said 'nyet', the International Olympic Games Committee will almost certainly say 'no' and most South Africans are saying 'bravo'. The steady process of isolating the Nationalist Government of South Africa and those who accept its policies of white domination has moved back in recent weeks to the field of sport.

Despite its declared desire to include non-White South Africans in the team for the Olympic Games in Tokyo, the South African Olympic and National Games Association clearly did not convince the executive of the International Committee that it was moving at all towards publicly renouncing racial discrimination in sport.

On 27th June the Minister of the Interior virtually closed the door to the Games by saying what most people in South Africa have expected anyway; the Nationalist Government will not allow mixed teams to represent South Africa in international competitions.

The sportsmen nominated to represent South Africa at the 1964 Games include seven non-Whites. One of the non-Whites is Precious McKenzie, a bantam weightlifter, and his nomination demonstrated just how little is really being done to integrate sport in this country and is subject to the condition that he join a non-White body affiliated to the White association. At present he is a member of the South African Amateur Weight Lifting and Body Building Federation, a non-racial body affiliated to SANROC.

In the past he has been a loyal member of SANROC and has supported its principles.

It should be noted that on 11th June, 1964, his Federation applied to the South African Weight Lifting Union (a White body) for affiliation on a non-racial basis. No reply has been received to the application at the time of writing and no comment was made about it in the announcement of the decision of the Association regarding selection of the South African contingent for the Games.

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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THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

FOR A START let us make it quite clear that *Contact* will not be joining the chorus of the South African opposition press which applauded the Rivonia judgment as wise and just, and then went on to analyse why Nelson Mandela and others were driven to plan or commit acts of violence in their country. While the judgment and sentence left eight men with their lives, it decided that these should be spent, probably in the company of common criminals, in the bleak confines of a South African prison. In the legal context, this penalty was exacted after a proper trial; in the moral context it was a decree handed out by a White Court conducted by Whites only in terms of laws made and implemented by a minority Government. To men of spirit and of courage such laws imposed on them against their will and against the will of most of a nation's people are a goad and an insult. When effective means of open and peaceful protest are available, few men will turn willingly to violence. When these means are closed, violence almost inevitably follows.

We may not agree with all their methods or all their policies, but we must recognise that Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and others who are suffering with them, fought in the way they believed best to bring their idea of just government to South Africa. They risked their lives and have paid with the little freedom they had to help remove the hideous blight of racial domination from our country.

This domination continues under the deceitful slogans of "separate development" and "separate freedom". Other equally determined men and women may follow Mandela into prison or worse. But one thing is certain: while one race continues to impose its rule by force on others with equal claim to share the good things of South Africa, more Mandelas, more Lutulies and more Sobukwes will rise to take their part in man's ageless struggle to be free and to stand erect as a respected citizen of the land of his birth.

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THE LONG VIEW



THIS SEEMS THE TIME to say something about Liberalism and Communism, their common elements and their differences.

What is Communism? Like all words that become charged with emotion, it has become a dangerous word to use from the semantic point of view. In one aspect Communism believes in the elimination of gross inequalities, of hunger, of poverty, and privilege. In another it believes that this can be done only under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that this dictatorship can only be achieved by a relentless class war.

In another sense Communism believes in the exercise by the State of totalitarian power, the ruthless elimination of opposition, the employment of any means to achieve the desired end.

In yet another sense, Communism - before it comes to power - is, in the eyes of the State, and certainly in the eyes of many conservatives and liberals, a destructive subversive force, that is willing to destroy in order to build, and will, in the pursuit of its goal, destroy many things that conservatives and liberals and even some Communists, I believe, do not wish to be destroyed.

This account is both brief and inadequate, yet I go further in pursuit of brevity, and pick out two features of Communism which concern liberals most. These are, first, the socialist idealism of Communism, and, second, its belief in the use of totalitarian power (until, of course, the State withers away!). The first of these attracts many liberals. The second repels all liberals, except the most frustrated and desperate.

There is one other important fact to be noted. South African Communism has another strong element, and that is its detestation of race discrimination. It is this element more than any other, and the courage with which discrimination has been fought, that have evoked admiration and affection from many Liberals, and above all have

Liberals not Deluded

PIETERMARITZBURG: The Liberal Party has officially dissociated itself from the views expressed in the leading article *CONTACT* and Communism" which appeared in our last issue.

In a letter to the Editor of *CONTACT*, Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Party, writes:

"The Liberal Party is opposed to all forms of totalitarianism, including Communism.

"It would agree that the first task of a South African democrat today is to fight the immediate threat of apartheid and not the remote danger of Communism. But Liberals do not delude themselves that Communists are interested in seeing established here a fully democratic regime.

"The main aim of Communism, here as elsewhere, is to achieve

led them to treat with contempt the rabid anti-Communism which in this country is barely distinguishable from rabid white supremacy.

We should keep all these facts clearly before us. We should recognise the idealism in Communism and respect it, but we should not delude ourselves into believing that Liberalism can have anything in common with Communism in its totalitarian aspect. We are pledged to cherish liberty and to bring about material betterment at the same time. To do so will be difficult, it will subject us to painful choices, but that is what Liberalism means.

