

APARTHEID—THE END APPROACHES

contact

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Every Fortnight 6d.

Vol. 3 No. 7

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THE MAN—MR. MANGALISO R. SOBUKWE TALKS WITH SUPPORTERS

How Sixty-eight South Africans Died

MASSACRE AT SHARPEVILLE

Exclusive dispatch by the only journalists who were there

WE went into Sharpeville the back way, behind a big grey police car, and three Saracens. As we drove through fringes of the township many people shouted the Pan-Africanist slogan, "Izwe Lethu", which means "Our Land", or gave the thumbs up "freedom" salute and shouted "Afrika!"

They were grinning, cheerful, and nobody seemed to be afraid. Some kids waved to policemen who were sitting on Saracens, and two policemen on one of the Saracens waved back. It was like a Sunday outing, except that we knew that Major Att. Spengler, head of the Rand Security Branch, was in the front car, and that there were bullets in the Saracens' guns.

Spengler led the convoy towards Sharpeville police station, and policemen on Saracens obligingly signalled left and right turns in the road to us, and when they were slowing down. Perhaps they thought we were members of the Security Branch. Then we caught a glimpse of a crowd around the police station at the top of a long rise ahead. Abruptly Spengler turned his car around and the Saracens followed.

We followed the convoy to the main gates of the township where policemen were stopping all cars from town. We stayed on the township side of the barricade. Then Spengler was off again, and his Saracens. We were going back to the police station, but this time there was a difference.

The policemen were all inside their Saracens and the hatches were battened down. The police were looking at Sharpeville through chinks in their armour plating. But the residents did not regard the tanks with concern; they were interested, and some of them grinned.

There were crowds in the streets as we approached the police station. There were plenty of police, too, wearing more guns and ammunition than uniforms.

FIRST EYEWITNESS REPORT

Ian Berry, "Drum's" Encyclopaedia Britannica award-winning photographer, and Humphrey Tyler, assistant editor, were the only journalists in the crowd when the police opened fire in Sharpeville Township, near Vereeniging, around lunchtime on Monday, 21st March. This is the first eyewitness report to be published in South Africa. We are permitted to publish it through the courtesy of "Drum". This magazine is reserving pictures that Ian Berry took for its next edition or a special edition which "Drum" may produce soon.

Major Spengler and his Saracens drove through the policemen around the police station and we hesitated. Then we parked our car and Berry went to see what he could photograph. Every time a policeman looked at him he whisked into the crowds. Then an African approached him and said he was the local Pan-Africanist leader. He told Berry his organization was against

violence and that the crowd was there for a peaceful demonstration.

The crowd swelled around Berry, listening to what their leader said. But Berry thought the police would come too, so he said: "For goodness' sake, get these people to move." The

a tunic leant into the car, red in the face and explosive.

He shouted: "Have you got a permit to be in this location? Have you got a permit?" I said no. He shouted: "Get out! Get out! Get out or I'll arrest you on the spot, do you understand!" He had his police gun in his holster and black pistol tucked into the top of his pants. He seemed almost hysterical.

I backed down about twenty yards and waited for Berry where I had left him.

Then Berry came back and we decided to go around to the other side of the police station. This was about seven minutes before the police opened fire and the crowd seemed perfectly amiable. It certainly never crossed our minds that they would attack us or anybody.

We drove around to the other side of the police station and we parked in a big field. We could see a couple of Saracens sticking above the heads of the crowd ahead of us, just more than one hundred yards away. The crowd seemed loosely gathered around them and on the fringes people were walking in and out and some kids playing. I certainly could not see more than about 3,000.

I said to Berry: "This is going to go on all day." And he replied,

"Let's hang on for a bit anyway." Then there was a report, over to the right it seemed, away from the police station.

"That's a shot," said Berry.



Police and Saracen at Bophelong, just after the Sharpeville shooting.

and he leapt out of the car with two cameras. He crouched in the grass taking pictures. The first rush was on us, and then past. There were hundreds of women. Some of these people were laughing, probably thinking the police were firing blanks. But they were not.

Bodies were falling behind them and among them. One woman was hit about ten yards from our car. Her companion, a young man, went back when she fell. He thought she had stumbled. He turned her over in the grass. Then he saw that her chest was shot away. He looked at his hand. There was blood on it. He said: "My God, she's gone."

There were hundreds of kids running too. One had on an old black coat and he held it behind his head as he ran, to save his head from bullets, I suppose. Some of the children were leaping like rabbits, hardly as tall as the grass. Some of them were hit too.

Still there was shooting. One policeman was standing on the top of a Saracen and it looked as if he was firing his sten gun into the fleeing crowd. He was moving slowly from side to side. It looked as if he was panning a movie camera—from the hip. Two other policemen were on the Saracen with him. It looked as if they were firing pistols, but I could not hear pistol shots separate from the toc-toc-toc of the automatic guns.

Most of the bodies were strewn in the road which runs alongside the field we were in. I saw one man who had been lying still get up, dazed, and walk a few paces. Then he fell in a heap. A woman sat with her head cupped in her hands.

One by one the guns stopped shooting. There was nobody moving in our field except Berry. The rest were wounded or dead. There was no crowd any more. It was very quiet.

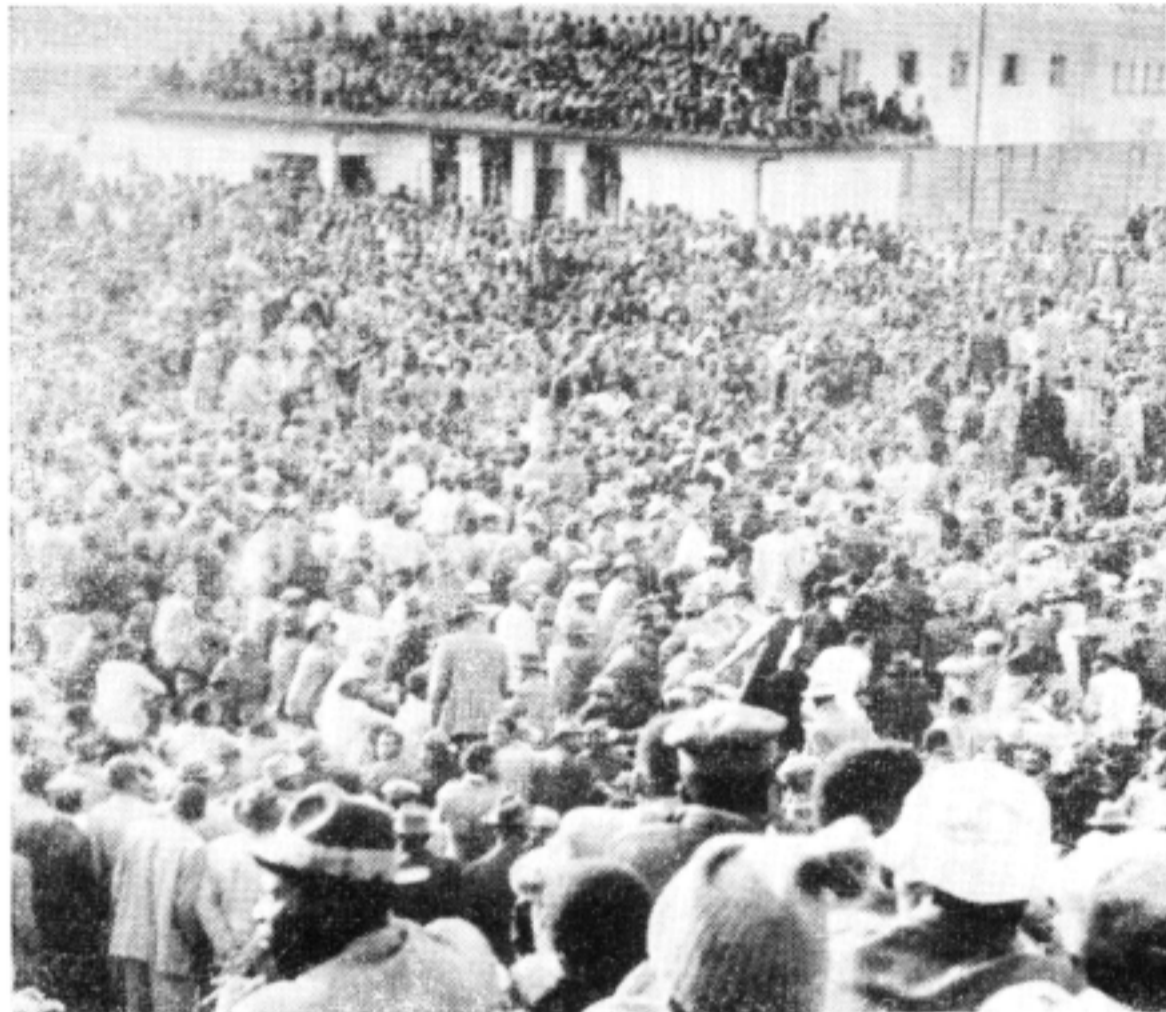
Berry ran back to the car with

[Continued on page 11]



Pan-Africanist Congress leaders Potlako Leballo, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, and J. D. Nyause.

Peaceful Meeting—Until Police Arrived



The above gathering was the second to take place in the square outside the Flats at Langa, Cape Town, on Monday, 21st March. This photograph was taken by a "Cape Times" photographer, in the evening, just before the police broke up the meeting.

At least 6,000 men gathered at this meeting, which had been called by the Pan-Africanist Congress in ignorance of the Government ban on meetings in that area.

After the police tried to disperse the meeting by force many of those present rioted. Buildings were burnt. Police lorries and Saracens were attacked. Four people were killed.

Pass Campaign Success at Langa and Nyanga

CAPE TOWN: The Pan-Africanist Congress scored a major success in Cape Town last week, when a nearly total stay-at-home strike combined with a pass resistance campaign was achieved in the three principal African townships of Langa, Nyanga and Nyanga West.

The campaign began before dawn on Monday, 21st March.

Mr. R. M. Sobukwe, President of the P.A.C., had appointed this day as the day on which African men were to be asked to disobey the pass laws.

Mr. Sobukwe asked the men to leave their reference books (*dompas*) at home, to go quietly to the nearest police stations and then to ask the police to arrest them. If the police should refuse to arrest them, they were asked to go home, and not to go to work. They were to stay at home until Mr. Sobukwe permitted them to return to work, and he solemnly undertook not to give any such orders until he had managed to negotiate the abolition of the pass laws with the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd. In speeches planning this campaign he asked his hearers to kill him if he should come and ask them to call off the stay-at-home strike without having gained any concessions.

