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FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

The Meaning
of Manpower
Shortage

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Attempt to Cripple Party

MORE LIBERALS BANNED

MAX THOMAS, BARNEY ZACKON, SELBY MSIMANG AND ALBAN THUMBREN. THE PAST MONTH HAS BROUGHT BANNING ORDERS TO FOUR MORE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN A RENEWED ASSAULT BY THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS POLITICAL POLICE. SINCE 1961 - WHEN FIVE-YEAR BANS WERE SERVED ON PATRICK DUNCAN AND ON CAPE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, JOSEPH NKATLO, 30 ACTIVE LIBERALS HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED IN THIS WAY.

First victim in this latest attack was the Party's Transkei organiser Max Thomas, who is now banned from political or social gatherings for the next five years, is confined to Umtata and, among many other restrictions, may not write or have anything else to do with any publication.

Barney Zackon was the next to be banned. Elected deputy chairman of the Cape Division in March, 1963 when Peter Hjul was banned and was forced to resign, in his two years as chairman he guided the Cape Division through repeated attacks on it and its members.

His irrepressible good humour and commonsense approach earned him the deep respect of Party members. "He has fearlessly led the Party in the Cape," said the Division's executive committee, "and, in the context of present-day South Africa, his banning order must be seen as an acknowledgment of what he has achieved".

Mr Zackon was the ninth member in Cape Town and the twelfth member of the Cape Division to be banned. Apart from the prohibition on gatherings and on writing, he is confined to the magisterial district of Cape Town.

One of the founders of the Party and the oldest member of the National Committee, Selby Msimang is under the usual restrictions and is confined to the magisterial district of Pietermaritzburg. He has been in the struggle against racialism since the early years of this century and helped to found the African National Congress in 1912.

Alban Thumbren is the fourth Liberal to be banned in Pretoria. With Walter and Adelaine Haine (banned in 1964 and 1963), he helped the Party to maintain an active and very effective branch in one of the strongholds of the Nationalist Party.

Accusing the Minister of Justice of "a grave abuse of the powers entrusted to him by the legislature" Liberal Party vice-president Leo Marquard said the object of these

bans appeared to be to immobilise young and energetic members without actually banning the Party itself.

But, if the Government's intention is to deprive the Party of all leadership, it is not succeeding. When National Chairman Peter Brown was banned last year he was immediately succeeded by Dr. Edgar Brookes. A few months later Mr.

Marquard was elected a national vice-president. Within a few days of the banning of Barney Zackon, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger - first leader of the Party - agreed to act in his place as Cape chairman.

Professor Roux, who left the Communist Party nearly 30 years ago in 1936 and in the 1950's became a leading member of the South African Liberal Party was banned last year and was forced by the Government to give up his post as Professor of Botany at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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SABC Wants to Reach Leaders in Africa

TO GIVE MORE people outside a chance of hearing a "balanced and fair" report of conditions in South Africa, the S.A.B.C. some time ago ordered four new transmitters, each with the high output of 250 kilowatts. These will replace the small 20 kilowatt shortwave transmitters now being used by the S.A.B.C. The first is now expected to come into operation in October this year.

For those eager to sample the type of "balanced and fair" broadcasts fed by the S.A.B.C. to its suffering listeners in South Africa, there will be a choice of eight languages; there will be music, talks, an outline of conditions in various countries, and perhaps also weather reports.

This will not be a propaganda service the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Hertzog told the South African House of Assembly this month, it will simply reflect conditions in South Africa. "In other words," he added, "the programmes will contain those things which the listener would like to hear. We want to refrain

from making propaganda. Things are so good in South Africa that this is not necessary. We will simply tell the outside world what South Africa is like, how South Africa feels, how we behave towards one another; that will be sufficient".

According to the Minister, this will be a service aimed at the elite in Africa. The services reach only the people with radio sets, and they form a small minority in Africa. But to reach them was important "because, if one reaches the leader, one at the same time reaches his followers and then gradually reaches ever-widening circles in Africa".

