



90-DAYS
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MIXED AUDIENCE BAN HITS CAPE

WITH THE FINESSE OF AN ALABAMA CAFE OWNER PANDERING TO THE PREJUDICES OF A SLEAZY TOWN IN THE COTTON BELT, THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS STRUCK ANOTHER BLOW FOR THE PURITY OF THE WHITE RACE. NO SPORTS MEETING, CONCERT, CHURCH BAZAAR OR ANY OTHER "PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT" MAY NOW BE ATTENDED BY A MIXED GATHERING UNLESS PERMISSION HAS BEEN GIVEN BY SOME CLERK IN ONE OF THE REGIONAL OFFICES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OR THE DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING.

The events leading up to the proclamation issued on February 12 in terms of the Group Areas Act had the Government playing straight man in one of apartheid's most fatuous comedies.

Some time ago the Prime Minister and his Minister of the Interior, Senator de Klerk, had made it clear that they did not approve of mixed gatherings. No law was

passed to express this disapproval but in South Africa today a ministerial frown is usually enough to send officials scurrying out in search of the offenders.

Victim on this occasion was the Luxurama, a garish cinema-cum-theatre, opened a few years ago in the Cape Town suburb of Wynberg and designed from the start for performances before mixed audiences. Until December it was not publicly known what the racial purists thought of the Luxurama. Artists and shows had come and gone and it appeared that this experiment in multi-racial entertainment was succeeding in an area where strict race divisions are less obvious than in the rest of South Africa.

Then the Luxurama imported "pop" singer Dusty Springfield, and Dusty made it known that audiences of one race only were not for her. Within a few days of her arrival in Cape Town, her permission to stay in the country was withdrawn and she went out in a brief blaze of glory. Next to come was singer Adam Faith, who felt everything would be all right. He performed in Natal and then came on to the Luxurama. Police watched his audience and made the headlines when they ordered a small number of coloured youths out of the theatre. Next an appeal was

made to Minister de Klerk not to frown on a mixed audience. This failed and Faith and his manager packed their bags and left.

Three weeks later on 26th January, the Minister stated in Parliament that no compromise "could be entertained on the Government's policy as stated by the Prime Minister at Port Elizabeth on 26th August". While the Government was not contemplating legislation "at this stage" artists from abroad were warned to comply with Government policy. If they did not, the Government would enforce it with all the means at its disposal.

On 2nd February, 200 coloured people attending a show by Eve Boswell at the Luxurama were told to leave.

Then on 11th of February, the Minister of Community Development, Mr. Botha, and the Minister of Planning, Mr. Haak, announced that organisers of any entertainment to which Whites and non-Whites were to be admitted would have to obtain a permit

Issued the next day in terms of Section One (4) of the Group Areas Act as amended, the new edict brought near chaos to the six weeks of confusion which had preceded it. Previous regulations under the Act had closed clubs and cinemas to mixed patronage and in most parts of South Africa mixed gatherings are rare. But in Cape Town all municipal halls are still unsegregated and many sporting events are attended by people of all races.

By its vague wording the proclamation reached to all types of public entertainment and soon brought in a docile flood of applications. From now on South Africans of different races may gather at the theatre, at concerts, at a banquet or rugby match,

at a banquet or at an exhibition or a fête only if they have the permission of some obscure official in the local branch of a Government department. Without the permit the organisers and those who attend a mixed gathering coming under the definition of "public entertainment" can be arrested, prosecuted and fined up to R400 or two years in prison.

In the Cape this restriction has been attacked as a further intrusion of the narrow racialism of the Transvaal. The immediate loser will, of course, be the non-White South African who almost always gets the worst part of separate and unequal amenities.

Within two days of the proclamation the Luxurama had closed down; in Durban on 17th February 14 coloured people were asked to leave the audience halfway through a performance by the American singer John Gary.

For artists visiting South Africa from abroad the position is now clear. No rule by Equity or any other association or union that they perform only before mixed audiences will change what has now been decreed by the South African Government.

We will not, says Minister de Klerk, allow any organisation such as Equity or any of its individual members to dictate how we must arrange our internal affairs.

When a singer, an actor or a musician (or a sportsman) decides to perform here, he or she will become a participant in the racial separation of South Africa's people. To recognise this is not to "go political" as some artists have implied; it is to accept that "public entertainment" like so many other aspects of life in this country is being used as an instrument of apartheid. Compliant entertainers are as useful to the Government as the interested foreign businessmen and the understanding editors and politicians so well entertained by the South African Foundation.