I believe that *CONTACT* fell last month into a semantic trap when it wrote "both communism and this newspaper believe in universal franchise and majority rule". If *CONTACT* is writing of totalitarian communism, it is very wide of the mark, for universal franchise and majority rule mean totally different things to a liberal and to a Communist (and they mean totally different things to *CONTACT* and to Joseph Stalin). Can one really believe that Stalin's regime was majority rule? Nothing is gained by ignoring these differences.

I know that some people - not all of them Communists - deplore the fact that Liberals affirm a viewpoint that lies between Afrikaner Nationalism and Communism. They call the Liberal Party a "divisive element", which is "blunting the edge of revolution".

Such critics do not understand the relationship between politics and temperament. We cannot all become something else just to avoid division. In fact - for a liberal - the being of oneself is in the last resort more important than the avoidance of division. Some people don't like such a truth, specially in critical times, but there it is.

And indeed one might say - in a somewhat high-flown kind of way I admit - that the aim of a liberal state is to help people to be themselves, and not the tools of any State or Party.

a society in which a Communist-controlled Government is in power, with no intention of being removed from power, and in which neither universal suffrage nor majority rule will be allowed to threaten its position.

PRIME CONCERN

"Communists wish to see a radical change in South African society. So do Liberals. But the society Liberals want to create is one in which the prime concern will be the individual and the realisation of his aspirations and the attainment of his freedom. The function of the state will be to serve the individual, not to control every phase of his life. There is small prospect of the attainment of these primary Liberal aims in any society the Communists may be planning for South Africa."

FIVE REBUFFS TO NATS

Transkei Assembly ends its first Session

UMTATA: The Transkei Legislative Assembly's first full session has ended with a batch of five unmistakable rebuffs to its creator and overlord, the Republican Government:

Bantu Education has been virtually scrapped. The Select Committee considering the anti-Bantu Education resolutions put forward by the Democratic Party opposition has practically accepted them all, and it is thought that legislation will not be needed to make the changes, in syllabus, medium of instruction, and various aspects of administration.

A majority - 45 to 40 - T.L.A. members expressed their rejection of the enforced Rehabilitation Scheme (land conservation) by voting down an amendment by Justice Minister George Matanzima. Several TNIP-supporting chiefs slipped out of the chamber before the vote, so as to avoid the extremely unpopular step of voting diametrically against their people's wishes on this cardinal issue.

The Chief Minister, Kaiser Matanzima, stepped right out of the line of Republican Government policy in speaking in favour of the controlled entry of White capital into the Transkei. A scheme whereby Whites would capitalise and the Transkei Government control new industries in the Transkei was suggested. While saying he was in "full accord" with the exclusion of White capital and the border industries plan, the Chief Minister made it clear that there could be no industrial development in the Transkei while this policy was enforced.

BROKE SILENCE

Under pressure from the Democratic Party, Chief Matanzima broke his silence on the hated "influx control" laws which deny freedom of movement to Africans seeking work outside the Transkei and make them virtual "labour units" at the disposal of labour bureaux. He agreed to approach

It Happens at the South Pole

A LETTER APPEARED recently in the Nationalist paper, DIE TRANSVALER, saying "more of us feel unhappy because Bantu couples, driven to the towns by poverty, are prevented by regulations from living together. We wonder how we can defend this on Christian grounds."

DIE TRANSVALER added this reassuring footnote: "it often happens that members of a family have to be separated, and not only among non-Whites.. The men who are sent to the South Pole for scientific research cannot take their families with them..."

the Republican government "for the relaxation (he rejected the DP word "repeal") of these laws", adding that "this side of the House is in agreement with the idea" that they should be "relaxed".

An extremely important concession was made in the pro-apartheid cabinet's preparedness to consider introducing a motion to "do away with the word Bantu" in the drafting of Government measures. Mr K.M. Guzana of the DP expressed the opinion of the House that the word "African" was preferred.

NEXT MOVE

The next move is with the Republic. It is presented with a difficult problem in these rebuffs, though the situation was saved for them as regards the Rehabilitation Scheme setback. Chief Petros Jozana, Chairman of the Assembly, put the anti-Rehabilitation motion despite the loss of the amendment, and Chief Poto's followers walked out in protest at what they called a "capricious" ruling. Thus there is no anti-Rehabilitation measure to implement.

It is a new experience for Dr Verwoerd's Government to see the almost sacred tenets of an all-pervading "Government policy" firmly scrapped by an inferior legislative body within the Republic or under its control. It is possible that the White capital "concession" may have been cleared with Pretoria, but the

dropping of Bantu Education was without question a bigger price than Dr Verwoerd would want to pay for the propaganda spectacle of Self-government in the Transkei, since it strikes at the very basis of his much advertised "separate development" policy. And will the Republican government, despite previous obduracy, now call its Transkeian citizens by the politically charged term "Africans", as the U.P. supporting Sunday Times decided to do recently?