To achieve this and to get the inspiring message of South Africa over, the S.A.B.C. has already spent an initial R20,000 - a mere fraction, of course, of what it will eventually cost "to counter the false image of South Africa". If local broadcasts are any guide, listeners in Africa and Europe have something to anticipate, for those 250 kilowatt transmitters will be pumping out programmes that would make even the writers of Springbok Radio commercials blush.

The Great River of Integration

SOME YEARS AGO, in a small book called "Expand or explode", economist Ralph Horwitz showed how the development of South Africa was being retarded by the apartheid policies of the Government and by its failure to make proper use of the manpower available in this country. Despite its larger population and wealth of natural resources, the industrial production of South Africa is about half that of Australia. Canada with a slightly larger population and comparable natural resources has a production about four times that of South Africa. His book clearly showed that the advent of the Nationalist Government in 1948 was more than a political and social disaster. The false dream of apartheid has been a constantly restrictive influence on the economy. Just how restrictive is now being demonstrated by the latest Government efforts to curb an economic boom it cannot effectively handle.

To the conservative, race-influenced economists who guide the Government in these matters, restraints on credit and other measures have become necessary. Expansion over the past year or two has been bursting out beyond the limited capacity of the transport system and of many other services. There is an acute and steadily worsening shortage of skilled and even semi-skilled workers. The railways in some parts of the country cannot handle traffic because they do not have enough drivers, firemen, shunters and other staff; post offices are creaking into that state where mail creeps to its destination; and one industry after another complains that it cannot find enough workers.

This shortage of manpower in a country of more than 16 million people is the product of white prejudice and fear; the creation of racialist fanatics who would shatter their country into fragments rather than work to build it up alongside a black or a coloured man. South Africa cannot develop as it should because the people who govern it and those who support them have remained too small, too petty to serve it adequately. Their patriotism is blinded by obsessive awareness of a pink skin. Their South Africa is surrounded by signs "for whites only". A continuing boom will shatter those signs and so it must be contained.

But this cannot be done by the political police or by banning orders; nor can Government timidity be explained away by warnings against saboteurs or communists. White workers have to be convinced that it is not good for them to earn more money; businessmen have to be told that rapid expansion is not always in

their best interests. And who will believe the Minister who says he will not "budge one bit" from the policy of job re-

servation when non-white workers all over the country are breaking through its ridiculous barriers?

To Government by threats and the big stick, we are adding Government by pretence. The Minister of Labour has to weakly wink at the steady breakthrough by non-white South Africans into better jobs. The Government has tried to hold them back, but the force of economic growth is pushing them forward. While minor officials hustle to segregate sports meetings and theatres, the great river of integration surges round their little dams. Eventually it will sweep over them and their masters, will buffet them and then wash them aside as it flows in its full flood.

THE LONG VIEW

— by Alan Paton

NATIONALISM AND THE THEATRE

The appetite of extreme Nationalism is never satisfied. Its fears are never stilled. Its hates are never lessened. One might suppose that it would direct its hates against a few specific enemies, such as Communism, but it does not. In this country extreme Nationalism never stops making enemies. It thinks nothing of attacking an ex-Chief Justice. It turns on its own ministers of religion, and then accuses them of dividing the Church. It despises its best writers, excepting poets, whose work it does not understand.

Its enemies besides Communism are legion. Some of them are Liberalism, the Black Sash, the Institute of Race Relations, ex-judges who enter politics (on the wrong side), MUSAS, the United Nations, any African politician who does not support the Government, Russia, China and the British Labour Party. It will be fascinating to see if our brilliant legal team at The Hague will be able to conceal this universal phobia, for to reveal it would be to place a powerful weapon in the hands of our accusers.

Nationalism has two striking characteristics. It is cool and calculating in its apartheid strategy, which it conducts with skill so long as it remains cool. But it is also emotionally vulnerable in the extreme, and is capable of destroying some strategic gain with irrational anger. When it has just convinced some part of the world of the beauty of separate development, it snocks it by banning mixed audiences. When it has won over that obtuse man, Sir Stanley Rous, of the International Federation of Football Associations, it slaps him in the face by banning mixed crowds. Its officials publicly turn away Coloured people from concerts at places from which they have never before been excluded. And

all this, mind you, when our lawyers at The Hague are trying to convince the Court that separate development is the finest compound of love, justice and duty that any government has ever devised. It is hard to conceive of a greater stupidity. But extreme Nationalism just cannot help being stupid.