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All political comment and headlines in this issue, unless otherwise stated, is by Michael Francis of 206 Burleigh House, Barrack Street, Cape Town.

Thugs Not Yet Charged

IN PARLIAMENT this month the Minister of Justice was asked by Mrs. Helen Suzman if the police had received complaints of damage to property and other acts by persons unknown against radical opponents of the Government. The Minister replied that the police had received eight complaints that cars belonging to members of the staff and students of the University of Cape Town had been tampered with. One person had also complained about bullets being fired from passing cars into Peninsula homes.

Six of the complaints were being investigated, he said, and three had been found to be false.

Perhaps in police and Government terminology there is a fine difference between "complaint" and "report", but the Minister's answer to Mrs. Suzman must have surprised at least six people who have had shots fired at their homes during the past six months and who reported these incidents to the police.

Starting about June or July, an unknown band, or bands, of skulking hooligans began a sporadic assault on people and organisations working against the race policies of the South African Government. Cars were defaced by crude slogans, the office of a University lecturer was ransacked and several people received abusive telephone calls. In October a bomb was thrown into the house of a Liberal Party member and the incident was reported to the police.

Also reported to the police were two night raids on the offices of the Liberal Party, Contact and the New African. During these raids the initials K.R.A. (believed to stand for Kenya Refugees Association) were smeared on a wall. Typewriters were smashed, files destroyed, windows broken and addressograph plates stolen and later used for the posting of anonymous abusive letters. That those taking part were thieves as well as vandals was shown by the disappearance of money from the Liberal Party cash box.

Then on one Saturday night in October shots were fired through windows of the homes of Mrs. Rita Tabakin,

THE LONG VIEW

St George Deserts to the Dragon

- by Alan Paton

THE DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF ST. GEORGE'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL NOT TO ADMIT THE SON OF MR. J.S. THOMAS IS A CHRISTIAN SCANDAL. THE FACT THAT THE DECISION WAS TAKEN - SO I UNDERSTAND - BY A NARROW MAJORITY, IS LITTLE CAUSE FOR COMFORT. THE FACT THAT IT WAS TAKEN AT ALL IS A DISGRACE TO THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

It horrifies me to think that this Council has in its keeping, not only the honour of a Christian school, not only the honour of a Christian Church, but also - in some degree at least - the future of Christianity in Africa. For what non-Christian would be attracted to a Christian Church, one of whose schools behaves in this unchristian fashion? And what will the young Coloured boys and girls of Cape Town think of the Church to which so many of their elders have been devoted? It is hard to survey this havoc without the most intense anger.

It is nauseating to read that the Council had every sympathy for the application, but thought that the "custom and practice of the community" made admission unacceptable. Unacceptable to whom? Would it have been unacceptable to Christ, the Lord of St. George's Grammar School? Or would it have been deemed by the Council to be in some way offensive to God, whose creatures the members of the Council are, indeed whose instruments they are, did they truly understand their place and duty? Since when has the "custom and practice of the community" become the criterion by which a Christian body determines its action?

Of course I am writing as though Christ really has something to do with St. George's School, and as though it is really God's school, and as though the Council really has some special duty to its Lord, as distinct from its duty to the community whose custom and practice it has so handsomely endorsed. That is unrealistic, is it not? It is more realistic, is it not, to consider our earthly lords below, and to see that

their will be done on earth, even if not in heaven?

The Council further resolved that a decision to admit would be premature. And who knows? Perhaps St. George was premature in killing the Dragon. Perhaps he should have waited a little, until the Dragon ate him up, as it has eaten up the School that was named after him in hope and piety.

For some people any action which challenges the established order is premature. When does the Council think, when it reflects on the way that white South Africa is moving, that it will soon be less premature?

It sometimes happens that Christians outside politics reproach those who are within that they have lost their true religion, that they have substituted social programmes for commandments, slogans for worship, and propaganda for prayers. I myself am proud to be an Anglican, but I am also proud to be a member of a political party which would never deny admission to any South African on the basis of his colour. For that brand of religion which condones such action, I have no use whatsoever. Whatever it is, it is not Christianity.