A WAY OUT

Democratic Party debating skill and manoeuvring may be thanked for the scoring of these successes. Yet they may at the same time have provided a neat way out for Matanzima, who has to serve two masters. For Matanzima there is the Republican government on the one hand, holding the purse-strings and aiming for its money's worth of neo-colonial control; and on the other, an electorate which seeks progress and emancipation. He was able with most of these moves to accede to DP demands, thus both pleasing the people and having an excuse to give to the Republican government.

He was also able to keep his "anti-White" image intact, and this is his only claim to a following prepared to condone his pro-apartheid reputation. The DP's contrasting attitude was displayed clearly in an exchange during a speech in which Mr Cromwell Diko (D.P. Gqekezi) was urging the Government not to drive White doctors out of the Transkei.

Chief Kaiser Matanzima (interjecting): "Are you champions of the Whites?"

Mr Cromwell Diko: "No. We are their friends; we need them and they need us. We should keep them with us because that is in the interest of the Transkei."

Edendale Protests

EDENDALE: In October last year Mr. de Wet Nel visited Pietermaritzburg in order to turn the first sod at the Council's new Housing Scheme at Imbali.

During the course of his address on that occasion he announced his intention to consolidate the neighbouring released area of Edendale with the adjoining tribal authority area of Vluindlela.

Edendale is a mixed community based on a mission settlement established over 100 years ago and Mr. Nel's brusque announcement, made without any attempt to find out the views of the Edendale people themselves, caused great consternation and resentment in the area.

After all, the Edendale community could hardly be less "tribal" than it is. Not only does it include Indians, Coloured people and some white people, but it is a community based on freehold property rights and on developing democratic institutions. It is at present administered and largely financed by the Local Health Commission, a subsidiary of the Natal Provincial Administration, but it has always been the declared policy of the Commission that the area should eventually be run as a democratic local authority by its own residents. Now Mr. de Wet Nel threatens to set all this at naught.

Since the de Wet Nel announcement there has been considerable activity in the area which culminated in the holding of a large public meeting, attended by well over 500 people, in the second half of May.

Although no resolution was put to the meeting, it was quite clear that the last thing the vast majority of Edendale people wanted was to be swallowed up in a Bantu Homeland. They decided to hold a second public meeting at which further discussion would take place, and a resolution would be adopted. This meeting took place on Saturday, 20th June. It was addressed by Messrs. Sam Hadebe and L.J. Simelane, two men with a long association with Edendale. Despite the miserably wet and cold day, 100 Edendale residents came to the meeting and voted unanimously against the area's incorporation in the "Homeland".

The resolution that was adopted, reads: "This meeting of people of Edendale expresses its opposition to the Government's plan to incorporate Edendale in a Bantu Homeland and affirms its wish that Edendale should continue, without being involved in any Bantustan ideology, to develop into an independent local authority based on democratic institutions."

Former Printers, Publishers in Cape Town Court

Prisons Act Charge Against "Contact"

PUBLICATION MORE than two years ago of an interview with a released political prisoner brought the former publishers, director and printers of CONTACT into the Cape Town Magistrate's Court on 18th June on a charge of contravening Section 44 (f) of the Prisons Act.

Those charged are: Mr. Peter Hjul (in his personal capacity and representing Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd.), Mrs. E.M. Luokhurst (in her personal capacity and representing the printers, Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd.), and Mr. Kyrle Roscoe, a director of Lincey & Watson. Charges were withdrawn against Mr. Ebrahim Abrahams and the late Mr. H.F. Watson.

This latest case involving CONTACT arises from the publication on 31st May, 1962, of an article headlined "Political Prisoner Permanently Disabled". This was a report of an interview with a former organiser of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. Elliot Mfana, who was convicted of incitement in May 1960 and imprisoned for two years.

Mr. Mfana alleged that, while he was in Fort Glamorgan prison near East London, he was assaulted by warders, that he was injured while working with coopers in a quarry and that he did not receive adequate treatment in hospital.

Mr. J.J. Zeelie, chief hospital orderly at Fort Glamorgan prison, said in evidence that according to his records Mfana was admitted to the hospital at 12 noon on 13th June, 1960 suffering from a serious leg injury. Mfana had, he said, received adequate treatment for his injury.

Questioned by Mr. R.M. Marais,

appearing for Hjul and Selemela Publications, and by Mr. R. Thomson, appearing for Lincey & Watson, he said he did not remember Mfana but was quoting from records of the case in his books. Mfana had been in hospital for nearly two months because the injury had become septic.

Dr. I.J. Miller, assistant regional director of State Health, said that he had been District Surgeon in East London in June 1960 and in that capacity visited Fort Glamorgan prison every morning. Asked if he remembered Mfana, he said that many men were injured in the quarry and he could not remember this particular case. Judging by his record of the initial treatment on 14th June, the prisoner had received adequate treatment at the time.

Chief Warden M.J. Venter said the 20-bed hospital served a prison population of 800 to 1,000. He could not remember Mfana, but said that his records showed he had received no complaint of assault from a prisoner of that name. There had been cases of assaults by warders on prisoners, but this seldom occurred.

The case was adjourned to 1st July.