It should not surprise us when some of the enemies of extreme Nationalism show themselves to be ipisical. It should not in the least surprise us when overseas playwrights decide that they do not want their plays produced under such conditions. Extreme Nationalism and its enemies sometimes come to blows; and then people who would rather not be involved get hurt.

Overseas playwrights have certainly dealt South African theatre a heavy blow. I have been asked whether I would not use what influence I have to get them to reconsider their ban. It is argued that it is not the producers, actors and theatre-goers who want segregated audiences, but the Government. It is argued that producers and actors are only obeying orders.

Under no circumstances would I ask overseas playwrights to reconsider their decision. I myself do not wish any play of mine to be presented before segregated audiences. I have had to forego the pleasure of having an actor like David Horner read my short stories from the stage, but I would choose to forego that pleasure rather than have people excluded from the audiences on grounds of race and colour. South African producers and actors must learn a hard lesson. So long as we have apartheid, just so long must we pay a price for it, and one of the prices is cultural isolation. Our cultural isolation is growing, just like our sports isolation and

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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.

LARGE NUMBERS OF PAC AND ANC MEN ON TRIAL IN MANY TOWNS

LATE FEBRUARY AND EARLY MARCH HAVE AGAIN SEEN A SPATE OF POLITICAL TRIALS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. SEVERAL SUCH CASES ARE BEING HEARD IN CAPE TOWN, WHILE A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE ON TRIAL IN AND NEAR PORT ELIZABETH. IN THE TRANSVAAL, THE COMMUNIST TRIAL CONTINUES AND THE HARRIS APPEAL VERDICT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED FROM BLOEMFONTEIN.

The Johannesburg trial of 12 people on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act is proceeding without the key accused, Abram Fischer, QC. He is still missing, but letters have been received from him by friends, asking them to prevent his being struck off the roll of advocates. Several of the accused have admitted being members of the Communist Party.

An announcement that his wife will appeal for clemency has followed news of the failure of the appeal by John Harris against his conviction and death sentence for the Johannesburg station bomb incident in July last year.

PRISONERS CHARGED

On 4th March, nine prisoners from Leeuwkop appeared in the Regional Court, Johannesburg, charged with being members and furthering the aims of the Pan African Congress. Four of the men pleaded guilty, and a separation of trials was ordered. Six were sentenced to three years' imprisonment each, and three to six years'. It was alleged that the men were planning to form a branch of the PAC at the prison, from which they intended to attack the White population of the country, Government buildings and other installations, after freeing and arming other prisoners.

On 9th March, Cyril Jones was convicted in Johannesburg on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment, eight months being conditionally suspended.

There has recently been some comment on the length of time political prisoners in the Eastern Cape are being held pending trial. On 1st March about 200 people appeared in Port Elizabeth for formal remand.

They are charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. After charges against five had been withdrawn, the remainder were divided into five batches, to appear on different dates in March and April. Among those remanded to 29th April was sister Nonthemba Mpenou, who will then have spent a year in gaol. Norman Ntshinga, Springbok Rugby player, who appeared with 30 others on similar charges at the end of February, alleged that he was appearing in court for the first time since his arrest early in January. He wanted to know whether the 90-day clause was still in operation. He, like most of the group, was remanded to appear on 24th April. One man was remanded until 26th April.

In Humansdorp, early in March, 12 men were acquitted on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. In Graaf Reinet at the end of February nine men were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment for leaving the country to undergo military training in order to help the ANC or Umkonto we Sizwe to overthrow the Government by violence. Charges were withdrawn against two and two others were acquitted. Also in Graaf Reinet, towards the end of February, three men were sentenced to death for their part in the murder of Sipo Mange, prospective State witness in a sabotage trial, in January, 1963. Three other men have already been put to death for their share in the same crime. Those sentenced last month were Nolali Petze, Daniel Ndongeni and Samuel Jonas.