The Council of St. George's has been caught in a trap of its own making. It is faced, as Christian white South Africa often is faced in moments of crucial importance, with a choice between its white South Africanism and its Christianity, and it chose the first. By so doing it brought shame on the Anglican Church, and distress to every Anglican who takes seriously the pronouncements of his Church on matters of race.

Let us hope it will repent it of its sin.

Mr. Fred Carneson (a former editor of New Age and now under a severe banning order) and Mr. Peter Hjul, banned former Cape Chairman of the Liberal Party. The bullet fired into Mr. Hjul's home entered a bedroom ceiling just above the head of a sleeping baby.

According to press reports, the police were notified of all three incidents and a police statement a few days later indicated that these were being taken very seriously and were being thoroughly investigated.

Some weeks later, Mrs. Sadie Forman, widow of the late Lionel Forman (at one time editor of New Age) had a shot fired through the window of her home at Camps Bay; another victim was Miss Amy Rietstein, banned former secretary of the

Congress of Democrats in Cape Town. Both these incidents were reported to the police.

All the above were acts of criminal violence committed by a group of thugs brazen enough to shoot from a car in well-lit streets. The offences are serious enough to warrant intensive investigation in any society. Yet after nearly eight months and at least 17 incidents no person has been arrested or charged. We hope, therefore, that Mrs. Suzman will not quietly accept the Minister's reply and will insist that the political desperadoes behind these attacks be hunted with the same determination as those who break the law in opposition to the Government.

90-DAY FIGURES 'HORRIFYING'

OF 1,095 PEOPLE DETAINED UNDER THE 90-DAY CLAUSE DURING THE 18 MONTHS IN WHICH IT WAS IN OPERATION, 575 WERE CHARGED AND 272 CONVICTED OF VARIOUS OFFENCES. NINETY-THREE PEOPLE WERE STILL ON TRIAL OR AWAITING TRIAL WHEN THESE FIGURES WERE DISCLOSED IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE AT THE END OF JANUARY. HE WAS REPLYING TO QUESTIONS BY PROGRESSIVE PARTY M.P., MRS. HELEN SUZMAN.

Evidence for the State was given by 241 detainees. Two others committed suicide. This means that 277 detainees were released without being charged or required to give evidence.

A racial breakdown of the figures given revealed that of 108 Whites detained 40 had been charged, of 78 Indians 26 had been charged, of 58 Coloured people 27 had been charged, and of 857 Africans 482 had been charged.

According to the Minister, 287 detainees had been held for less than 30 days, 300 for more than 30 but less than 60 days, 361 for between 60 and 90 days, and 134 for more than 90 but less than 180 days. Thirteen people were held for 180 days or more.

Asked whether any detainees had complained about methods of interrogation, the minister said that seven complaints "of a divergent nature" had been received and had been investigated by the police. More recently the Minister told Parliament that 40 complaints by ex-detainees had been investigated and submitted to the Attorney General, resulting in two prosecutions.

The inquest into the death of 90-day detainee, Suliman Saloojee, coming as it did just after the disclosure in parliament of these facts and figures of the 90-day era, gave added point to questions and comment on the figures. Mrs. Suzman said that they revealed a "horrific picture." She added that legislation giving a government such enormous powers was bound to get results, as would legislation allowing outright torture, but "under no circumstances can one condone the use of solitary confinement for such long periods, with its far-reaching effects on people which have been testified to by experts".

At the inquest into Saloojee's death, which occurred when he jumped from a seventh floor window of The Greys during interrogation, security policemen refused to answer many of the probing questions put to them by Dr. G. Lowen, who appeared for the widow of the dead man. The magistrate, Mr. A.J. Kotze, found that from the evidence there was nothing to suggest assault on Saloojee by the police, or the use of irregular methods of interrogation. Without disputing the verdict given in this case, it is fair to comment that few doubts about the treatment of 90-day detainees in general were allayed when, in response to questioning about the possible effect of

90-day detention on the mind of the detainee, one policeman, Captain T.J. Swanepoel, said: "I am not prepared to stand here and allow you or anyone else to make propaganda."

Some hoped that fears about the treatment of 90-day detainees would be allayed by the publication of the report submitted to the South African Government by a representative of the International Red Cross who visited detainees. Minister Vorster stated that the report, being confidential, could not be tabled, but the disclosure by Mr. J. Hamilton-Russell that he had received a letter from the Red Cross stating that the Government was at liberty to publish the report provided it did so in full has not induced the Minister to change his mind. Affidavits alleging torture and ill-treatment in the course of interrogation have been published both here and overseas, and thirteen ex-detainees are suing the

Government for damages as a result of the treatment they received while they were in detention. They allege various forms of torture, which include being punched and beaten and being made to stand for long periods of interrogation without being allowed to sit, sleep or go to the toilet when necessary. Earlier affidavits alleged that electric shocks were being administered to detainees to make them talk.