The first major clash took place in the Langa township.

Early in the morning P.A.C. officials, supported by a corps of volunteer workers known as their "task force", led some 5,000 men towards the Langa police station. The men were under the command of Mr. Philip Kgosana, a young Transvaaler, who had just given up a career at Cape Town university in order to work for



KGOSANA

the P.A.C. He is now Regional Secretary of the Western Cape branch of the movement.

Interviewed by *Contact* on the afternoon of 21st March, Mr. Kgosana said:

"I was appointed to lead the Langa group of demonstrators against pass laws.

"We gathered at the Langa single quarters early this morning, and, at about 7 a.m., we decided to move to the police station.

"We were approached by a group of armed police. I had an impression that they were about to carry out a baton charge. I

immediately left my followers—about 5,000 men—behind and went to the police. I told the police that I was the man responsible for the demonstration and I asked to be arrested.

"The senior officer in charge of the police refused to arrest me. He wanted to know who would control the demonstrators while I was in gaol.

"I told him that our demonstration was opposed to any form of violence. At this he shook me by the hand in congratulation.

"A senior officer of the Security Branch who was present also congratulated me on my stand of non-violence. He told me that at the beginning of a speech I had made on Sunday he had almost arrested me. But as I said that the police should not be interfered with and that anyone who resorted to violence would be a traitor to the African people, he had changed his mind about arresting me.

"The police then wanted to know what our plans were. I told them that we were marching to the police station where we wanted to be locked up for being without our passes. The senior officer told me that if we went anywhere near the police station he would defend the station to the last bullet and to the last drop of blood.

"As I am against violence I [Continued at foot of col. 4]

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First African Cardinal



FOR the first time an African is to be made a cardinal of the Catholic Church. He is Bishop Laurian Rugambwa, of Rutabo, Tanganyika.

He is one of seven new cardinals whose names were announced by the Pope early in March.

Bishop Rugambwa was ordained at the age of 31, and is forty-eight years old.

Tanganyika, his country, contains over a million and a half Catholics, including Julius Nyerere, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, and probable Prime Minister of the territory in September this year.

[Continued from col. 3]

asked my people to disperse. I told the officer I would withhold my labour and I asked him to withhold his bullets.

"I then picketed the police station and kept the demonstrators away from the police station."

Asked whether he believed non-violent civil disobedience would bring freedom to the Africans, Mr. Kgosana said, "I believe in non-violent methods and any African who resorts to violence is a traitor to his people and their cause. I want it to be understood that we are not against the Whites as people, neither are we against

Dr. Verwoerd as a man, but we are against the iniquitous pass system."

Asked whether he thought this particular demonstration would meet with success, Mr. Kgosana replied, "The support we have received shows that we will meet with success. We are prepared to stay away from work until the bosses of commerce and industry force the government to climb down on the pass question. As we do not have the vote we will use the people who have the vote to get us out of our difficulties by hitting at them."

New Storm-centre in Natal

From "Contact" Correspondent

INANDA is the new storm-centre which is developing in Natal. This district lies about fifteen miles to the north-west of Durban. Part of it is in the magisterial district of Verulam and part in Indwedwe. The portions administered from Verulam are made up of farms owned by Africans, Indians and a few Europeans. The rest are rural African Reserves.

The trouble developing on the farms is linked with events at Cato Manor. When the Kwa Mashu location was established—it lies between Inanda and Durban—the Durban authorities put pressure on the Africans at Cato Manor to move into the location. Hundreds of families refused to do this and chose to settle down on the Inanda farms.

The police countered by warning the landowners at Inanda that they would be prosecuted if they allowed people to squat on their land. That did little to stop the influx. Police pressure was intensified after the Cato Manor troubles. The landowners were advised to remove all Africans who had settled on their lands in about 1957. They were given

up to the end of March to comply with the law in this respect.

The atmosphere has become tense as a result. A complicating factor is that the fugitives from Cato Manor who had poured into the city after the riots are turning to Inanda while police pressure seeks to drive them into the Kwa Mashu location.

Almost every day now lorries carrying the few belongings of the Africans can be seen moving in opposite directions along the Inanda road. Some run away from Cato Manor, while others are being driven out of Inanda. This creates a delicate situation with a high explosive potential. It might transform Inanda into Natal's storm-centre Number 2 after Cato Manor.

LIBERALS LEAD HECKLING

From "Contact" Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG: A brave band of Liberals led the heckling at the rowdy Nationalist meeting in Johannesburg for English-speaking citizens.

Undaunted by cat-calls from the audience, the Liberal Party people kept the Nationalist "intellectual", Mr. Fritz Steyn, M.P., busy answering questions about the Republic.

They got him to admit that there

would be "great problems" when the 6,000,000 Africans had to remain in "White" South Africa without civil rights if the Bantustan dream were achieved.

It was particularly heartening to notice how many English-speaking people, who cheered Mr. Steyn when the meeting started, booed vigorously when it ended. There can be no doubt that these people took their lead from the Liberals.

Mrs. Mafekeng in Basutoland



Mrs. Mafekeng was recently banished by the South African government; but instead of going to her place of banishment she took refuge in Basutoland. At present she is working under Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party. Above is a recent photograph of her taken by a "Contact" correspondent who recently visited Basutoland.

WHAT IS WORRYING HIM?



Sir Roy Welensky (r.) meets Lord Home (l.) at the Salisbury airport at the time of Lord Home's recent visit to the Federation. Lord Home is the Federation's best friend in the British Government. It seems (see below) that he has managed to dam, temporarily, the new Macleod policy of co-operation with African nationalism.

THE FEDERATION

No Clarity Yet in British Policy

FOR the moment the inevitable break-up of the Federation has been slowed down. It is known that, although Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, has achieved clarity on future British policy in nearly all of Africa, he has not yet achieved clarity on future British policy in the Federation.

What appears to have happened is this: at the time of the Cape Town speech and of the Macleod hammerblows against the settlers' privileges in Kenya, assurances were given to Africans in the Federation that Dr. Banda would be released in Nyasaland in time for him to be able to give evidence before the Monckton commission. This appears from two articles which appeared in *African Mail* (Lusaka) of 23rd February and 1st March. These articles told of a meeting at Dar es Salaam between Mr. Macleod and Nyasaland's Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, in January, at which Mr. Macleod pressed for Dr. Banda's

immediate release. Early in January Mr. Macleod forecast an "early end" to the Nyasaland emergency. Late in February Dr. Banda, according to these articles, was given a date for his release. At that time too the Nyasaland Malawi Congress Party clearly expected Dr. Banda's early release and an early end to the emergency, in which case it indicated that it would most probably give evidence before the Monckton commission.

All this has, for the moment, been changed. It is virtually certain that Sir Robert Armitage threatened to resign if Dr. Banda were released in Nyasaland; Lord Home, the Federation's best friend in the British Government, has paid an extended visit to Sir Roy Welensky, and after his return to Britain spoke about the necessity for Federation, and referred to Nyasaland as a "slum".

Information from the highest circles in Salisbury shows that during February Sir Roy Welensky was in an embittered state of mind.

Sir Edgar Whitehead, shortly after Mr. Macmillan's forthright speech in Salisbury, suggested that Southern Rhodesia might have to secede from the Federation.

It now appears that Sir Roy Welensky's bitterness and Sir Edgar Whitehead's threats were sufficient to persuade Lord Home, and, through him, the British Government, that a sudden release of Banda was not possible.

Lord Home appears to have taken back to London a picture of Sir Roy's determination and of his ability to keep the Federation afloat, and, for the moment, it seems that he has had his way in the British cabinet. Proof of this is a series of cautious speeches by

Mr. Macmillan in mid-March suggesting that the wind of change need not necessarily be a gale; that the White Africans need protection as well as the Black, and so forth.

This is all very well for the exclusive White clubs of Salisbury. But what of Dr. Banda? What of the hopes for an early ending of the emergency in Nyasaland? Hopes encouraged by British statements?

Africans are hoping that Mr. Macleod will bring to these problems the same clear-sightedness which he brought to the London bus strike and the Kenya talks.

SAYINGS OF WELENSKY

It would be "utter nonsense" to say that the Federation would give equality.

—*Bromley, S.R., 1st April, 1953.*

"I believe that the fundamental error was in asking the African about Federation instead of telling him what was best."

—*Quoted in African Mail, 23rd February, 1960.*

There would be no real change in the Federal Parliament in the status of Africans "from what existed under the Southern Rhodesia constitution." At the time he said this, Whites outnumbered Africans on the voters' roll in Southern Rhodesia by 100 to one.—*March, 1953.*

NYASA AUTHORITIES EXPECT TROUBLE

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIMBE, Nyasaland: In Nyasaland the authorities are expecting trouble. The Monckton Commission is due to tour the country, in three groups, from 22nd March to 6th April. White people living far from towns have been asked to paint code numbers, in orange paint, on their roofs. The idea is that the houses may be easily identified from the air, if crowds are seen near them and it is necessary to send help.

It is also much easier to keep the country under aerial observation if all large houses are numbered. Any happening visible from an aircraft can be reported to headquarters and immediately pinpointed by this method.

PAN-AFRICANIST TRADE UNIONS

I.C.F.T.U. Plan S.A. Office

By a Special Correspondent

THERE have been some recent interesting developments on the African trade union front. Publicity was given some months ago to the establishment, in South Africa, of a new trade union co-ordinating body, the Federation of Free African Trade Unions (S.A.)—known as Fofatusa. The president is Mr. Jacob D. Nyaose, who is also "Minister of Labour" in the "shadow cabinet" of the Pan-Africanist Congress. It was widely known that this movement had the blessing of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

During 1959 Mr. Charles Millard, Director of Organization of the I.C.F.T.U., visited South Africa, and promised that his organization would do what it could to help the new co-ordinating body. On his advice the I.C.F.T.U. decided not to offer help to Sactu (the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions), which is a constituent body of the "Congress Movement", and an ally of the A.N.C., on the ground that it was affiliated to the communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions.

When it became known that the I.C.F.T.U. was becoming interested in South African trade-unionism, various representations were made to their headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. One of the people who intervened is a prominent church leader. He asked the I.C.F.T.U. to devote what help it could to Sactu, and not to Fofatusa.