In Cape Town, this month, four men are appearing, charged with conspiring to recruit others for military training outside the country. The 12 men with whom they originally appeared in Goodwood Regional Court are being charged with membership and furthering the aims of PAC or POQO. Also being tried in Cape Town is Sammy Petersen, charged with sabotage arising out of an explosion in a Post Office telephone booth in December last year. After he had been remanded until 20th April and his application for bail had been refused, Petersen made a dramatic dash for freedom from a police van, but was soon re-arrested.

"UNDESIRABLE"

BEHIND THE PROTECTION of Parliamentary privilege, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Albert Hertzog, on 4th March described Dr. Edward Roux as a "communist leader".

The Minister was referring to Dr. Roux's book Time Longer than Rope and accused the United Party as "the people who during the war years, when they were in power, released all the communists from gaol after the police had arrested them". He quoted Eddie Roux "as communist leader" as his authority for this statement.

In the Supreme Court, Cape Town judgment has been reserved in the appeal by Joan Block, director of Insight Publications, against her conviction for publishing an article in the New African which contained a number of "undesirable" four-letter words. She and the Company were each fined R300.

In Cape Town on 16th March, 17 people were acquitted when they won their appeal against their conviction and sentence for membership of the African National Congress. The judges considered that the State had failed to prove

beyond reasonable doubt that the African Youth League was a branch of ANC. Sentences on some of the remainder of the 23 appellants were reduced.

The appeal of Dr. Neville Alexander and 10 others against their conviction on sabotage charges was heard in Bloemfontein this month. Judgment was reserved. Main point at issue was the reading and censoring of written instructions from the accused, held on Robben Island, to their attorneys. It was alleged at the trial that these instructions had been seen by members of the police investigating the case.

Eight South African refugees are appearing in Maseru on charges of planning to murder and kidnap people in South Africa. They are alleged to have plotted, with Pan African Congress leader, Potlake Leballo, for a full-scale revolution in South Africa.

Several political prisoners nearing the end of their sentences are being re-charged. In Pietermaritzburg, fourteen men who have served two-year sentences for leaving the country illegally are now being charged with conspiring to undergo military training outside the country. In Durban, Stephen Dhlamini, serving a four-year sentence for belonging to the ANC, is now to be charged, with belonging to the Communist Party.

Another person being re-charged is Robert Strachan, of Port Elizabeth, who has been serving a three-year sentence for conspiring to cause a bomb explosion. He faces charges similar to those brought against him in 1962.

No Longer Citizens Of S.A.

REPLYING IN THE South African House of Assembly to a question by Mrs. Helen Suzman, the Minister of the Interior, Senator de Klerk, said that in 1964 the Government deprived 52 people of South African citizenship "because they left the country permanently with the passports of other countries of which they are also citizens". Among the 52 names listed with his reply was that of Mr. Patrick Duncan, founder and former editor of Contact.

Nats and Theatre

Continued from page 2
political isolation. The more white South Africans who learn that lesson, the better. The only white South Africans who won't care are the extreme Nationalists, for to them culture and isolation are one and the same thing.

Better no theatre at all than colour bar theatre.

Victories Welcome But ..

APPEASEMENT OF WHITE NATIONALISM WILL NOT AID PROGS

THE PROGRESSIVES' DOUBLE VICTORY IN THE ELECTIONS FOR COLOURED REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CAPE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL IS A MOST WELCOME AND WELL-DESERVED RESULT. AFTER A LIVELY CAMPAIGN IN WHICH PROGRESSIVE PARTY SUPPORTERS WORKED HARD TO ENCOURAGE VOTERS TO REGISTER AND SO PRODUCE A ROLL MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF COLOURED OPINION THAN HAS HITHERTO BEEN THE CASE, MANY TURNED OUT TO VOTE AND THE PERCENTAGE POLL IN BOTH CONSTITUENCIES WAS HIGH. IN THE SOUTH CAPE, DR. OSCAR WOLLHEIM SWEEP HOME WITH A MAJORITY OF 3,629 OVER HIS UNITED PARTY OPPONENT. HE POLLED 7,375 VOTES TO MR. FRIEDLANDER'S 3,746. IN THE NORTH CAPE, THE RESULT WAS MUCH CLOSER. MR. VAN HEERDEN OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY POLLED 4,825 VOTES, WHILE MR. BRAAK OF THE UNITED PARTY POLLED 4,541, GIVING THE PROGRESSIVES A MAJORITY OF 284.