Although it can easily be re-promulgated, 90-day detention is, at least temporarily, a thing of the past. Its suspension on 11th January was widely welcomed, but events since then have served to remind the public that the time for vigilance is not over. Banning orders continue to be served on large numbers of people who have been in any way effective in opposing the government. Among those recently dealt with in this way are Mr. Max Thomas, Liberal Party organizer in the Transkei, a courageous and determined fighter for justice and human dignity in this country, and Mrs. Winnie Mandela,

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'Hundreds' Arrested in Mocambique

ALTHOUGH THE SOUTH AFRICAN press has kept strangely quiet, news has been leaking out of a large-scale round-up by political police in Mocambique of opponents of the headline "Dr. Salazar's police 'hold hundreds'", The Guardian Salazar regime. Under the on its front page on 29th January published a report by Patrick Keatley that news had been received of the arrest of hundreds of people "in the biggest ever round-up of political opponents in the history of this African colony".

What is believed to have set off this action by the PIDE is some infiltration into the south of the colony of members of FRELIMO. This resistance movement, led from Tanzania by Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, has sent guerilla bands into Northern Mocambique where a situation similar to that in Northern Angola is believed to be developing.

According to The Guardian report, the main wave of arrests apparently came on 22nd December with a second wave on 1st January. The informants whose messages reached The Guardian said that the news had not been printed in the South African press nor had there been even oblique references, although the event was known in political circles in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

In an interview with The Guardian Mr. Jose Sarmiento, a Portuguese who recently fled to England, said: "the opposition in Mocambique regard

this as the biggest mopping up operation carried out by the security police since the Salazar regime came to power. Hundreds of Africans and Europeans known for their reformist views are now in prison".

As the last supporters of white domination in Africa muddle together for mutual protection, there are signs that Portugal could be the first to crack. While the regime of the aging Dr. Salazar still seems firmly entrenched, resistance to it inside and outside Portugal appears to be growing. Writing in The Guardian about a recent visit to the country, David Silver quotes a Portuguese professional man as saying: "Affairs of state are grossly mishandled. Portuguese Africa is costing us millions of escudos a month, and many hundreds of lives. And Portugal is a poor country, both in money and population".

With the limited resources already heavily drained by the war in Angola, Portugal might find the burden of even a small conflict in Mocambique too much to support. Salazar insists on holding the two colonies, but this view is not likely to survive him or his regime. Any change in government would almost certainly be followed by independence for the colonies, and a glance at a map will show what this would mean to South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

No Boom For Workers

THE SOUTH AFRICAN economy is enjoying a boom. There can be no doubt about that. Buildings are springing up everywhere, plans for expansion in some field or other appear in the press almost every day, and, surest sign of all, almost every important town and city of the Republic reports a steady increase in the size of its African working population. Figures published for Durban recently show that the City's permanent resident African population has increased by 29,000, or 11%, in the past 4½ years.

The figures make nonsense of apartheid, but, equally important, they have caused some people to wonder now much of the proceeds of the present boom is finding its way into the pockets of the African workers on whose labour it depends.

In October, 1964, the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Liberal Party conducted an inquiry into the Cost of Living for Africans in the Pietermaritzburg area, and into the wage rates in various fields of African employment. They found that an African family of five, in the Pietermaritzburg area, would need R48-21 per month to cover bare necessities, such as food, clothing, transport costs, fuel, tax and education. The figure makes no allowance for medical expenses, furniture, reading matter or entertainment, and the investigators estimate that such a family needs at least R60 per month "to lead a reasonable life a little above the breadline."

With those figures the investigators compare the local wage rates in various occupations. They found that, for example, an Edendale labourer

on the top rate of pay earns R21-00 per month, a Pietermaritzburg Corporation heavy duty driver earns from R49-80 to R54-16 per month and a Local Health Commission Health Inspector earns from R55 to R120 per month.