I learn that these representations were not successful, and that no help from this source will, in fact, go to Sactu.

The I.C.F.T.U. is still, however, anxious to help, and a decision has been made to open an office in South Africa, in Johannesburg.

This office would form part of the African Region of the I.C.F.T.U., of which Mr. Tom Mboya is the chairman.

ARMED POLICE MEET BISHOP

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: When the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, came to Atteridgeville, Pretoria, to ordain Rev. Jonathan N. Montjane as a priest, he was met by armed police and the location superintendent who demanded his permit of entry from him.

The police had come in three police vans and riot cars which were parked at the superintendent's offices. Members of the Security Branch were also present. Many people kept away from this service because, before the arrival of the bishop, some of the police mixed with the congregation.

After the bishop had entered Atteridgeville, the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department of the City Council and several police officers apologized for the "unfortunate misunderstanding". Some policemen shook hands with Rev. Montjane and asked him to keep the matter away from the press. Some residents of Atteridgeville believe that the church has been watched ever since Rev. John Tsebe baptized a White child there.

Cheers—let's have a drink!



Students of Pius XII University College, Roma, Basutoland, enjoying tea and drinks at the hitherto "Whites Only" but now non-racial luxury hotel "Lancers Inn" in Maseru, the Basuto capital.

Transkei Violence

BANTU AUTHORITIES THE CAUSE OF UNREST

From "Contact" Correspondent

BOTH the nature and the extent of the disturbances near Bizana in the Transkei—in which White storekeepers were forced to flee from their trading posts—have attracted attention to an area of which little is normally heard. Because of the disturbances it is now clear that all is not well in the rural reserves.

The press created the impression that the Bizana scare was something new in the Transkei. That is not so. The truth is that last winter a gang of Africans ran around in powerful cars, carrying firearms. They forced White traders to part with their money, burgled some stores and generally struck terror into those portions of the Transkei—around Umtata—in which they were active.

It was suspected at the time that they came from Johannesburg. It was not until after the police had captured their leaders that they were recognized to be Transkeians. Their case is now before the courts.

The significance of the wave of terror they let loose on parts of the Transkei lies here: it came after the government had announced that the Transkei would become a "Bantu State".

The imposition of Bantu Authorities on the Transkei has strained the relations between the tribesman and their Chiefs. The latter are susceptible to government pressure. Three chiefs and the secretary of one paramount chief were banished when they expressed doubts on the wisdom of accepting Bantu Authorities. That was a warning to all the chiefs that from their side the government expected no nonsense.

This conflict between the interests of the chiefs and those of the tribesmen is shaking the institution of chieftainship to the very foundations in the Transkei. It explains in part the readiness with which the tribesmen readily resort to force to give to apartheid a meaning acceptable to them.

Group areas theft at Pietersburg

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: As brawny (White) athletes bore the "Torch of Civilization" northwards for the Union Festival, civilized South Africans were shocked to learn last week that the entire community of Indian South Africans in Pietersburg, Transvaal, had been ordered out of their homes and shops to a stretch of barren veld two miles from the town.

The first Indian people came to Pietersburg in 1884, two years before it was proclaimed or named as a town. They set up shops; they helped the White farmers in times of drought and depression.

Under the Group Areas Act an area can be set aside by the government for occupation by only one racial group. Any person who does not belong to the group for which it has been set aside can be compelled by law to leave it.

They are now expected to carry on their businesses in the veld. Few can afford this. Hunger and poverty are all that the future offers.

THE LOOT

This, in cold figures, is what Pietersburg's Indian South Africans stand to lose:

An annual turnover of about £1,500,000, carrying book debts of £500,000 and goodwill valued at £125,000.

Boycott may Lead to World Campaign

From "Contact" Correspondent

LONDON: The start of the boycott month has been marked by activity all over Britain. Nearly 200 meetings have been arranged by the boycott movement—many on street corners and at factory gates. Pickets are out daily and two million leaflets have been distributed.

The *Daily Express* has exultantly announced that the campaign has failed economically; but observant shoppers note that South African grapes are being sold at half or a third of the normal prices.

Even if the campaign were to have a small economic success it has already achieved great political success. Over 100 committees representing political parties and co-operatives have been set up in Britain. All are tremendously enthusiastic to continue campaigning after March against the all-White cricket tour and for funds for South Africa.

It seems certain that external pressures on South Africa will steadily mount in the coming year, possibly leading to a full-scale international campaign.

Support is also coming from American and German trade unions and from movements in Scandinavia, Holland and elsewhere.

"Whites must stay in Kenya"

—Afrikaner

From "Contact" Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH: An Afrikaner couple who live in Kenya and who are returning there despite the recent British decision to give Kenya's legislature an African majority, were interviewed by *Eikestadinus* (Stellenbosch, 4th March).

There are Mr. and Mrs. Chris Fourie. They say that the White man's great work in Africa is only now beginning. Mr. Fourie speaks of "a new world in which we shall all fit in", though of course we shall have radically to change our attitude towards things in the new Africa. "Even if there is a predominantly non-White government in Kenya," he says, "the Whites must stay there."

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FORTUNE FAVOURS THE BRAVE

TO the long list of battles against White domination there must now be added two new names: Sharpeville and Langa.

At each of these places the pass campaign of the Pan-Africanist Congress was met by brutal and unnecessary violence on the part of the police.

The Pan-Africanist leader's call, reported in the evening press of 19th March, was for the campaign to be conducted in "a spirit of absolute non-violence". Reports from both Sharpeville and Langa show that the crowds were not gathered in an aggressive mood. They went to the police stations to give themselves up for arrest, having left at home their pass-books, that badge and chain of slavery. Their leaders called for total non-violence.

At Langa a large crowd of some 6,000 people gathered on Monday evening, and were given three minutes to disperse. They could not do so, whereupon they were charged by the police, who used batons. Some people in the crowd fought back. The police then used their firearms.

At Sharpeville the first violence came when a large crowd which had gone to the police station quietly to be arrested, was fired upon—see our eyewitness report on page 11.

Contact has received an eyewitness account (not published) of the happenings at Sharpeville which indicates that about fifty White farmers joined in and opened fire on the Africans.

Colonel J. Pienaar's remark that "they must learn their lesson the hard way" shows the spirit that powered this violent White vengeance—for vengeance it was at Sharpeville, let there be no mistake about it.

This evidence leaves no doubt in our minds that the responsibility for the bloodbath of Sharpeville lies squarely on the authorities. And it lies on them at every level.

It lies with the Prime Minister and his government, for it is they who have pursued this cruel policy of apartheid, a policy which has become an abomination to the whole human race.

It lies with the White so-called opposition in the United Party, for their opposition lies merely in wishing to dress up the abomination in a few rags, thinking that thereby the non-Whites can be diverted from their decision to work for freedom now, and that the world will be deceived.

It lies with the police, and with those White farmers who joined in the shooting down of defenceless men, women and children, for instead of trying to understand the true grievances of the Africans, they tried to protect their privileges with guns.

It does not lie with Robert Sobukwe and his Pan-Africanist Congress. They have done nothing more than to call on the people to challenge the pass laws with non-violent resistance. It is true that they might have done it more wisely—there is much in the detailed planning of the campaign



which is plain crazy. But they have chosen a noble and mighty weapon, the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation.

Criticisms have rained down on Mr. Sobukwe. In particular he has been criticized for launching out on an ill-planned campaign. And he has been criticized for using violence. Some of these criticisms have come from those who declare themselves lovers of freedom. How have these criticisms helped the cause? Why did they have to speak? Could they not at least have allowed the Pan-Africanists to try the assault on the apartheid stronghold?

Mr. Sobukwe and his movement have gone to the heart of the matter in a way that no other political movement has succeeded in doing. They

Justus has been detailed for special duty with a Saracen unit, and is temporarily away. He is expected back next fortnight.

are tired of mere talk. They have realized that only a willingness to give up life itself unselfishly, and for the future of our country, can now influence South African history.

For this alone they deserve a salute.

They also deserve praise for their single-mindedness, their discipline, and their anti-communism. They at least are not guilty of working to rid this country of one tyranny in order to replace it with a worse one.

At the same time it is essential at this stage to sound a note of warning. Although the Pan-Africanist leaders have pledged themselves to non-racialism, some of their followers have indulged in bitter racial attacks on White and Indian South Africans. How any White person could expect Africans, at this stage, not to be anti-White, passes our understanding. At the same time if the leadership of the P.A.C. is to continue to enjoy the support of the world, if they are to build, from the ground up, a new South Africa that will be as free of Black baasskap as Mr. Sobukwe now wants it free of White baasskap, then it is urgently necessary for the P.A.C. to make its professions of non-racialism

ring true. The only way they can do this is by opening the doors of their movement to all races, with all the attendant dangers, which at the moment obsess them.

A further criticism of them is that they have added lines to the beautiful hymn "Nkosi Sikelela" which speak of putting enemies to flight. This accords ill with the pure spirit of non-violence which Mr. Sobukwe has invoked. No doubt the addition has been made by enthusiastic followers, and no doubt when he learns of the addition Mr. Sobukwe will have it removed.

Despite mistakes Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe is assured of a page in South Africa's history. He has not only judged accurately the mounting anger of the people of this country against the abomination: he has heightened the concern of the outside world.

The boycott movement in England has been overwhelmed by offers to help, and, a move filled with foreboding for White baasskap, the United States has reacted with an immediate condemnation of the violence. The State Department has spoken of the Africans' "legitimate grievances" and has said that it hopes that they will be able to obtain redress by peaceful means. It has further regretted "the tragic loss of life resulting from the measures taken against the demonstrators".

The American reaction has brought nearer one of the two pre-conditions for victory against apartheid: total overseas isolation, of which the present boycott is merely a foretaste, and for which *Contact* has been working for over two years.

The other condition is total internal non-violent non-co-operation.

Mr. Sobukwe and his Pan-Africanists have had the honour to have brought both pre-conditions noticeably nearer.

Contact is independent. It works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. It is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism and communism.

PETER BROWN takes the...

... LONG VIEW

Fear, Not Tradition, Inspired Nat Handshake Order



Peter Brown, Chairman of the Liberal Party

SOMETIMES one wonders whether all the Nationalist talk of the Afrikaner's holy task to ensure his survival at the southern tip of Africa is meant seriously at all. Certainly Nationalism's leaders seem to have the unfortunate habit of saying and doing things which can only have the effect of making their survival less certain than it need be. There have been two recent examples. First Mr. Maree's hand-shaking edict, second Dr. Verwoerd's bullying references to "harsher methods" being used if he doesn't succeed in getting his republic through the referendum. The second will reduce even further the Nationalists' faint hopes of influencing non-Nationalist White South Africans, the first will consolidate African opinion, inside and outside the Union, against them, and make their chances of winning black friends in Africa, if possible, more remote than ever.