The results were achieved in the face of a Government threat early in the campaign to ban the interference of "White-led" political parties in "non-White politics" and in spite of the Government's refusal to grant permission in certain areas where this was required for any but the sitting candidate to address voters. Declaring that the Coloured people of the Cape had made a

"dangerous" choice and forecasting Progressive victories in all future Coloured elections, Die Burger comments: "Thus at all levels the country gets Coloured representation pledged to destroy Coloured policy as carried out and supported by the White electorate". This is a more realistic assessment of the meaning of the election victories than that made by many of the Progressive Party leaders themselves.

In what was, perhaps, an attempt to ward off Government measures expected following the result, Dr. Jan Steytler, leader of the Party is reported to have said that the election wins were a victory over extremism on both sides. He said that the Coloured people had shown that they wanted nothing to do with White supremacy or with demands for one man one vote.

Nothing could have been further from the truth. This was not a contest between these two "extremes". The Coloured people were merely demonstrating that they very much preferred the policy of the Progressive Party to that of the United Party, as they have previously preferred the latter to the Nationalists. Universal adult franchise was not at issue. If it had been, it is unlikely that any other policy would have succeeded against it, no matter how strongly presented, for South African non-Whites have learnt the hard way the value of the vote to every individual.

Apparently even more eager to ensure the survival of the Party at the expense of logic and political integrity, Dr. Wollheim is reported by a Sunday newspaper to have said that the election result should not be seen as a challenge to the Government, because it had demonstrated that the Coloured community wished to co-operate with Whites rather than Africans. How he could have arrived at such a conclusion it is impossible to guess. And these are strange words for a prominent member of a Party which prides itself on its non-racialism.

The only possible justification for using the unjust system of separate representation, by Whites, of Coloured people, is a determination to make a voice heard in the legislative bodies of the country which is truly representative: not only of the Coloured voters but of all the disenfranchised people of the country. This is the role played so well by Mrs. Helen Suzman in Parliament, and it is difficult, therefore, to believe that what Dr. Wollheim is reported to have said really represents the intention of the Progressive Party.

The interests of multi-racial South Africa cannot be served by the appeasement of white nationalism. The Progressives would be well-advised to indicate their awareness of this by retracting both these published statements. Their stature would be immeasurably increased if they did.

VIOLENCE RIFE BUT GROUP AREA REMOVALS CONTINUE

PROTESTS AGAINST GROUP Areas zoning in Claremont, Simonstown and Kalk Bay have died down. People of all races have made plain their opposition to the proposals for these areas. Now they can only wait and see. In District Six, too, the sudden scare of some months ago seems, superficially, to be over. But the quiet is ominous. Recent reports from the Department of Community Development state that surveys to determine the best way to "redevelop" the area have been completed and the results can be expected soon.

For many people, mainly non-White, who know that they will eventually have to leave the homes which have been theirs for years, if not generations, this is merely an anxiety-filled calm before the storm. The Government knew what it was doing when it tackled the problem gradually and piecemeal. So far, those affected in each place have felt themselves to be small in number and very vulnerable, and others have not hurried to their assistance for fear that the chopper would fall all the more quickly on their own heads. Protest has been little more than a token affair, but a token nevertheless of deep resentment and impotent bitterness.

The pattern is likely to be repeated in the areas most recently affected, though the residents of District Six will not be quite so amenable should the area be zoned against them. Meanwhile, rumours of violence rife in the townships cannot be giving them much for their comfort. As the years go by, Bonteheuwel and its environs are becoming a rather more stable community with more facilities and better conditions than when it was first started, mainly as a slum clearance project. But, in addition to the distance from town and other inconveniences felt by those who come from settled areas with good, solid housing and long-established residential facilities, there is still no police station and a walk home from the station at night can be dangerous.

In the Divisional Council area, Bishop Lavis Township has become notorious for violence, and frequent court cases are the result. Here, some of the residents blame those who have been brought in as a result of Group Areas removals. These are the poorer people from the Goodwood Acres area, who, uprooted from their own comparatively stable community, their poverty increased by additional rent and transport costs, are no longer able to cope with ordinary living. Family ties are weakened and there are few recreational facilities. And so the young turn to violence and crime.