This charge is the latest of a number brought against CONTACT, its publishers and directors since 1960, when Mr. Patrick Duncan, the editor and director, and Mr. J.C.A. Daniels, the manager, were heavily fined for contravening the Emergency Regulations imposed earlier in the year. Also in 1960, Mr. Duncan was detained in prison for two periods of eight days for refusing to disclose sources of information used in an article published in CONTACT.

In August 1962, Mr. Hjul was fined R200 under the Transkei



Mr. Peter Hjul

Emergency Regulations as the result of a news item in CONTACT criticising the headman of the Baziya Mission Location.

In February this year Mr. Randolph Vigne appeared in the Umtata Magistrate's Court charged with writing an article for CONTACT which was alleged to have contravened the Transkei Emergency Regulations. This case was adjourned to no fixed date.

Natal Support for Banned Liberal

LIBERALS FROM ALL over Northern Natal met at Hambrook to protest at the banning of the Party's National Treasurer and an organizer in that region. Mr. Elliott Mngadi was banned in March of this year shortly after he had gained the support of prominent religious and political leaders in Natal in opposing the so-called Black-spot removals.

Nearly 100 people attended the meeting last month. Representatives from most of the major blackspots were present as well as a delegation of 19 people from Pietermaritzburg.

Speaking in the midst of a howling gale, Mr Peter Brown said that to claim that Mr Mngadi had been furthering the aims of Communism was nonsense. Mr Mngadi was banned because he disagreed with Government policy and did something about it.

"UNCHRISTIAN"

Elliot Mngadi rejected apartheid as fundamentally un-Christian. Apartheid was essentially a policy of reject thy neighbour. It said that if all lived together they would fight - and therefore the Non-white had to be sent where he couldn't be seen. This was an un-Christian solution.

Mr Mngadi had sacrificed the prospect of a well-paid office in Government service to help the people of the Blackspots. Imprisonment during the emergency and constant Special Branch interference had not deterred him.

Six SecurityPolice took notes during the meeting.

with Chief Samuel Witbooi, Messrs. Allan Louw and Hamatui said to be representing the Namas, Basterraad and the Ovambos, and with the controversial figure of Dr. Mburumba Kerina, former SWAPO leader in a top post. Kerina's status, if the report is accurate, is likely to make the Convention movement quite unacceptable to both SWAPO and SWANU outside SWA, and to much of the membership inside SWA.

Squabble continues to split Opposition Groups in S.W.A.

From a Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Charges, counter-charges and recriminations continue to fly back and forth between the rival movements for unity in South West Africa: the Convention movement headed by Chief Hosea Kutako and his Herero council, and the SWA National Liberation Front.

On 15th June, Mr. Hitjevi Veil, chairman of SWANLF invited the Herero Chief's council to participate in a protest meeting to be held on Freedom Square, in Windhoek's old location on 21st June, for the purpose of protesting against the sentences to life imprisonment of Mr. Mandela and the Rivonia trialists.

On 17th June, Rev. B.G. Karuaera, secretary of the chief's council, replied that "while we are opposed to the sentences passed on Messrs. Mandela, Sisulu and others, we do not want to stage a protest with you and will protest in our own way.

The Chief's Council spokesman then accused SWANLF of betraying the 154 young South West Africans who had slipped across to Bechuanaland in March 1964.

"The South West Africa National Liberation Front was the

only Political Organisation in the whole world which disclosed that there were certain leaders who organised the flight of 154 refugees to Bechuanaland and that the above refugees were sent for the purpose of military training, and it was also the only Organisation which distributed appeals to foreign Governments and Political Organisations that the above refugees should not be given any assistance. To our mind your aim was to put the leaders of the Chief's Council and the refugees in danger. The result of your action would cause the leaders of the Chiefs Council and the refugees either to be executed or to be sentenced to life imprisonment in the same way the Rivonia trialists were sentenced."

CONVENTION MOVEMENT

The squabble is between the Chief's Council and SWANLF although the Convention movement has been officially formed. The ALGEMEINE ZETTUNG, Windhoek, has reported the forming of the movement, despite its failure thus far to hold an inaugural congress, under a hierarchy headed by Chief Kutako,

Political Prisoners on Robben Island

ALLEGATIONS OF ILL-TREATMENT DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT

CAPE TOWN: More allegations of brutality and ill-treatment of prisoners on Robben Island have been made in the overseas press, this time in the London Observer.

In an article headed "Warders let criminals assault us, say Africans", Colin Legum quotes extensively from affidavits said to have been sworn in Cape Town by prisoners released from the Island.

Like those published by the Daily Mirror in an article which was quoted by Die Burger on 16th May, the affidavits quoted by Mr. Legum allege assaults on political prisoners by warders and by other prisoners with the encouragement of warders.

Typical of the passages quoted is the following: "We saw a warder speaking to a political prisoner. This prisoner told us later the warder had said that if he told about the political organization 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 into his mouth. The name of this prisoner is J... Other political prisoners said that this was often done."

MINISTERIAL CONCERN

Reporting Mr. Legum's article, the South African Sunday Express of 7th June stated that the allegations had caused great concern at Ministerial level and were being investigated, although the Prisons Commissioner, Major-General J.C. Steyn, had refused to state whether a departmental inquiry would be held.