Mr. Maree's order is the typically small-minded action of a petty despot. I wonder if he realizes what its implications could be? It has been issued, he tells us, in order to prevent

hand-shaking between White and African officials of his department because to shake hands is not "according to Bantu custom". Mr. Maree seems to have had some difficulty in establishing how one does greet a person "according to Bantu custom", but no doubt the research section of his department is busily paging through its archives to remedy this deficiency. In time we can expect Mr. Maree to come up with something as firmly rooted in "Bantu" tradition as the strange terms of address concocted by his colleague, Mr. De Wet Nel, not long back. Unfortunately for Mr. Maree there was an omission from his directive which shows it up quite unmistakably for what it is and which cuts straight through all the mumbo-jumbo about "Bantu tradition". For, while Mr. Maree has ordered that white and black in his department should not shake hands he has not, as far as I know, ordered that black and black should not shake hands. If he is so concerned to preserve "Bantu" tradition the obvious place to have started, one would have thought, would have been where that tradition was shared by both people concerned.

It is in their small, unguarded moments, more than in their grand statements of policy, that the Nationalists stand revealed for what they are. Dr. Verwoerd shows it, not in his "new vision" of Bantustan, but through the unfortunate slip of the tongue, which allows him to refer to Africans as "Kaffirs" when he is addressing a Stellenbosch

public meeting. Mr. De Wet Nel shows it when he cannot bear to have Africans addressed as Mr. or Mrs. Mr. Maree shows it when he stops white hands shaking black hands but quite forgets to stop black hands shaking black hands . . . and when he tells us that he does it for reasons of "Bantu tradition".

The fact of the matter is that behind the kindly blue eyes which so impressed Field-Marshal Montgomery, Dr. Verwoerd conceals a contemptuous attitude towards the Africans of the Union, and that behind Mr. Nel's and Mr. Maree's childish manoeuvres lies a pathological inability to treat an African, born in South Africa, as an equal. The reason, of course, is that once equality has been conceded, in however limited a field, the whole edifice of White supremacy is threatened and White supremacy is what the Nationalist Party is pledged to maintain and what its supporters

expect it to maintain. For all but a tiny minority of them it is the existing state of baasskap and not the dream of Bantustan which matters.

Nevertheless the new look Dr. Verwoerd tried to give apartheid a year ago was an attempt to persuade Africa and the world that South Africa's Nationalist government was prepared to concede to Union Africans the right to develop to the full, and that it had a sincere appreciation of general African aspirations and even a respect for them. That there was no body to the new look does not alter the fact that Dr. Verwoerd was trying, at least on the propaganda level, to persuade the people of Africa that his government was prepared to live with them. And Mr. Louw's South African Information Service has been busy, ever since, trying to convince the sceptics that Bantustan is real, that baasskap is dead, that the Afrikaner Nationalist is prepared to meet the African Nationalist on equal

terms. All of them might just as well have spared themselves the trouble. Mr. Maree has given Africa the answer. He won't shake hands with an African from this side of the Limpopo.

Mr. Maree's directive is no concession to "Bantu" tradition. It is a concession to Afrikaner Nationalist arrogance which sees, in every African, an inferior. This is not an insult to Union Africans alone, but to all Africans. It is not a calculated insult, because its effects could be incalculable. It will cause a simmering resentment at home which no amount of tortuous explanation will cool down. This resentment will only be aggravated by Mr. Maree's statement that he and his White officials will not mind shaking hands with Africans north of the Limpopo.

What makes him think that they will now want to shake his hand?

What's New by "Gadfly"

AT the Wanderers Stadium, Johannesburg, they have been staging a thing called the South African Games. This occasion has been adorned with all the trappings traditionally associated with the Olympic Games. An S.A.B.C. commentator, describing the opening of the Games, said that there was one "amusing difference" between them and the Olympics. Instead of a cloud of pigeons, a cloud of balloons was released at the moment of the opening.

In his excitement, this gentleman must have forgotten to mention the other amusing difference. A trifling detail, of course—only the exclusion of four out of every five potential competitors.

FOR the last year or so, there have been continual rumblings presaging some sort of major changes in the law relating to the legal profession, the procedure and the composition of the courts. A kite was flown in Parliament by Mr. Froneman, who moved a rather muddled motion calling for investigation into all sorts of things. In the meanwhile, certain concrete proposals are being discussed in Government circles. The public knows nothing of them; the profession has heard a few hints. Among the possibilities are the appointment of judges from the ranks of the magistracy and the abolition of the distinction between barristers and attorneys. Something else which will certainly creep in is the fulfilment of a long-standing ambition of the Native Affairs bureaucracy—the prohibition of the engagement of lawyers by Africans in matters of administrative law. Another possibility is the confinement of African legal practitioners to practice in "their own" courts.

All this will be wrapped up in proposals for the reform of certain undoubted anachronisms and anomalies in our legal system. The

Government will pose as defenders of the public against exploitation by lawyers, and will use the opportunity to destroy the independence of Bench and Bar.

If this disaster is to be averted, the Opposition will have to be careful not to involve itself in mere mulish defence of the status quo. We will have to be ready to distinguish the good from the bad in the Government's proposals, to defend the essentials of the rule of law while supporting those reforms which are necessary.

CONGRATULATIONS to the Whites of Pietersburg and Rustenburg upon the successful theft of several million pounds from their Indian South African fellow-citizens. This is the enterprising spirit which has made South Africa great. While fearful foreigners are writing off the White man in Africa, these sturdy sons of the veld have shown that they still have pioneering blood in their veins.

Another famous victory has been won by the White building artisans of the Rand. They have succeeded in preventing several hundred of their Coloured workmates from continuing to earn a living. Is there perhaps room in the Voortrekker Monument for a frieze to commemorate the blow struck by these heroes in the fight for civilization?

IT is rumoured that if anything comes of the disarmament talks, the aircraft carriers of the U.S. Navy will have wheels put on them and will be sold as cars. A Johannesburg business man has his name down for two of them, but he has one worry. He feels that if he walks the distance from the gangway to the bridge every morning, the neighbours will start saying that he can't afford a car.



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SAM SLY'S CORNER

FORTNIGHTLY NOTES ON BOOKS AND THE PRESS



Steward and pan

The man who gave the world "Do you want your daughter to marry Sir Roy Welensky?" was Bernard Levin in our good friend *The Spectator*. Another bit of his scalpelwork unfavourably compared the work of Mr. Alexander Steward, Director of Information at South Africa House, and of the men who follow the greyhounds round the White City track picking up their droppings with a little pan.



STEWARD

Mr. Steward does his work well; in an English television interview recently he wielded his little pan deftly indeed. "The winds of nationalism" (Mr. Macmillan's changed phrase in the House of Commons) had been "anticipated in South Africa by several generations". The Group Areas Act would "enable citizens of a particular homeland to live in accordance with their national characteristics and . . . be closely linked politically and culturally with their homelands". The six million arguments against apartheid that the Tomlinson Commission produced when reckoning the number of Africans in White areas in A.D. 2000: "At the very most 15 per cent of the total population of South Africa will be represented by Black people in the White industrial areas, and quite clearly one must plan for the 90 per cent or 85 per cent". Harsh implementation of apartheid he finished with his punch-line: "On the average the White South African family makes £60 a year available for the upliftment and betterment of the Bantu people".

"Africans" allowed

This kind of argument is good knockabout stuff, superficial enough to occupy a full page in the *Government's Fortnightly Digest of South African Affairs*. Nobody takes it, or Mr. Steward or the *Fortnightly Digest* seriously anyway. The only cause for sadness would be in commiseration with Mr. Steward at the state of his conscience. In these limits, however, he has done well: that "upliftment and betterment" touch is capital. But a half-hidden phrase disturbed me. Mr. Steward is not normally allowed to use the free world's term "African". Yet here it is: Bantustans will provide the opportunity "of the

Bantu people, the African people . . . (to) express their African personality". What heresy is this, Mr. Steward?—"African people" indeed! Only those who are two jumps ahead guessed that sooner or later he and his fellow pan-carriers would wake up to the apparent similarity of Verwoerd's "the Bantu must develop on their own lines" and Free Africa's concepts of *négritude* and the African personality.

"The African personality" can be used to sanctify Bantu Education, Bantu Authorities, pass laws, influx control and separate universities. As our Government extends a reluctant hand to the new African states, these instruments of oppression will be explained as being just what Dr. Nkrumah ordered.

So let's make this quite plain. Bantuization and the African personality are antonyms, not synonyms. The "African personality" is the treasured quintessence of the mind and character of forward-looking African people. It demands belief in a shared personality of these people of Africa. "Bantuization" is African progress put in reverse gear, it is the attempted stunting of African character by Verwoerd, the applied-psychologist, and Eiselen, the applied-anthropologist, and the fragmentation of African unity via Bantu languages and ethnic grouping. Make no mistake.

Headline news

Sly headline competition, March award: "Katoelike Kerk nie 'Engels' nie", an editorial in *Die Brug, Maandblad van die Katoelike Afrikanersentrum*.

Review of reviews

Nothing very sparky is about due from English or American publishers that you haven't met here already. Only these others do I consider worthy of you who have read thus far: *African Pulse* by Fr. Martin Jarrett-Kerr, C.R.; *South African Stories* by David Wright; *Muntu: the Outlines of Neo-African Culture* by Janheinz Jahn; *After Colonialism* by Basil Davidson; *The Evidence of Love*, a novel by Dan Jacobson; *In Pursuit of the English* by Doris Lessing; *An African Treasury*, an anthology of contemporary African authors chosen by Langston Hughes; *The Sharp Edge of the Sun*, a novel by Michael Fisher; *Prohibited Immigrant* by John Stonehouse. Even if you don't want to read them, don't read the *Contact* review instead.



REVIEWS

Inspiring his Brothers

THE TOKOLOSH. By Ronald Segal (Sheed & Ward) 8s. 6d.

OVER the past few years, Ronald Segal's sharply pointed pen has been busy in the columns of the journal *Africa South*, which

he edits, pricking the bubbles of racist myth and Nationalist day-dream.