Against this background, the Group Areas Board has decided to enforce removals from the Goodwood area. There has recently been a spate of prosecutions of people charged with living in a White Group Area without a permit. Although housing officials confirm that there is no alternative housing available for these people at present, suspended sentences are being made conditional on the accused persons' leaving the area within a few weeks.

These are the results of a Government policy which places the possession of a white skin above all principle and which regards self-preservation as a Christian virtue. All the talk of Bantustans and separate development will never hide the stark realities of oppression which apartheid means.

LIBERALS NOT BANNED FOR VIOLENCE

Bill Before Parliament May Restrict Reporting of Police Activity

THE BANNING THIS month of Barney Zackon, Selby Maimang, Fred Prager and Alban Thumbran brings the total of Liberals banned to 30. Of these, three have been placed under house arrest. They are Joe Tsele, David Ratswaffo and Fred Prager.

Liberals, like others, are banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, although the Liberal Party is as strongly opposed to Communism as to all forms of totalitarian government. It is therefore obvious that these restrictive powers are used less with any idea of combating Communism than with the aim of silencing effective opposition. And this applies not only to Liberals.

Attempts have been made to justify the banning of Liberals and others in the light of the involvement of some banned Liberals in sabotage, as shown in recent trials. It is true that a few Liberals did, in the bitterness of their political frustration under an oppressive and totalitarian regime, indulge in violent activities. This was strictly against the clear policy of the Party and those of them who were still members have been expelled. But it is instructive to examine the list of banned Liberals and to note just to what extent they were involved.

Only four banned Liberals have been brought to court, charged with subversive activity of any sort. During the sabotage trials last year, Eddie Daniels and David Evans were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms, while John Harris has been sentenced to death for murder, a charge arising out of the Johannesburg station bomb incident. Fred Prager was tried for sabotage but was acquitted. Two other banned Liberals appear also to have departed from the avowed non-violent policy of their Party. One is Randolph Vigne, whose name was mentioned in court in connection with activities of the ARM; the other is Patrick Duncan, who left the Party some time after his banning, because of his change of attitude. Both are out of the country.

It is worth noting that, judging by evidence and admissions in court, only two of these people were indulging in any form of violent activity at the time that they were banned. These were Randolph Vigne and Eddie Daniels, and it is clear from the actions of the authorities that these activities were not known to them at the time they were banned. It is quite obvious that even those involved in violence were not banned for subversion but for their legitimate political activities.

It is also worth noting that, in the event, people suspected of sabotage over most of this period were in fact detained, if not charged. Banning would obviously have been useless and was not used. But it is far from useless when it comes to silencing unwanted critics and hampering or even trying to destroy, open but radical political organisations.

The following list of banned Liberals, with the positions in the Party held by them at the time of their restriction, reveals clearly to what an extent the Party has suffered through their loss.

Patrick Duncan	March, 1961	Member National Executive
Joe Nkato	April, 1961	Cape vice-Chairman
Peter Mjul	February, 1963	Cape Chairman
Randolph Vigne	February, 1963	National Deputy-Chairman
Jordan Ngubane	May, 1963	National vice-President
E.V. Mahomed	July, 1963	National Treasurer
D.L. Evans	August, 1963	Natal Provincial Committee member.
Adelain Hain	October, 1963	Pretoria Secretary
Hamington Majija	October, 1963	Cape Executive member
H.J. Bheengu	November, 1963	National vice-president
John Harris	February, 1964	Transvaal Provincial Committee member
Elliot Mngadi	March, 1964	National Treasurer.
Eddie Daniels	May, 1964	Cape Executive member
Peter Brown	July, 1964	National Chairman
Terence Beard	August, 1964	Cape vice-Chairman
Harold Head	August, 1964	Cape Provincial Committee member
Walter Hain	September, 1964	Pretoria Chairman
Dempsey Noel	October, 1964	National Committee member
Ann Tobias	October, 1964	Cape vice-Chairman
Eric Harber	October, 1964	Cape vice-Chairman
Joe Tsele	October, 1964	Pretoria vice-Chairman
David Ratswaffo	December, 1964	Pretoria Secretary.
Eddie Roux	December, 1964	Transvaal Provincial Committee member till 1963 when, as a listed "Communist", he had to resign from the Party.
S. Bostomsky	February, 1965	Natal member
Max Thomas	February, 1965	Transkei Secretary
S. Ndziba	February, 1965	Cape member
Selby Maimang	March, 1965	National Deputy Chairman
Barney Zackon	March, 1965	Cape Chairman
Alban Thumbran	March, 1965	Transvaal vice-Chairman
Fred Prager	March, 1965	Transvaal member