Speaking in the Assembly on 9th June, Minister of Justice Vorster said that of six complaints of alleged assault by officials on prisoners at Robben Island, three were minor in nature and three were unfounded. He said that he had not received complaints of assaults by prisoners.

WARDERS REMOVED

Replying to Mr. M.L. Mitchell, Mr. Vorster said that 11 warders had been removed from service on Robben Island because of unfitness during the past year.

Later in the same week, Mr. Vorster said that he had investigated the allegations about a prisoner being buried up to his neck. He said that the man whose name was mentioned in the article knew nothing about it. Then, after certain people had visited the Island, the originators of the story mentioned another name.

While the Minister's assurances may satisfy some people in South Africa, Contact feels the following questions need to be asked:

With Mr. Mitchell, we should like to know whether the Minister will make available the true facts if the affidavits are not correct. We maintain that the Minister has not satisfactorily answered this question.

In view of Mr. Vorster's persistent refusal to hold an open inquiry into conditions of 90-day detention, we wonder what

he regards as sufficient evidence to warrant such an inquiry. If the allegations about Robben Island as published to date are insufficient, will he encourage prisoners, ex-prisoners and others to lay information before him in the proper way by offering indemnities to those concerned?

Mr. Vorster has stated that an official of the International Red Cross has carried out an investigation into prison conditions, including those on Robben Island. We want to know whether this report will be made public; whether we shall be told of the scope and method of investigation; and, in particular, whether we shall be assured that, as the inquiry was conducted in secret, prisoners were satisfied as to the confidential nature of their talks

with the investigator or whether they might have feared that they would suffer reprisals by the Minister or officials of his department.

INQUIRY WARRANTED

We believe that the allegations of brutality on Robben Island are sufficiently disturbing to warrant a full and open inquiry, and we call for such an inquiry.

These allegations have apparently already reached the United Nations and are to be considered by the Security Council. It might well be thought by anyone but Mr. Vorster that the situation is sufficiently serious to warrant a more thorough, explicit and comprehensive denial than he has seen fit to make.

SOBUKWE — ANOTHER YEAR

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: Speaking in the House of Assembly on 16th June, Minister of Justice Vorster explained why Robert Sobukwe was still being held on Robben Island.



Mr. Sobukwe

He said that Mr. Sobukwe had given no indication that he would dissociate himself from the organisation of which he was still universally regarded as the leader.

The Minister was speaking in the second reading debate on his latest General Law Amendment Bill.

This Bill, now enacted by Parliament, re-introduces the 90-day detention clause; makes it a criminal offence (carrying a penalty of a year in prison) to refuse to divulge information; and it extends the number of offences for which the death sentence can be applied.

It also reintroduces the "Sobukwe Clause", by which a prisoner, once sentenced, can be detained indefinitely on expiry of his sentence. It was under this clause that Mr. Sobukwe was brought for detention to Robben Island early last year.

Mr. Sobukwe was recently refused an exit permit to leave the country. Reminded by Sir de Villiers Graaff that he had indicated in the past that he would be glad to help such people to leave, Mr. Vorster's reported reply was: "Not this particular one". But he later denied that he had taken powers to detain Mr. Sobukwe indefinitely and for life.

Also confined is Chief Albert Luthuli, whose ban has been re-imposed with more severely restrictive conditions than before — for a further five years.

NATAL COURT AWARDS DAMAGES TO INJURED PRISONER

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

PIETERMARITZBURG: Damages of R1,000 and costs were awarded in the Supreme Court here, on Monday, 22nd June, to a prisoner who alleged he had been assaulted by a prison warder.

The prisoner, Mr. Muzacula Sithole, had claimed R5,000 damages and costs from the Minister of Justice and Muziwenkani Zulu, a warder at the Central Gaol.

Sithole, whom Mr. Justice James described as giving the impression of a truthful witness, said that he had been assaulted by Zulu while he was an awaiting-trial prisoner in

August last year. Both his arms were broken. He was put in splints from elbow to knuckles and for six weeks could not bend his arms.

During this time, after his return to the gaol he had to eat like a dog, bending forward on his knees to take the food directly from his plate.

In giving judgment, Mr. Justice James said that, although now fully recovered, Sithole must be compensated for the great personal inconvenience as well as mental and physical suffering caused to him.

Zulu's claim that he had inflicted the injuries in self-defence was rejected.

Development Plans for Malawi

My Country not poor, only Neglected — BANDA

"MY COUNTRY IS not poor, it has merely been neglected" says Dr. Hastings Banda, the Prime Minister of Malawi. Malawi becomes independent on 6th July, 1964 and leaves behind the old name Nyasaland. It does not leave behind the old problems.

After a week of celebrations the serious business of running the country will go on. But the tempo of development will be new. Britain administered the country but did little to develop



Dr. Banda

it. The Federal government used Nyasaland as a pool from which to draw labour and a market in which to sell duty-free goods made in the factories of Southern Rhodesia.