His leading articles are characterized by a purposeful truth which has caused alarm in Government circles, especially in view of the circulation the journal enjoys overseas: it has been said that one copy of *Africa South* destroys the effect of six months' very hard work on the part of Eric Louw's dutiful servants in the S.A. Information Service.

Those who are regular readers of the periodical must often have wondered where its editors found the courage to persist in a task which has on several occasions laid him open to almost bodily assault; and where he found the skill and judgment to aim his pen so that it hit the target every time. We now have the answer: the genius of *Africa South* has been brought to book, and its character portrayed in this little adventure that Mr. Segal has written for our enlightenment and pleasure.

The African cousin of Puck it is, Tokolosh, who like so many of us finds himself engaged willy-nilly in a political campaign: who has, ominously for our rulers, returned from the exile to which he fled when the Whites moved into his Africa, taking the smile from the faces of his friends. Now he is back, and busy in the townships and gaols, on the farms and down the mines, using his tinkling laugh to inspire his giant brothers to smile, to encourage them in their struggle, to give them hope when all seems lost.

In order to prove his existence to the world at large, Tokolosh ordered one of his few White friends, Mr. Segal, to write this little tale about him, and although it runs to barely a hundred pages there can be no doubt that the command has been fulfilled.

Appropriately enough, it deals with Tokolosh's first appearance on his return, when he made possible the safe delivery of an African boy, Peter, whose mother had been in great travail until she heard the tinkling laughter.

Tokolosh does not choose his occasions lightly, and in the painful birth of Peter we can perhaps see that of the new Africa, achieved after terrible labour.

The major part of the story is concerned with the method by which the Peters are to be enabled to take their rightful place in society, a method which in the circumstances of which Peter's people are victims, revolves around resistance to those who oppress them. In this instance, it is a bus boycott, very similar to that which alarmed White Johannesburg some years back.

The people walk, and in moments of trouble and doubt Tokolosh is there to cheer them, by little tricks to confound the police who harrass them, by his laughter to give them heart to carry on, so that in the end they win the battle for the penny they refused to pay.

The narrative is slight, and the story familiar, and were it told in isolation it could not escape being dull, but Mr. Segal takes us into the Council chambers of the city which has been brought to a standstill, to laugh at the pathetic gyrations of a Mayor who can do nothing, and into the hallowed sanctuary where the Prime Minister and his cronies meet to discuss the matter fast becoming a national emergency.

Here, in a few delightful vignettes, we meet the men who rule us:

"We must send more police to the city", said the Minister of Ships and Trains. "This whole bus business is getting out of hand. We must show them once and for all who is the boss." And he cracked his fingers together decisively once.

"I agree, I agree," shouted the tall thin Minister of Justice, and his right eye twitched twice. "It is time for some more arrests."

"Give them a finger and they will eat up the whole of your arm," said the Prime Minister, and all the ministers nodded their heads at him, except for the Minister of Rivers and Dams, who had fallen asleep and was smiling contentedly to himself.

"What shall I say to the newspapers?" asked the Minister of Overseas Repairs, looking hopelessly at the Prime Minister. For there was nothing he liked as much as his name in the papers, and he always had a statement ready for every occasion.

Tokolosh is a light-hearted but serious little tale which will cheer the hearts of those who are in despair for the future: it is further enlivened with apt line drawings by David Marais, among them two delightful portraits of Tokolosh himself.

The publishers, breaking with their tradition of staid Catholic writing, are to be complimented for the most pleasing format in which this book has been issued.

TIMOTHY HOLMES

Our Milestone

MODERN FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. By Michael Stewart (Unwin) 21s.

"SOUTH AFRICA is the only independent state in the world which avowedly bases its institutions on the principle of domination by one race over another."

From a sentence like that, it can be inferred that the author of this excellent text book knows how to make a point without mincing his words.

Mr. Stewart goes on to say that political institutions framed on the British model (as the Union's were in 1910) cannot work in the different atmosphere which now prevails. The reason is clear enough. The experience of Britain over centuries, and of other countries in the Commonwealth over a shorter period, has shown that the inherent tendency of these institutions is to produce political and legal equality, and even a trend towards social and economic equality.

"South Africa has determined to prevent this development and in consequence democratic institutions themselves begin to wither." In other words, the laws designed to diminish the rights and curtail the liberties of Africans have in practice also affected White people, and especially those who protest against the policy of the ruling race.

In Britain a governing group which was at first small, progressively admitted more and more of its fellow-citizens. Between 1832 and 1928 the franchise was extended to new classes until everyone had it. Can the same process be carried through, asks Mr. Stewart, when the majority at present excluded from power is of a different race or colour from the rulers? And his answer is: if this can be done in Africa, the human race will have achieved over its own fears, suspicions and prejudices another of those victories which, in the past, have been the milestones of progress.

I have used scores of books

about the British and other constitutions but none that I could recommend more warmly to students at any level.

JULIUS LEWIN

Without Overlay

CANDLE IN THE SUN. By Jane M. Meiring (Frederick Muller Ltd.) 16s. 6d.

THE setting is Jeffreys Bay. The story is about the fisherfolk who eke out a miserable existence in this remote, isolated village. With quiet, forceful authority, Jane Meiring creates the atmosphere of their lives. She takes us into the homes of these lowly people, to share with them their love, hate, ambitions, lust, fears, and frustrations. And especially their frustrations, for this is a story of Coloured fisherfolk. With precision, she scalps away the false overlay of glamour, high adventure, and romance usually associated with fisherfolk, and their calling. She reveals instead a life that is hard, unrewarding, dangerous, a continual struggle against near starvation and grinding poverty. She is sensitive enough to have observed and recorded the moments of beauty in it too. Jane Meiring does not ask you to be sorry for these people. As she succeeds in convincing one of their reality, so a strong feeling of compassion is aroused in the reader.

Her characters are well drawn, and can be recognized in most fishing communities. There is Martha, a beautiful green-eyed slut, who fornicates with Joseph, handsome leader of the fisherfolk, as her husband, the pathetic Adam, lies coughing up his lifeblood, with TB ravaging his body. There is Rosie September, the so-typical village confidante, and self-appointed district nurse, nearly always drunk, but greatly respected, as the repository of all the village secrets, the minister to the needs—physical and spiritual—of the people whom she loves and from whose loins she has sprung. And burly, grizzled Tolman, whose illicit love for his step-daughter brings him into the shadow of the hangman's noose. It is Lena, child of Martha and Joseph, who carries the story into District Six. Dominating the village, are the shop, where food is bought on tick until the next catch, and the hotel, well patronized, where happiness can be bought in bottles.

The scene shifts to Cape Town, when Lena, like so many stock characters in South African fiction, goes to the big city, this time in search of her delinquent brother Freek, accused of dagga smuggling.

Here Jane Meiring loses her masterly touch. The book now becomes artificial, and loses the impact of its earlier reality.

To fulfil the needs of a plot that has been imposed on the characters that she has created, and who now exist in their own right, a new turning has to be taken in the story.

The search for Freek and the happenings in District Six seem to have nothing to do with the lifelike human scene we have left behind.

This was an otherwise readable, praiseworthy book. Jane Meiring is vet to be congratulated on her unique portrait of the forgotten men and women of South Africa's distant fishing villages.

Last month the Press reported that the novel had been seized by the customs at Port Elizabeth. After reading it, I cannot suggest a single reason why this was done.

J. C. A. DANIELS

Worse than Africa?

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN SOVIET ASIA. By Geoffrey Wheeler (O.U.P. for Institute of Race Relations) 6s.

THE (British) Institute of Race Relations has produced two small volumes, uniform with each other, giving promise perhaps that others will follow in an important series of race studies round the world.

One is Ruth Slade's *The Belgian Congo*. The other is the book under review.

The atmosphere of the study is strongly scientific. The aim is "neither to condemn nor to condone". Written in this spirit the history of the Mongol invasion and domination, and the subsequent expansion of Russian Whites into the Asian heartland is valuable.

At the same time one must remember that the Soviet Union is a leader in the anti-colonialist movement in the world to-day: she stands second to none in her condemnation of the colonialism of Europe in Africa. It is pertinent to examine Soviet colonialism in this light. Seen in this light there are some facts in this truly so staggering that objectivity cannot be maintained without heartlessness. The population of Kazakhstan illustrates a case in point. Between 1926 and 1939 the population of non-White Kazakhs fell from 3,968,300 to 3,098,800—a decrease of nearly 900,000. During this period the White population (Russian immigrants) rose to three millions. The author says that the cause of the decrease in the population of Kazakhs "has not been officially explained". It is, of course, generally accepted that it was due to the savage imposition of Russian-devised soviet collectivization.

Has Africa seen anything as bad as this?

Another case in point is even more startling, and must be quoted in full: "The deportations carried out during the Second World War have already been mentioned as one of the factors affecting the population of Central Asia. The principal of these deportations were from the Volga region, the North Caucasus, and the Crimea, and they involved altogether about one million Asians. Of these about 800,000 were Muslims and the remainder Kalnyks and others. The Muslim peoples involved were the Chechens (408,000), Crimean Tatars (202,000), Ingush (92,000), Karachay (76,000) and Balkar (43,000). Full details of the deportations have never been published, but it appears that in 1944 the various Autonomous Republics and Provinces bearing these peoples' names were 'liquidated' and the people deported to an unknown destination on the ground that they had co-operated with the Germans during their advance into the Caucasus. [This did not apply to the Chechen, into whose territory the Germans never reached—M.] No news of their fate was available until 1955, and in the meanwhile they were regarded as non-existent. Except in the volumes appearing after 1956, their names were not included in the second edition of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* as having ever existed or played any part in history, except in the final supplementary volume published in 1958. . . . In February 1958

[Continued on p. 12, col. 1]

MR. H. SELBY MSIMANG TELLS HOW IT STARTED . . .

50 Years on the Road to Liberty

CONTACT INTERVIEWER: You very kindly said you would tell us some things about the 1913 A.N.C. deputation to England, but let's go back a bit first. When do you think this idea really started?

MR. MSIMANG: Certainly the Vereeniging Treaty signed at the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902 disappointed and flabbergasted the African people. We had hoped and prayed for the victory of the British arms over the Republican forces. Its terms made no reference to African interests and it was in fact regarded as a shameful betrayal of the Africans who had done so much to assist in the prosecution of the war against the Republican Forces.