A MEASURE WHICH may severely restrict reporting of raids, some arrests and other activities of the political police is now before the South African Parliament. This measure is in the form of an amendment widening the scope of the Official Secrets Act of 1956 to include any "police matter".

Under the Secrets Act it is an offence to communicate any information about "munitions of war" to any person "in any manner or for any purpose prejudicial to the safety of interests of the Republic".

The Bill now being brought before Parliament by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, extends the Act to include "any military or police matter". It also substitutes the word "publishes" for "communicates". The penalty for transgressing the Act is up to seven years imprisonment or a fine of R1,500 or both.

Some protection against the sweeping terms of the Official Secrets Act comes under a provision which says that no trial or preparatory examination can be instituted without the written authority of an attorney-general.

The measure has been seen as another drastic curb on what may be reported by South African newspapers. "It is true," commented the Cape Argus, "that the intervention of an attorney-general will still be necessary before prosecution can take place, but on the face of it any criticism of the police or description of their activities could be hit by the threat of the law. It will be easy for any policeman of any rank to threaten to set the wheels of prosecution in motion, even if the brake is eventually applied by an attorney-general."

This amendment did not merely double the possible scope of the law; "it infinitely increases it".

While the reporting of normal criminal work of the police may well be left alone, it is quite clear that the amendment will effectively smother news of the activities of the political police. And this seems to be the reason for introducing it.

In the 1960 State of Emergency proclaimed in terms of the Public Safety Act only Contact dared to publish news of what was really happening in certain parts of South Africa. Its editor and manager were later charged, found guilty and heavily fined for contravening the emergency regulations.

At that time hundreds of people were being detained and held for months without trial. News of these arrests could not be published and the names of detainees could not be revealed without permission.

How to Resist the Reds

At Question Time

TO PREPARE ITS readers to be able to resist bestial Red brainwashing under the inhuman savagery of a Communist dictatorship, CONTACT presents this article.

When the ruthless Red secret police frogmarch you off for your first interrogation, they may shine dazzling lights in your eyes, or make you stand in a chalk circle.

The team of interrogators may be alternatively kind, offering you cigarettes and promising to release you if you will just tell them a few small things, or they may threaten to hang or torture you.

The technique employed will depend on whether the Reds have arrested you for information against Western groups, to charge you with anti-Red activities, to make you a Red state witness or just on suspicion of your anti-Marxist tendencies.

The interrogator may reveal nearly everything he knows about you so that you will think that, as he knows everything anyway, you have nothing to lose (and a release to gain) by helping him. You may be confronted by the statements of others or even detained friends who will urge you to disclose your anti-Red activities. They will try to bluff you about who has been arrested, how many Reds have been killed. You should not believe any thing you are told, especially if you cannot see it with your own eyes.

After you have seen nobody for perhaps several months and are hungry for friendship, one interrogator may be hostile, perhaps even beating you up, swearing at you, calling you a ---- kafir or Jew (the African students' riot and anti-semitism in Russia being symptoms of this attitude) humanist liberalist and accuse you of being too cowardly to admit your anti-Red activities.

He will try to provoke you into being indignant and expansive, then, finding discrepancies and indiscretions, draw the net about you when you reveal something incriminating in Red laws.

Another cunning Red interrogator may pretend to be friendly and concerned about you, "take your side" against the first interrogator, and urge you to "help him protect you" by telling him just ONE little unimportant fact.