They conclude that the figure of R30, held by the Government to be an economic wage, is quite unrealistic and should be doubled, that the large proportion of African unskilled labourers are paid between a third and a half of the minimum wage they should be receiving, that not even in the highest paid occupations can a man expect to start at an above-the-breadline wage, and, finally, that "if boom conditions prevail in Pietermaritzburg they have not spread down to the African workers of the City, whose overall economic position is no better than it was five years ago".

By coincidence, the Wage Board conducted an inquiry into the wages paid in certain categories of employment during November. During the course of this inquiry it was revealed that flat-cleaners in Pietermaritzburg were paid R23-81 per month. The Chairman of the Wage Board said that this was below that paid to other African employees who received an average of R26-60 per month.

The Liberal Party survey suggests that this average is a good deal less than half what a family in Pietermaritzburg requires if it is to live above the breadline. The boom clearly has not reached the African workers of Pietermaritzburg - and it is extremely doubtful whether it has reached them anywhere else either.

FISCHER DIS- APPEARS BUT TRIAL GOES ON

EVENT OF THE MONTH AS FAR AS POLITICAL TRIALS ARE CONCERNED IS UNDOUBTEDLY THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ABRAM FISCHER, Q.C., FROM JOHANNESBURG WHERE HE HAS BEEN STANDING TRIAL WITH 13 OTHERS ON CHARGES UNDER THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT. HIS R10,000 BAIL, ORIGINALLY GRANTED TO ENABLE HIM TO CONDUCT A CASE BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN ENGLAND, HAS BEEN ESTREATED. IN A LETTER HANDED INTO COURT BY HIS COUNSEL, HE SAID: "I HAVE NOT TAKEN THIS STEP LIGHTLY. AS YOU WILL NO DOUBT UNDERSTAND. I HAVE EXPERIENCED GREAT CONFLICT BETWEEN MY DESIRE TO STAY WITH MY FELLOW-ACCUSED, AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, TO TRY TO CONTINUE THE POLITICAL WORK I BELIEVE TO BE ESSENTIAL".

In an atmosphere of rumour and conjecture about his whereabouts and his plans, the case against the other accused is proceeding. An application for the discharge of No. 2 accused, Ivan Schermbrucker, was rejected. Schermbrucker said in evidence that he was not a Communist and was never a member of the Communist Party. He said that he saw boycotts and sanctions as the only alternative to violence and destruction in South Africa.

In Bloemfontein this month judgment has been reserved in the appeal of John Harris against his conviction for murder, arising out of the station bomb explosion in July last year. The appeal is based mainly on the evidence concerning his mental condition which was given at his Pretoria trial in November.

Ebrahim Saterdien was sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment in the Cape Town Regional Court on 8th February for disobeying the terms of his banning order. He is under weekend house arrest, and a 45-minute visit to a bar near his Lansdowne home constituted an infringement of the order.

The five members of the 1961 bus strike committee who have been on trial in Port Elizabeth, were found not guilty on 12th February

of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act but guilty on two counts of attempted arson and one of arson. They were sentenced to 4½ years' imprisonment each.

More trials are expected to take place in Port Elizabeth and other centres nearby at the end of February.

In Cape Town, judgment has been reserved in the appeal of 23 people sentenced to between three and six years in Goodwood in August last year for membership or taking part in the activities of the banned African National Congress.

Of the 37 people reported last month to be appearing in Bellville on charges of involvement in the activities of an illegal organisation, believed to be the Pan-African Congress, four have been discharged following the withdrawal of charges against them. Three others have, however, been added to the group. Four of the 36 now standing trial are being charged with inciting others to leave the country for military training. The men will appear in two groups, on 8th and 31st March, respectively. On trial in Maseru are nine members of the Pan-African Congress from South Africa. They are charged with conspiring to commit acts of violence against the Republic.

90-Days

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who was served with new orders. She is now restricted to Orlando West. The ban interferes both with her job as a social worker and with her studies in economics.

More significant still, however, is the fact that indefinite solitary confinement is still occurring. In reply to further questions put to him by Mrs. Suzman, the Minister of Justice said that seven people had been detained in 1964 under the emergency proclamation 400 of 1960 for periods varying from 14 days to over three months. He said that four people were still detained under the proclamation, which applies only to the Transkei, one having been held since 21st October.

To these measures, used in the main against people who are more or less politically active, can be added the whole battery of repressive legislation governing the ordinary existence of ordinary people. The end of 90-days is very far from being the end of arbitrary abrogation of the basic freedom and rights of individuals.