Dr. Banda's plans are sane. They are within the reach of an agricultural country which has practically no minerals. Foreign aid will be used constructively:

The Shire River, a tributary of the Zambezi, is being harnessed for:

Power - Nyasaland has never benefitted from Kariba, the

great symbol of Federation.

Drainage - the storms of the rainy season will not be allowed to drag away the valuable earth.

Irrigation - £4 million will be spent on cultivating the sugar which grows wild in every valley of this well-watered country. The quality of the cotton to be grown will equal that of Egypt.

Lake Nyasa can become a great fishing lake. Chambo and other fine fresh-water fish live in the depths of this lake which formed in Africa's Great Rift valley. The Federal government bulldozed trees which were going to disappear under Lake Kariba so that, in the future, fishing trawlers would not foul their nets. If the same amount of money had been spent on refrigerated trucks, trawlers and a canning factory for the poorest country in the Federation, one fishing potential of Lake Nyasa would not be undeveloped today.

BETTER ROADS

A tourist industry can grow. Dr. Banda's lakeside road will become world-renowned. But roads and hotels will have to be improved, say an American Team, which has reported on the country's potential.

An 'O level' University will provide for the most pressing technical needs of a developing country. Education of an elite is planned to precede universal primary education; one year has been added to the secondary school course and one year taken off the primary course.

Dr. Banda is negotiating with the Portuguese, it is said, for a possible extension of the railway line to Chinde at the mouth of the Zambezi. Whether this is true or not Dr. Banda recognises that it is essential for Malawi, which interlocks with Mozambique, to be on good terms with the Portuguese for the time being.

Self-help is being encouraged. Villagers gather six or eight hundred pounds in order to build a

school room for themselves. Community development officers show them how much people can do to improve their conditions with only a little help from the government.

LESS OPPOSITION

President Nkrumah used to meet in Dr. Banda's house in London. Both leaders believe that their country must have a crash programme of development. But in Malawi, unlike Ghana, there is a small middle class to offer opposition. There is much evidence of cross-fertilisation of ideas:

Dr. Banda does not allow freedom of the press and radio. He believes that this merely leads to destructive bickering.

Dr. Banda maintains that within the Malawi Congress Party there is room for democratic expression of constructive criticism. In the elections in April 1,863,000 Africans and 600 Whites registered on the General Roll to show their support of Dr. Banda. Only 800 Whites registered on the Special Roll and thus showed their opposition.

The Pioneer Corps is as much in evidence in Malawi as in Ghana.

Dr. Banda is determined to see a modern agriculturally-based state develop before he dies. His methods of getting there may at times be rough and ready. But his aims are sound. The ordinary Malawian will benefit.

Swaziland

Right-wing Win under new Constitution

MBABANE: Right-wing and traditionalist forces have triumphed in the Swaziland elections, the results of which were announced early this week.

This is a severe blow for the freedom parties, most of whom will not be represented at all in the new Legislative Council.

Imbokodvo, the party supporting the Ingwenyama, King Sobhuza II won all eight Swazi seats on the multi-racial national roll, and also has eight other members in the Council.

The right-wing United Swaziland Association, which co-operated with Imbokodvo, won all the eight seats reserved for Whites.

Percentage polls in the four constituencies were: Hhohho, 75.8; Manzini, 73.5; Shiselweni, 43; and Lubombo, 60. The percentage of spoilt papers was high.

The opposition parties, which have never accepted the conservative compromise constitution on which the elections were fought, will now have to channel most of their political activities into extra-parliamentary methods.

They hope also to give the new Council a rough passage - knowing as they do, that it represents only a small portion of the people of Swaziland.

In the meantime, there is a hope that something can be gained from a technical error in the election handbills of the Right-wing parties. If this can be proved it may yield the opposition a few more seats.

Dr. Allen Nxumalo of the Swaziland Democratic Party and Dr. Ambrose Zwane of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, allege that the Right is building up a new Bantustan to hand over to Dr. Verwoerd. They will not rest until a representative parliament, based on one man one vote, has been elected in Swaziland.

ELEVEN IN BIG TRIAL HAVE BEEN IN PRISON A YEAR

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: With the glare on the Mivonia trial, there has been a tendency to overlook some other large political cases in South Africa.

One of these cases started on 4th May in the Regional Court at Goodwood near Cape Town, when 43 men and two women were charged with belonging to or furthering the aims of an unlawful organisation, the African National Congress.

Of the initial 45, twelve have so far been discharged. The State has ended its case, but a verdict is not likely to be reached until well into July or later.

According to the Cape Town Branch of the Defence and Aid Fund, at least 11 of those accused have already been in prison for a year or more. Most of the accused have been detained for periods of a week up to six months under the 90-days detention clause of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963. The first of them were detained on 25th and 26th June last year.

For one of the women, Mrs. Lettie Sibeko, her arrest in June 1963 brought particular discomfort. She had become pregnant shortly before being arrested, and she was only released on bail in February 1964 about a week before her child was born.

LETTERS

Elections Will Bring Significant Changes

Sir,
The general election in Bechuanaland in March 1965 will end British Colonial rule. One significant factor is that an African or multi-racial government will be elected. Whatever party wins, there must be some significant changes.

Let me take the Department of Education for speculation, not because it will be the new government's first target.

