

Sometimes they bring a warrant authorising them to attend the meeting, sometimes they don't bother.

The families of young Party members are visited and told that they should persuade their relatives to give up their political work before they get into trouble.

Rural African members are visited after meetings have been held and are asked questions. Latest device is for the policemen to masquerade as representatives of the Party who have been sent from Headquarters to collect local information.

This is the atmosphere in which a political organisation which actively opposes apartheid must work in South Africa today. Bannings and warnings come spasmodically, but the methodical campaign of police intimidation goes on every day. Mr. Vorster knows all about this campaign. He is its instigator. His object is to make that political opposition which challenges apartheid at its roots impossible. He is not succeeding, because most people refuse to be intimidated, but he is certainly making life difficult—and his indignant claims of June 10th are so much eyewash.

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## THE TRANSKEI LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

From May 5th to June 20th the first full session of the new Transkei Legislative Assembly took place. It revealed some very interesting facts.

Almost the first day the Assembly met it confirmed what everyone already knew, that the Transkei Constitution does not provide for representative government. Chief Poto's Democratic Party had the support of two-thirds of the elected members of the Assembly and claimed to have won some 1,297,440 votes against Kaiser Matanzima's 445,675, yet because the majority of members are Government-appointed Chiefs, Matanzima started the session off with 66 votes to the Democratic Party's 43.

It was soon obvious that the Democratic Party could call on far more ability, brain-power and debating skill than could Chief Matanzima's Transkei National Independence Party. While Matanzima and a handful of his supporters carried the full burden of arguing the apartheid case which his Party supports, the Democrats had a large number of skilful and outspoken debaters to call upon, and did

so very effectively.

The Democrats did not have enough votes to carry the motion of no-confidence with which they opened the session, but they achieved their purpose and made the Matanzima supporters reveal themselves publicly at the very outset of the Assembly meetings. This was a serious embarrassment to some of the Government-appointed Chiefs, who came from areas which had voted solidly for Poto and who now showed themselves to be quite unrepresentative of the views of their people. The effective arguments put up by the Democratic debaters and the high-handed manner in which the "government" handled some of the Assembly debates produced the first cracks in the fronts presented by the two Parties. Two Chiefs, Mzauteti Diko of Eastern Pondoland and Qamarana Zenzile of Gcalekaland left Matanzima and joined Poto. There were rumours of others who were trying to pluck up courage to do the same. Both these Chiefs came from areas in which, before their defection, every single Chief who sat in the Assembly supported Matanzima. In contrast, in Eastern Pondoland, 7 out of 8 elected members supported Poto, and in Gcalekaland the elected members are fairly evenly divided between the two parties. The first Transkei by-election is due to be held in Gcalekaland, and it will be interesting to see whether Chief Qamarana represents a move away from Matanzima in that area. Certainly Matanzima will be throwing everything he has into the election campaign in an effort to show that it does not—and with the resources available to him, and Big Brother Republic in the background, he will start off with a considerable advantage over the Democrats. However, the Democrats will have two important propaganda weapons in their hands for this and subsequent elections.

Last year the Republican Government appointed the Cingo Commission to study the question of mother-tongue instruction in the Transkei. The Commission did what the Nationalists wanted it to do and came out in favour of mother-tongue instruction. When education policy was discussed in the Transkei Assembly the Cingo Report was submitted to it. At the same time Chief Poto's supporters submitted a whole series of motions fiercely critical of Bantu Education. The Transkei Minister of Education proposed a Select Committee of both Parties, which would consider the Cingo Report and the Democrat Resolutions. The Select Committee, in its report, recommended that the Bantu Education syllabus be abandoned in the Primary and Second-

ary schools and that instruction be through the official language (Afrikaans or English) of the parents' choice from Standard III onwards. The parents' choice will almost certainly be English. The syllabus recommended is that used by white schools in the Cape Province. Is this the end of Bantu Education in the Transkei? In late June, having remained silent since the Select Committee reported, Kaiser Matanzima made a statement strenuously denying that it was. It is difficult to see what else it is. Certainly any backsliding by Matanzima on this question will give the Democrats an even more effective education platform than they have at present—and at present their known rejection of Bantu Education is very popular with Transkeians.

Perhaps the most important point scored by the Democrats during the session was when they introduced a motion calling for rehabilitation schemes to be introduced in the Transkei only with the consent of the local people. "Rehabilitation" means soil conservation in one respect, but in another it means demolition and removal of homes without compensation, compulsory "tribal" labour and, in some cases, the reduction or loss of fields. It is very unpopular. Matanzima supporters know this and, when the Democratic motion was put, a large number of them managed to be absent from the hall or to abstain, and the motion was carried by one vote. The winning of the vote did not mean much at the time, but the fact is that Chief Poto has come down four-square for rehabilitation schemes only being introduced when the people want them, and Chief Matanzima has come down as firmly against him.

Many Matanzima Assembly supporters are going to have some awkward explanations to make when word gets around in their home areas that they voted against voluntary "rehabilitation". This will be particularly the case where there is already a conflict between people who support Chief Poto and a Chief who supports Matanzima. But even in pro-Matanzima areas rehabilitation is hated. This vote could stand Victor Poto in very good stead in the future.

## LOOKING BACK AT SNYMAN

BY A LAWYER

(Mr. Vorster, South Africa's Minister of Justice, has just extended the 90-Day "Detention Without Trial" Clause into its second year. The original justification for the Clause was

**said to rest on the findings of the Snyman Commission which was appointed to investigate the causes of the Paarl Riots of late 1962. With the extension of the 90-Days Clause it seems worthwhile to examine the Snyman Report again to see if it does provide such justification.—Editor.)**

Mr. Vorster has still not let go of his 90-day powers. He has promised to drop this power if circumstances permit during the Parliamentary recess. The appetite for such powers once savoured is not easily lost. It takes an authoritarian personality to acquire such tastes in the first place. That is why public pressure on Mr. Vorster to forfeit these powers must not cease until he does so.

The Snyman report into the Paarl riots has been used to justify these extraordinary Executive powers. It will probably be used in the future to support Mr. Vorster's request for yet more dictatorial powers. To what extent can such use be made of the Snyman Report?

It will be recalled that, in November, 1962, a group of Africans engaged in an attack on the Paarl Police Station, and after being beaten off by the police, went on an expedition of rampage, in which R37,250 damage was done to property and two white people were killed and four wounded by the attackers. Five Africans were killed and fourteen wounded. Judge Snyman was appointed as a Commission of Inquiry into these events. He heard evidence for some months, including confidential information in private from the Security Police.

His report traces the history of Poqo, the terrorist organisation, which it equates with the P.A.C. The P.A.C. is in turn seen as a development out of the A.N.C. As far as the A.N.C. is concerned, the Report says that "in its earliest days" it expressed and promoted its aims on a non-violent basis. It is suggested that Communists infiltrated the A.N.C. and "ultimately captured its organisation". The Snyman Report considers that its 1949 Programme of Action is a sign of Communist influence in the A.N.C.

It is difficult to speculate on what has happened to the A.N.C. since its ban in 1960, but at least, until then, there were many leaders of the A.N.C., including its President, Chief Luthuli, who were certainly not Communist. Furthermore in the Treason Trial, after a hearing lasting some years, the Court found that "it has not been proved that the African National Congress had become a Communist organisation".