C: But was it carried out as you feared?

M: Subsequent events confirmed our fears and even after the grant of self-government in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, there was no manifest change in the treatment of the African people from the practices of the Republican governments, which were sometimes brutal and heartless.

C: Did you hope for relief when the colonies began to come together. In 1908, wasn't it?

M: No, it heightened the tension which was getting more and more articulate, born of the fear that a united European power over us would mean, if not open slavery, something like economic strangulation.

C: Then the Act of Union was not so much a shock as a realization of your fears?

M: We were excluded from participation in any form whatsoever in the democratic institutions of the country, except that the status quo in the Cape Province was mostly left. But a year or two later a young African Oxford graduate, Pixley ka I. Seme arrived from overseas and opened an office in Johannesburg as an attorney. Our general unsettlement prompted him to act at once and he tried to bring all the African tribes into one organization. He was convinced that the people must rise above tribalism and regard themselves as members of the African nation.

C: Go on.

M: He successfully convened a conference in Bloemfontein in December, 1912 and for the first time in the Africans' history, leaders of the various tribes and organizations and chiefs met in one spirit and agreed unanimously to establish an organization which they called the South African Native Congress.

C: Were all the provinces involved?

M: They were, and the High Commission territories. Swaziland was represented by the late Regent Prince Malunga who was then the head of the Swazi nation and uncle to the present Paramount Chief Sobhuza II, and Basutoland by the late Chief Maama, a direct

descendant of King Moshoeshoe. It is a pity, I cannot at the moment remember the names of the Chiefs from Bechuanaland.

C: What part did Dr. Seme himself play?

M: He was appointed treasurer-general, with the late Dr. J. L. Dube of Natal the first president, and secretary-general the late Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje. A constitution committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the late Mr. Attorney R. W. Msimang.

C: The Native Land Act of 1912 must have come right on top of this.

M: We weren't ready for it, of course. Congress hadn't even an approved constitution and wasn't at all well established yet. As you know, the Bill was to deprive us of all rights of freehold and transaction in land, and promised for land to be bought in "tribal locations" and more laid down in the Schedule. Another bad state of affairs was in the Free State where a large number of Africans were operating on European farms on a half-share system and were doing remarkably well; and in the Transvaal as well as in Natal, Africans had formed syndicates for the purpose of buying land. All of this had to stop.

C: Congress's weakness must have been frustrating. What did they do?

M: First an emergency meeting of the executive committee was called by Dr. Dube. It quickly set up a committee to fight the Bill and a fund-raising campaign was launched.



PLAATJE

C: Do you remember who served on it?

M: Apart from Dr. Dube and Mr. Plaatje, there were Mr. Saul Masane, an ex-compound manager, who was chief organizer and also toured parts of the Transvaal, and Mr. Elka M. Cele as treasurer (I was his secretary), Mr. D. S. Letanka and Mr. Benjamin Phooko were others I remember. Mr. Attorney Msimang was statistician.

C: What was he needed for?

M: I'll get on to that later! We set out for funds first—Mr. Masane and Dr. Dube in the Transvaal, and Mr. Plaatje to the Cape. I went as Dr. Dube's Sotho interpreter in Sekhukhuneland and later on my own to Pondoland, where I was attacked by Mr. Cingo, a Tengo Jabavu follower. Old Mr. Jabavu himself led a lot

of opposition against Mr. Plaatje especially through his newspaper *Imvo ZabaNtsundu*. In spite of difficulties we raised over £2,000 and felt we had done well.

C: This must have been in a very short time. Surely the Bill was already before Parliament?



H. SELBY MSIMANG

M: It was, so we decided at an emergency conference at Kimberley to send a deputation to the British government. We chose Dr. Dube as leader, with Mr. Plaatje, Mr. T. M. Makipela, Dr. W. B. Rubusana, and the Rev. Henry Ngcayiya, who substituted Mr. S. M. Makgatho. This was where Mr. R. W. Msimang came in. He quickly collected a mass of evidence—evictions had already begun, particularly in the Free State. It was printed in pamphlet form and posted to England for the deputation to use.

C: Before we get on to the deputation itself, why was this step taken? Was negotiation with the Union government no good?

M: They had not had the decency to consult the African people over the establishment of the Union of South Africa, nor over the Land Bill. When we had decided to send a deputation the government deputed the then Secretary for Native Affairs, the late Mr. Edward Dower, who did all he could do to advise against sending a deputation to England on the ground that the land question was a domestic matter with which the Union parliament alone could deal. He also pressed the point that Great Britain would be powerless to interfere with an Act of the South African parliament. A committee from the conference told him our regret at the Union government's refusal to consult with us. They also said that Britain, at any rate, should be made aware that the Africans held her responsible for the revolutionary changes contained in the Bill as it was the British parliament that enacted the Act of Union, and without providing safeguards for African interests.

C: What finally decided the conference?

M: Mr. Dower was not prepared to assure Congress of real safeguards the government would make to minimize the hardships which would follow the passage of the Bill. For that reason the decision to send a deputation to England was confirmed.

C: Dower was right about the Union parliament's sovereignty in this case, of course, as they must

have realized. Did they have any success?

M: On arrival in England, the deputation saw the then Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, who referred it back to the Union Government on the ground that it enjoyed complete sovereignty over the question of the relationship between White and Black in South Africa. But they were undaunted, and they organized meetings to appeal to the English public on the question of the injustices of the Natives Land Bill.

C: Fortunately some of this is preserved in the speeches and accounts of meetings in Plaatje's *Native Life in South Africa*.

M: They might have had a real effect had not the First World War been declared in the midst of that agitation. They decided not to embarrass Britain while war preparations were going on, and they came home in 1914.

C: Lloyd George's action must have been a blow and the outbreak of war a worse one.

M: Even so, as soon as the deputation returned, its members counselled active support of the Union's, or the Allies', efforts in the war against Germany.



LETANKA

C: That was accepted, at any rate.

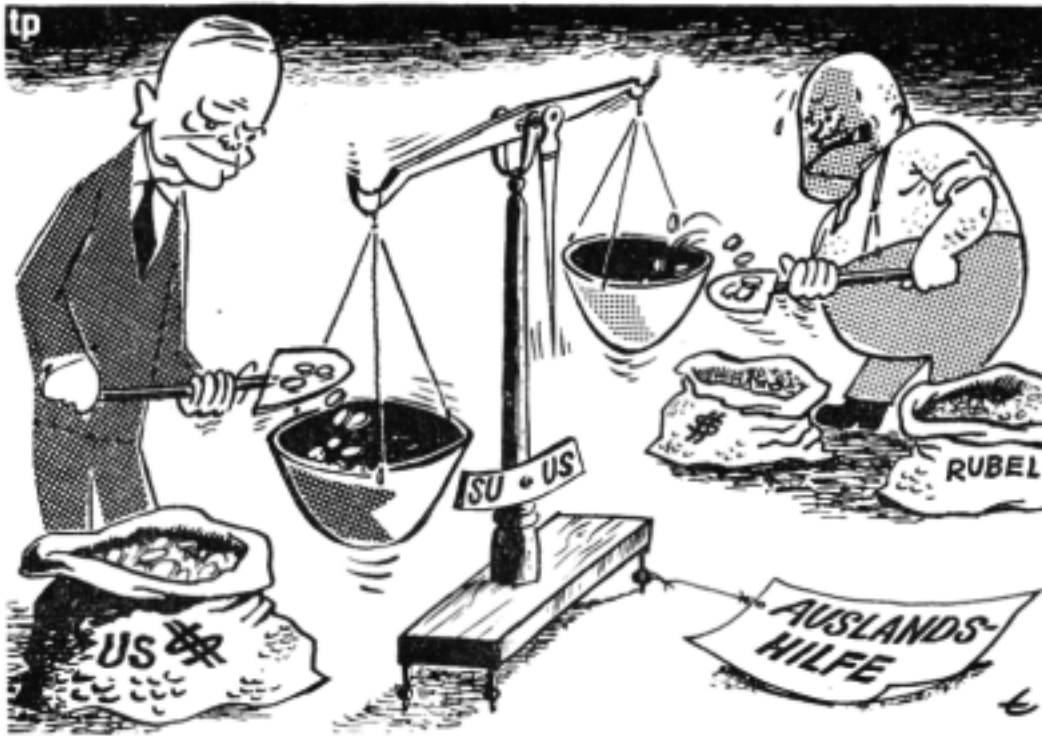
M: Not until the German forces became almost overpowering. General Botha first upheld the established tradition not to "militarize the aboriginals". He said that the war was a European one in which Africans should play no part. When an urgent appeal was sent round the country for the recruitment of African non-combatant contingents, Africans responded spontaneously and contingent after contingent was sent to almost all the theatres of war, East Africa, South West Africa, France and other parts of the world. One of these contingents conveyed in the troopship *Mendi* sank in the English Channel and no fewer than 600 Africans lost their lives. And many died in East Africa from tropical diseases.

C: Was Congress organizing opposition at home?

M: The consensus of opinion was that as a race, Africans should do nothing to disturb the smooth prosecution of the war. And on the home front the cost of living had soared so high that Non-Europeans could scarcely make both ends meet. Wages of

[Continued on p. 12, col. 1]

COMMITTING THE UNCOMMITTED



This German cartoon shows President Eisenhower (l.) and Mr. Khrushchev competing in giving help to uncommitted countries.

WATCHING President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev on their pre-summit travels, a newspaper reader might be forgiven for believing that, under this form of "competitive co-existence", the East-West struggle has been reduced to a combination of popularity contest and giveaway competition. The visitors speak their sermons and hand over their presents; the journalists count the crowds and the applause; the uncommitted countries pocket the cash—and stay as uncommitted as before.

It is a pleasant picture, but a misleading one.

Take the summit issue first. Any scheme for disarmament will be judged by its effect on the world balance of power. Mr. Khrushchev's plan for the eventual abolition of armed forces aims, above all, at creating obstacles to the increase of the conventional forces of the Nato Powers, which are still inferior to his forces in Europe and hence in a poor position to withstand political blackmail.

During his journey through Asia, Mr. Khrushchev everywhere enlisted sympathy for his plan, never failing to point out that, apart from its service to peace, it would free billions of dollars for help to under-developed countries. He thus hopes to make it difficult for his summit opponents to reject his plan without isolating themselves in the United Nations.