He may urge you not to sit down and admit defeat but to stand up and keep fighting. After perhaps months of solitary confinement you must make a conscious effort to resist and query all orders and suggestions and not to meekly obey and stand for perhaps 72 hours until you collapse. Sit down (on the floor if there is no chair) as soon as you are tired.

You should always remain calm and not allow yourself to be bewildered or frightened.

During the interrogation you must decide whether not to talk at all, to count silently to yourself, or to make short irrelevant non-political talk, never speaking unless spoken to, watching for the interrogators' efforts to incriminate you. When you become

too tired to think clearly, keep quiet.

If you are un-cooperative you may be kept in solitary confinement for months with no books or paper or people to speak to.

If you refuse to say anything, parents, children, wives, girlfriends may be taken to plead with you not to be misled by others and help them by telling about your anti-Red associations. Try to destroy all emotion at seeing them. They are being used as tools of the Reds and must be ignored.

You may be told to pack, be

released, and then re-arrested several times, or woken up and interrogated every two or three hours during the night.

If the vile Reds think torture may crack you, they may physically assault you, suffocate you in a sack, attach electrodes to your genitals or limbs after stripping your clothes off and electrocute you.

If you are beaten up, crouch up double, with your hands held behind your neck and your arms over your head; this may protect you from permanent injuries to your brain and face.

FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE PEOPLE

WHILE THREATS OF violence such as those recently made to headmen in connection with Matanzima's proposed visit to Tsebuland, are not in any way to be commended, it does not do any harm for political leaders to be reminded now and again that they must respect the wishes of the people they represent. Not to do so sooner or later brings their downfall. It is possible that even the Democrats need to be reminded of this fact. Up till now they have clearly represented the views of the vast majority of the people in the Transkei and this appears to have brought them to the crest of a wave which may even sweep them into power. In these circumstances it must be natural for them to worry about the possible results of attaining power. The Republican Government cannot be expected to take such an event lying down. But it would be a great pity if, in order to attempt to prevent measures being taken against them on the Government side, they should in any way alienate themselves from the mass of the people on the other.

We refer to the remarks on the franchise reported to have been made by Democratic Party National Chairman Knowledge Guzana, in the presence of other Democrat leaders. Speaking to visiting American journalists, he apparently said that the Democratic Party favoured a qualified franchise rather than "one man one vote", and he later endorsed his remarks when questioned by local reporters. He added, however, that the vote, once given, could not be taken away, and universal adult suffrage was already an accomplished fact in the Transkei. Perhaps the addition of this qualification shows that he himself is aware of the dangers of such a position, for his statement was made at a time when there are widespread rumours that a third political party is to be established in the Transkei, by certain lawyers and other educated people who are dissatisfied with both the existing parties. It would be a pity if discontent with a Democrat qualified franchise policy, if officially adopted, were to be used as an excuse for establishing another party. This would split the Opposition, and the Democrats could not hope to win on such an issue.

It is tempting for the educated, particularly among people hitherto denied voting rights, to allow themselves to be flattered into an assumption that they alone are capable of exercising the vote adequately. In countries where education is compulsory and universal, there is perhaps something

to be said for a qualified franchise, for it can then be assumed that those with extremely low educational qualifications are also extremely unintelligent. But in a country like South Africa, no such assumption can be made. Of all people, the Democrats should know how much faith can be placed in the good sense of primitive and uneducated people, who can distinguish as well as the educated between what is right and what is wrong, and between what will be to their interest and what will not, provided the alternatives are put clearly to them. And the Democrats should therefore know what the popular decision would be if they were asked to choose between qualified and universal adult suffrage.

If the Democratic Party is trying to prove itself more "respectable" than it has hitherto appeared to be; or if, following the allegations of Mr. Hans Abraham against Mr. Vigne and Mr. Duncan and allegations also that Mr. Guzana himself has associated with "leftists" by seeing radical Whites, it is trying to dissociate itself from any taint of Liberalism, then we must warn that it is fighting a losing battle and making a great mistake. But we cannot believe that the Party as a whole will follow such a lead. In "White" South Africa there is a role for a "moderate" Progressive Party, with its minority safeguards and its qualified franchise. But in the context of the Black Transkei, such a policy is not only unjust but suicidal.