There is likely to be a Minister of Education. The present Director of Education will be either removed or retained as a Permanent Secretary to maintain continuity of policy.

This being an elected government, the Minister of Education will have to pursue the declared policy of his party, which, theoretically, is approved by the electorate. His permanent Secretary will be subordinate to him.

He will be forced to carry out instructions from his head, who, if he is a wise politician, must always keep an ear on the demands of the electorate.

Politicians must not make the mistake that, once elected to power, they cannot be removed before ending their term of office. In theory and practice of constitutional law, a member of parliament can be recalled by his constituency. The electorate is what is called "political sovereignty", as against "legal sovereignty".

The two concepts are, in the final analysis, one - the people are the government.

This brings me back to where I started, namely, the end of the British Colonial rule in Bechuanaland. This means, also, the end of delays and equivocation. The present Colonial rule has used this to their advantage.

Whenever teachers, civil servants, for example, demanded

anything, they would be told the Colonial Secretary or Her Majesty's Government was still going into the matter. In many other instances the uncertainty would be between the Protectorate Government and the Tribal Administrations; one would use the other as a hiding place, and the grievances would go on from year to year.

A warning to the would-be governing party: the electorate has immense powers; it can elect or recall a party or individual members of its party - vox populi - that's no empty threat.

"None-Partisan" Kanye.

False Leaders are Danger to the People

Sir,
May I have a space in your paper to say the following: Some power hungry, ambitionist and opportunist South West Africans are trying to confuse our own people at the home-front as well as abroad. These are the second hand political leaders as well as the second hand tribal leaders. They claim to be devoted so-called leaders and spokesmen of the African masses, failing to realise that they are, in fact, the devoted destroyers of the very people they claim to represent.

At the home-front, these false leaders are trying to make big names for themselves by the way they lie to our own people.

PEOPLE MISLED

A good example of such a situation was demonstrated a few weeks ago. A great number of misled young people were false-alarmedly organised by their so-called leaders under the pretext of being sent away for studies. They were reported to have stranded in the Bechuanaland-British-Protectorate. They have nowhere to go because no proper arrangements, whatsoever, had been made before. Some are further ahead in countries such as Tanganyika, Congo, etc., where they overburden the new governments of those countries. Some can hardly read or express themselves in English and this makes it very difficult for them to get scholarships anywhere. But this is not their fault, but that of their unscrupulous leaders who do things unpremeditatedly. My fellow countrymen, let us not be cheated by unprofounded and shallow promises made by lazy people who are in the Windhoek-old-location and who, in any way, have not a connection with any of the movements and governments outside.

SOME INNOCENT

Of course, all the leaders of South West Africa are not the same kind I have described above; some are innocent, true and bona fide; they have been elected democratically and serve in the interest of the majority of people

LIBERAL LEADER SAYS MINISTER OWES APOLOGY TO VIGNE

PIETERMARITZBURG: Commenting on allegations made against a leading liberal by Mr. George Matanzima, Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, said:

"Mr. Matanzima used the privileged position accorded him by his membership of the Transkei Assembly to imply that a visit paid to a Transkeian Chief in 1962 by Mr. Z.L. Majija, a member of the present Assembly, and Mr. Randolph Vigne, at that time Chairman of the Liberal Party, was in some way connected with a subsequent assault on the Chief.

"Mr. Majija has been able to reply to this insinuation in the Transkei Assembly and to establish that it was absolutely without foundation. Mr. Vigne has not been so lucky. As a banned person he requires Mr. Vorster's consent before he can publish anything. The Minister has refused him this consent and with it the elementary right to answer publicly a public smear.



Mr. Randolph Vigne

"For the record, it should be stated that the people held to be responsible for the assault on the Chief concerned were brought to trial in the Transkei courts, that there was absolutely no suggestion during the trial that Mr.

"DUTY TO RETRACT"

Vigne was in any way involved in the case - and that, as Transkei Minister of Justice, Mr. Matanzima had all these facts easily to hand at the time that he made his insinuation. It is his clear duty to retract and apologise."

and for the country as a whole. Nevertheless, we have to show or make the clear-cut.

F.U. Nuundjua Penn.U.S.A.

This letter has been shortened - Ed.

Bechuanaland Our Country

Dear Freedom fighters,

Power is the monopoly of one race. To suffer for our rights and freedom is the price of every people in the colonies. We must not be stopped by the persecution and intimidation of the British colonialists from achieving our freedom and independence.

Bechuanaland is our country. It is an African country and therefore must be governed by the people of Bechuanaland. Though we have no weapons to fight against the British Government, yet we have the power that the British will never defeat - we have the masses of the people who constitute a potential political power without which no political party can win the struggle against colonialism.

It must be the duty of every Ntswana in our country to become a member of the Botswana Independence Party. The only Party which is your passport to freedom and independence.

R.Ntebele, Youth Secretary,
Serowe, Bechuanaland.