West now needs Uncommitted lands

To-day, the West can no longer obtain the two-thirds majority required for an Assembly recommendation (or for the election of a non-permanent member to the Security Council) without the support of the hard core of uncommitted nations that are not predictably on one side on most issues. Hence any diplomatic approach that enlists the sympathy of this hard core is likely to limit the freedom of manoeuvre of the Western negotiators.

But the most serious and substantial effort to "commit the uncommitted" is being currently made by the Soviets in the economic field, and on a more long-term basis. In the last few months Soviet pledges of development aid to non-communist countries, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, have been more concentrated and massive than at any time since the policy was first introduced in 1954. They are now

increasingly accompanied by Soviet warnings against the alleged harmful effects of Western aid. What emerges from these warnings—as voiced both by Khrushchev and Mikoyan on their recent travels and in Soviet books on the problem published in the last few years—is that the Kremlin regards its own aid not merely as a means to court popularity, but as likely to commit the uncommitted countries to a specific path of development.

Briefly, the communists charge that the "imperialists" wish to prevent the independent industrial development of young nations, in order to keep them in their traditional role as exploited suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials. This purpose, once assured by keeping them as colonies under political tutelage, is now allegedly pursued by limiting economic aid to such fields as



EISENHOWER

agricultural improvement or at best local consumer goods industries. Only the Soviets, it is claimed, are willing to help the under-developed nations in building up their own heavy industry, power resources, etc.—that is in ceasing to be "economic colonies".

This communist argument obscures the most vital problem now facing many under-developed countries by mixing it up with an

issue of the dead past. The traditional colonial pattern of private capital investment did indeed concentrate on extractive industries and export crops as the most immediately profitable fields, and thus tended to preserve a lopsided colonial economy in a lopsided international division of labour.

It could be overcome only by some form of publicly planned investment, and that is why all the newly-sovereign nations have introduced such planning and talk of a "socialist" economy.

Balance or Rushed development

But post-war development aid has from the start been agreed with these newly-sovereign governments and channelled through their planning boards, with the express purpose of overcoming the traditional lopsided character of under-developed economies. It is at this stage that the planners, in allocating indigenous and foreign investment, have been faced with the choice whether to aim at a balanced, all-round development, raising the low agricultural productivity and living standards of their people parallel with the building up of industry, or whether to rush ahead with a one-sided concentration of heavy industry at the price of long-term severe sacrifices by the people. The last is, of course, the communist pattern, as practised in Russia and China and made possible by totalitarian dictatorship.

The planners in the under-developed nations are, of course, conscious of this choice; and those who care to preserve free institutions do not wish to give too high a priority to long-term investments in heavy industries. But if massive foreign capital aid is accepted for these specific projects, it may also tie down a large share of indige-

[Continued at foot of col. 4]

TUNISIA STANDS BY I.C.F.T.U.

ONE national trade union co-ordinating body that stands firm on its affiliations to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is the Tunisian body, the General Labour Union (U.G.T.T.). In a statement issued after the second All African Peoples Conference the General Secretary, Mr. A. Tili, stated:

We are members of the I.C.F.T.U. because ever since January, 1946, we have made a point of establishing international relations. It was then that we wanted, in our action for liberation, to make our country's voice heard. Our application for affiliation to the W.F.T.U. (at that time still united) was sabotaged by the influence of the French communists, who were then in power in France, and who were partisans of "French Union", and consequently hostile to all independence movements.

Admitted later to the W.F.T.U. which had been abandoned by the non-communists, we had to leave that organization because we were unable to express ourselves freely in it, and our general secretary, Farhat Hached, was prevented from making the voice of Tunisian nationalism heard there.

Then it was that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was constituted, and this organization admitted us to affiliation without difficulty. The U.G.T.T. found there trade union centres of differing philosophies: socialists, like the Scandinavians; marxists, like the French and Belgians; those with no traditional ideology, like the Americans; all these trade unions co-operating, with mutual respect for each other's national and philosophical peculiarities, in the complete liberation of mankind from all political and economic slavery.

In our capacity as members of this International, and discussing on an equal footing with the other national centres from other continents, we made our voice freely heard and caused decisions in

favour of the African peoples to be adopted.

Some very important problems such as apartheid, the repression to which Africa is being subjected, support for the liberation movements, trade union freedoms, and the struggle against underdevelopment, are examined and dealt with in conformity with the wishes of the Africans themselves. It is important to mention that the decisions concerning these problems are taken on behalf of the Confederation as a whole, that is, with the participation of representatives of centres whose governments are implicated, in their capacity as governments of colonial countries.

And it is these same representatives who, instead of confining themselves merely to endorsing resolutions, do not hesitate to defend them with their governments.

This is an additional support for the African cause and for the cause of world peace.

It is also the proof that the I.C.F.T.U. does not follow the policy of a bloc, but that it defends principles against all those who violate them.

What more noble cause, indeed, than the defence of prosperity, freedom and peace?

It is for these reasons that we consider our presence essential within this International towards the orientation of which we contribute, and we can affirm publicly that despite our faith in international labour solidarity, we have never benefited, even in the hardest moments of our national struggle, from any material subsidy of any kind whatsoever. (See "I.C.F.T.U. Plans" on p. 5)

[Cont. from foot of preceding col.] nous resources—labour, raw materials, transport—to enterprises which will not bear consumable fruit for a long time. Such aid has invisible strings—committing a country to a pattern of economic development which, as the Soviets know, has its own political logic.

It is in the interest of both the receiving and the Western nations that such aid should not be given on terms which tend to "commit the uncommitted"—to distort their road of development into the Soviet pattern, making it needlessly hard and painful, or to create a one-sided long-term dependency on Soviet markets.

That Mr. Khrushchev is setting out to achieve just that is suggested by his angry rejection of the idea of pooling a major part of all foreign aid in the hands of some impartial United Nations agency. Perhaps the Western Powers, just setting out to co-ordinate their own aid programmes, should have another look at that idea.

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SHARPEVILLE

cont. from p. 2.

his cameras and he said, "Let's go before they get my film."

We tried to find way out of the township that did not lead past the police on the main road. Nobody molested us as we drove around the township looking for the back way. We could not find it so we went out on the main road, looking straight ahead. Nobody stopped us.

I heard no warning to the crowd to disperse before the shooting started. Yet the police had had all morning to rig up a public address system which they could have used and I understand that police Saracens carry loud-speakers.

Nor was there a warning volley. When the shooting started it did not stop until there was no moving thing in the huge open space in front of the police.

I have heard that the police claim that they were in desperate danger because the mob was stoning them. But only three policemen were reported to have been hit by stones and more than 200 Africans were mowed down. So there seems to be some disparity here.

I have also heard that the crowd shot at police. But before the police opened fire I heard only one shot, and that seemed to come from a long way away.

I was told that the crowd around the police were armed with ferocious weapons, and that these littered the area around the police station after the crowd fled. But I did not see them, although I have looked very carefully at pictures of the death scene. And when I was there I saw only shoes and hats and a few bicycles left behind among the bodies.

It is also extraordinary that the police did not use the leaders of the crowd to keep order. This had been done successfully earlier that morning in Bophelong township, Vanderbijl Park. A mild-mannered and calm White, Mr. Knoetze, township manager, and the local Pan-Africanist leader kept everything there completely under control. Only one person was killed in Bophelong. He was Steven Mathe, nineteen years old. A policeman shot him because he was throwing stones. Tough stuff!

And it seems to me that tough stuff was behind the killing at Sharpeville. The crowd gave me no reason to feel scared, though I moved among them, without any

AFRICAN DIARY

10th March — The Hammarskjöld Doctrine Emerges

The quiet year-long activities of the Economic Commission for Africa (H.Q. Addis Ababa) began to take doctrinal form in the U.N. and in Africa. Mr. Hammarskjöld, the U.N. Secretary, called for great new contributions from the world to be directed through the U.N. towards the building up of new African independent nations.

11th March — New Development Assistance Group formed

The meetings ended of the newly formed "Development Assistance Group" with an agreement that it was necessary to increase total aid to all developing countries. There are nine nations in this group—U.S.A., France, Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Canada, Japan, and the European Economic Community. This group will concern itself particularly with seeing that private capital is made available for the new countries that need it.

12th March — Troubles Continue in the Cameroons

In the French Cameroons, which became independent on New Year's Day, the likelihood of the terrorism and counter-terrorism continuing became a certainty to-day with the Premier's rejection of the emigré Opposition's cease-fire terms. The main instigators of the terrorism, leaders of the Union of Cameroons Peoples with headquarters in Accra and Conakry, repeated their fundamental allegations against the Premier, M. Ahmadou Ahidjo. They declare, "He is not a free man but, in effect, an instrument in the hands of Franco-American imperialism".

13th March — Reported troubles in Angola

Strong reports and denials of clashes and treason trials in Angola continued to come in.

14th March — Kenya African Leaders Refuse Ministries

An announcement that Mr. Ngala, leader of the African delegation to the recent London conference on Kenya's future, and Mr. Tom Mboya, the most powerful of Kenya's African leaders, would accept ministries in the present Kenya administration led to protests by Mr. Oginga Odinga and Mr. Clement Argwings-Kodek. After a day-long meeting among the African elected members, it was decided that Mr. Ngala and Mr. Mboya would not accept. They would first wait for the new constitution.

15th March — Ghana votes for a Republic

The Ghanaian Parliament voted for their three-year-old state to become a republic with an executive president. An Opposition amendment calling for an enquiry into this constitutional change first was defeated by 75 votes to 10.

16th March — Ghana Fears Togoland Incursions

The war of nerves being conducted between M. Sylvanus Olympio of French Togoland and Dr. Nkrumah of Ghana took a new turn to-day. Dr. Nkrumah believes that Togoland should throw in her lot with Ghana when it becomes independent on 27th April; M. Olympio declares that Togoland has no intention of doing so or of yielding any territory to Ghana.

17th March — U.S. Official on Country's Attitude to Racism

Mr. Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the U.S.A. consistently opposes racial discrimination wherever it may be. He stated, "The United States has

certainly sounded much more like a jeer than a battle-cry. It did not sound like a battle-cry at all.

And while the policeman who told me to get out of Sharpeville was red in the face and almost hysterical, the first wave of the crowd that ran past me when the shooting began was still laughing.

A sad postscript to the Sharpeville shootings was written for me at a small cafe in Vanderbijl Park.

Vanderbijl Park was pretty close, I imagine, to Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid ideal that day. There were no Africans there. Whites were working the petrol bowsers in the garages and pumping up tyres. Other White workmen were just standing around because the factories were closed for lack of

the White woman behind the counter. "Yes," she said.

"They should shoot all these bloody kaffirs dead, and they'll all come back to work to-morrow," she said.

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made its attitude crystal-clear on discriminatory practices throughout the world in general and in the Union of South Africa in particular."

18th March — U.S. Buying of S.A. Gold Again Questioned

One of the United States' foremost African experts, Professor Melville J. Herskovits, said before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Washington: "The question has also been posed whether, in continuing to purchase the gold of the Union of South Africa, we are not implicitly giving our approval to the *status quo* and thereby intervening in a situation of potential overt conflict."

19th March — Nairobi Asians Seek Self-Protection

Reports about "panga gangs" of lawless African elements conducting a feud against Kenya's Asian community have induced the leaders of Nairobi's 90,000 Asians to combine to protect themselves.

20th March — Ghana Opposition Again Under Suspicion

A dozen ordinary members of the opposition United Party in Ghana are suspected by the Ghana Government of wishing

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to launch attacks on Ghana from across the Togoland border. An M.P. and six others got away before they could be arrested under one of Dr. Nkrumah's new emergency laws. To-day Ghanaian security forces patrolled the Togoland border to intercept the escapees.

21st March — South African Location Shootings

By midday the Union of South Africa was seething with rumours of an outbreak of violence and police killing at the Pan-Africanist Congress demonstrations against the pass-books. Parliament devoted practically the whole day's debating to the topic and the Prime Minister gave statistics of the deaths as they came in. In locations of Sharpeville (Vereeniging), Vanderbijl Park, Langa and Nyanga (Cape Town) vast crowds of African demonstrators massed to invite arrest for refusing to carry pass-books. The police claim to have been provoked by armed lawless elements and stonings into firing on the crowds. It was officially reported that 68 Africans were shot dead at Sharpeville, 1 at Vanderbijl Park, 2 at Langa.

22nd March — The U.S. Reacts Officially to the Killings

The American State Department issued a statement with special reference to the South African location deaths. It said: "The United States deplores violence in all its forms and hopes that the African people of South Africa will obtain redress of their legitimate grievances by peaceful means." It added it could not help but "regret the tragic loss of life resulting from the measures taken against the demonstrators in South Africa". This is what may be called a diplomatic "kick in the pants" for South Africa by the world's most powerful democracy.

23rd March — World Reacts Against S.A. Government

From New Delhi to New York the world reacted powerfully against the killings and woundings by police action in South Africa. Unofficial protests poured in from Scandinavia, Britain, Canada, West Germany. The Africa group in the U.N. called for an immediate meeting of the Afro-Asian group—with the possibility of calling a special session of the U.N. In South Africa ex-chief Albert Lutuli, the banned head of the A.N.C., called for Monday, 28th March, to be observed as a day of mourning for the victims of the police action, and as a stay-at-home.

THE POLICE STORY

At Sharpeville the police opened fire at 1.30 p.m. after about 15,000 Africans, armed with sticks and stones, first attacked and then besieged the Sharpeville police station.

distinguishing mark to protect me, quite obvious in my white skin.

I think the police were scared though. And I think the crowd knew it.

That final shrill cry by the women before the shooting started

Africans. The place was pure White.

No bread was delivered to the little cafe that morning; no milk, no other foods either; nor any minerals.

"It looks pretty bad," I said to



Part of the scene at Sharpeville after the shooting on 21st March. Police stand by as the dead and injured lie on the ground.

UNITED NATIONS MUST INTERVENE

THE announcement that the Police will not, until further notice, enforce the pass laws, and the virtual certainty that Dr. Verwoerd will take total power to deal with the emergency, mean that South Africa has entered its great crisis—the crisis that must end with the destruction of White supremacy.

Let us all remember that the assuming of total power by the executive will solve no problems. It may possibly maintain law and order. But even this is unlikely, for the Government's prestige has been so shaken that no amount of emergency legislation can restore what has been lost. As to the roots of the present troubles—the brutal pass laws and the even more brutal system of racial supremacy on which they are based—it is obvious that Dr. Verwoerd, with or without total power, has little intention of doing anything about them.

At the time of writing (Sunday, 27th March) the African townships of Nyanga and Langa are virtually controlled by the Pan-Africanist Congress. The same appears to be true of the townships round Vereeniging.

On Monday the African National Congress, by calling for a stoppage and stay-at-home, will align itself with the Pan-Africanist Congress. It is virtually certain that Durban and Port Elizabeth will follow the lead of Cape Town and Vereeniging. As to the Transvaal, our information is that the stay-at-home there is likely to succeed, despite differences and rivalries which may impede its success.

This massive demonstration imposes itself on a South Africa in which the Government's authority had already been gravely compromised.

Mr. Macmillan's speech struck the first blow at Dr. Verwoerd's authority.

The Pan-Africanists' campaign was the second. It was marked by a daring and devotion that have already irrevocably undermined the fortress of apartheid.

The American statement on the Sharpeville massacre was the third.

And now twenty-eight Afro-Asian lands have asked the Security Council of the United Nations to deal with the massacre as a threat to the peace

of the world. The United States has backed them.

The meaning of this is that apartheid has failed. Baaskap has failed. Segregation has failed. Bantustan has failed. White leadership has failed.

All these policies have failed to give the human race the basis of co-operation, have failed to provide a framework in which the different kinds of human being living in South Africa can live together in peace.

Contact has said all along that the only possible basis for human co-operation is democracy, meaning a vote for every adult. The astounding truth to-day is that democracy is now almost within our grasp.

It may be objected that Dr. Verwoerd will never yield; that he, and the White supremacists, will shoot it out, and die in the last ditch. **That possibility has already ceased to exist.** If the Security Council has been summoned to deal with the butchery of some seventy people at Sharpeville, the butchery of another couple of hundred Africans, for whatever reason, will bring a United Nations Emergency Force to our sea ports and airports. **White supremacy yesterday had no weapon left save butchery, and**

that weapon has now been struck from its hands. Dr. Verwoerd has no real room left for manoeuvre, no way of controlling the Niagara-like flow of events.

Now if democracy is coming in any case, the great question-mark that hangs over our land is the manner of its coming. Is it to come in an uncontrolled rush? We have here a unique situation, a situation in which the race and the class wars are combined. Each of these forces has proved able to shatter other systems. Together their power is unimaginable. An uncontrolled rush will destroy not only the White minority: it will remove the professional and managerial skills which alone make it possible for a nation to function in the twentieth century.

An uncontrolled rush will also throw back and harm the African peoples of the Union, and immeasurably lower the standards of living and thinking of the human race living here.

It is clearly in the interests of the Africans as well as of the Whites that the change-over should not be uncontrolled, and should be phased.

Now this is all very well, but there is no grouping or move-

ment which is able to phase such a transition. The transition must be rapid—not more than one or two years. Yet it must so happen as to maintain law and order and to give to all a sense of personal security. No South African movement can do this. The Pan-Africanists cannot, because their present racial exclusiveness is unacceptable to the White, Coloured, and Indian South Africans. The "Congress Movement" cannot, because South Africa will not accept leaders who have compromised themselves with communism. The Liberals cannot, because they have so far been unable to be revolutionary enough in a revolutionary situation. The Progressives cannot, because the initiative is no longer with the Whites or their Parliament. The Nationalists cannot, because it is they that have brought us into this mess; they are the guilty perpetrators of apartheid. The United Party, having become an apartheid front organization, does not merit a place in this catalogue.

There is thus no power, no movement, inside South Africa which has the authority to control the transition. This being the case, when it comes, as it now inevitably will come, there will be no one strong enough to prevent the rush onwards to final disaster.

In such a situation it becomes

necessary for South African democrats to call in the United Nations. They are clothed with the majesty of the arms of the two super-powers. And they are clothed with the authority of the conscience of the world. They intervened some years ago when Britain and France outraged the Afro-Asian world at Suez. They intervened despite the military power of the British and the French, a consideration which does not apply to South Africa. The United States intervened despite the value of the British and French alliances to her, and this also does not apply. There are thus no valid reasons why the United Nations should not now intervene. We urge an immediate appeal to the Security Council, and *Contact* hereby does so to help save South Africa.

Once authority has passed from the present government it will be possible for a Commission to maintain law and order, to build up the confidence of the peoples of South Africa in the future, to set the wheels of industry turning again, unhampered by strikes as well as by apartheid doctrine, and to arrange as speedily as possible for democratic elections to take place. When this has happened the Commission will be able to retire, and to leave the South African nation to work out its own future.

(Cont. from p. 9, col. 1)

at the Twentieth Party Congress these deportations were described as a crime against humanity and attributed to Stalin. Rehabilitation was promised. . . ."

What does not appear from this bald and hygienic account of genocide is that the land and farms of the non-White Chechen people is to-day lived on by Russian Whites.

Anticolonialists are grateful for help from outside Africa, but would do well to look a little more closely than they have in the past at the giver of the help.

The book ends with a summary of the present position, which gives a picture of Muslim exclusiveness and Asian nationalism which is yet tamed to a significant degree by the material advance which the soviet regime has brought them. This picture would appear to be on the optimistic side, when one remembers that in World War Two "large numbers of Muslim prisoners and deserters declared their willingness to fight for the Germans against the Soviet Union", and also that "the Chairman of the Committee of State Security (in the Asian Republics) has so far always been non-native and usually Russian".

A valuable book, which should be read by all anticolonialists.

"MELANCHTHON"

(cont. from p. 9.)

White workers increased in proportion, while those of the Non-Europeans remained static during the whole period of the war.

C: I suppose your hopes revived when the war ended.

M: Well, for one thing we had hoped and naturally expected that the powers-that-be would give some tangible recognition—in some spectacular form or another—of the practical loyalty Africans had demonstrated by their contribution to the war. This great expectation was heightened at the close of the war when the late King George V thanked the African contingents for the work they had done to strengthen the arms of the Allies. But nothing further was done by either the South African or British Governments to demonstrate in some form their appreciation for the gallant services rendered.

C: I believe Britain voted money for medals for all Colonial so-called Native troops but that South Africa refused to pass on the share for our men. This was disgraceful. What was Congress's attitude?

M: No sooner was peace concluded than a peace conference was summoned in Europe. It was then that the African National Congress decided to send back the deputation whose work had been interrupted by the declaration of war.

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