Guerilla Units in Mozambique

Shot Aircraft with Home-made Gun

From a Correspondent

MOZAMBIQUE: With its objective the liberation of the colony of Mozambique from Portuguese rule, the military arm of the Monomotapa National Democratic Union (UDENAMO) claims that in May one of its guerilla units shot down or seriously damaged a Portuguese aircraft in the Kisanga area about 130 miles south-west of the Rovuma River mouth on the Tanganyika border and about 75 miles north-west of the harbour town of Porto Amelia.

ELINAMO, or the Monomotapa National Liberation Army, was established by UDENAMO on 21st March this year with the object of launching a military campaign in Mozambique.

In a press communique issued at the end of May, it states that a guerilla unit was in the Kisanga area when it was apparently seen by an aircraft which came down low to investigate. The unit took cover in a coffee plantation and, from there, one man fired with a new home-made gun. The first shot missed, but the second "outburst on the military aircraft which caused its failure to fly over a hill a few kilometers ahead, and resulted its sudden

bruise on the hill".

Soon after this action, continues the communique, several jet fighters flew over the area and dropped napalm bombs to burn the bush. Troops spread into villages and, with the political police (PIDE), started an intensive patrol of road and rivers.

NEW RESTRICTIONS

People in the area were subjected to rigorous pass control and were prevented from buying provisions beyond immediate needs; villages were stopped from beating drums and gatherings were prohibited. In addition, many unemployed people were rounded up and placed in detention or sent off for forced labour.

These measures blocked communications from 16th May, when the aircraft was shot at, until 24th May when news of the action reached the secret headquarters of ELINAMO, more than 300 miles away.

Stating that its war is a just war for liberation against the imperialists unjust war for mass slaughter, ELINAMO declares that the strict counter measures now being applied in the Eighth Military Region will not stop its forces.

Church Leaders' Conference

WAYS TO CHANGE S.A.

From a Correspondent

LUSAKA: A "consultation" of Protestant Church leaders from Southern Africa decided in Mindolo, Zambia, last month that violence as a political weapon in South Africa was not necessarily to be condemned, from the Christian viewpoint.

The consultation was organized by the World Council of Churches, the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Mindolo Foundation. It was called to consider the responsibility of Christians in dealing with Africa's racial problems.

It was agreed that the means of bringing about political, social and economic change were: spiritual resistance, constructive political opposition, extra-constitutional

activity, and violence.

And, concluded the participants, where "Christian conscience and the Word of God command, all Christians should take the initiative in resisting evil by choosing from amongst these means".

The consultation was not unanimous in its view. Some delegates, including South Africans, specifically dissociated themselves from any suggestion that industrial disruption, international intervention or sanctions, or internal violence were permissible methods to secure social justice.

They did not believe that the Church could attempt to remedy economic or political problems.

The consultation as a whole urged Christian ministers and laymen to make use of all peaceful channels still possible to bring about an "equitable society" in South Africa.

their congregations as churches and mosques are closed.

Calling on residents to resist this further oppression, the leaflet emphasizes that "District Six must remain the home of all, irrespective of race, colour or religion".

Area should be Multi-racial

CAPE TOWN: A leaflet claiming to be issued by the South African Coloured Peoples Congress has been widely distributed in District Six.

It contains an appeal to all concerned, to protest against the move to have the area declared White.

Describing some of the hardships which would result, the leaflet speaks of the thousands of people who will be forced to move to "locations like Bonteheuwel", far from their places of work; of the closing of schools and the shifting of children and teachers to already overcrowded schools elsewhere; and of priests, ministers and emsams deprived of



Mr. Nkomo (right) with Mr. George Nyandoro

Court Against Detentions

BULAWAYO: Mr. Joshua Nkomo and seven other African political leaders in Southern Rhodesia have successfully applied in the High Court, here against the orders restricting them to Wha Wha and Gonakudzingwa.

Ruling in their favour, Mr. Justice Dendy Young said that their liberties had been reduced almost to vanishing point.

According to a reported statement by Nkomo's lawyer, Mr. Leo Baron, the Minister of Law and Order had indicated that the restrictees would remain in their restriction camps pending the hearing of an appeal against the judgement by the Government. Mr. Baron stated that this attitude would be fought in the courts.

An official Government statement in Salisbury said that, in addition to the appeal, "the Minister has the matter under close consideration and is determined to ensure that law and order will be maintained".

Opposition in S.W.A.

FOLLOWING MEETINGS held by the South West Africa People's Organisation to protest against the Odendaal Plan, SWAPO leaders in various parts of the territory are reported to have been arrested.

This information was given to CONTACT by a spokesman for the Ovamboland Executive Committee of the organisation.

Among those reported to be arrested were Mr. N. Machuilili, Vice-President of SWAPO and Mr. Gideon Hisicoono. Mr. Machuilili was released after six weeks.

Mr. S.S. Kaukungua, Chairman of the Ovamboland Branch of SWAPO, is stated to have fled the country following the issue of a warrant for his arrest.

Commenting on the arrests, the statement emphasises that, despite all action taken by the authorities to silence criticism of the Commission's report, the Odendaal Plan is completely rejected by the people of South West Africa.

CONTACT STILL NEEDS MONEY

URGENTLY

PLEASE SEND YOUR DONATION TO THE EDITOR,

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