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FOR UNITED NON-RACIAL ACTION

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SECRETS

"ANY PERSON WHO HAS IN HIS POSSESSION OR UNDER HIS CONTROL ANY SKETCH, PLAN, MODEL, ARTICLE, NOTE, DOCUMENT OR INFORMATION WHICH RELATES TO MUNITIONS OF WAR OR ANY MILITARY OR POLICE MATTER, AND WHO PUBLISHED IT OR DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY COMMUNICATES IT TO ANY PERSON IN ANY MANNER OR FOR ANY PURPOSE PREJUDICIAL TO THE SAFETY OR INTERESTS OF THE REPUBLIC, SHALL BE GUILTY OF AN OFFENCE AND LIABLE ON CONVICTION TO A FINE NOT EXCEEDING R1,500 OR TO IMPRISONMENT FOR A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SEVEN YEARS - OR TO BOTH SUCH FINE AND IMPRISONMENT."

WITH THIS AMENDING CLAUSE IN THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT, A THICK CURTAIN IS LIKELY TO BE DRAWN OVER ALMOST EVERY ACTIVITY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL POLICE. IT IS A SIMPLE AMENDMENT. DESPITE SOME PROTEST FROM OPPOSITION MEMBERS, IT HAS MOVED RAPIDLY THROUGH PARLIAMENT.

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE, MR. VORSTER, REFUSED DURING THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY TO ALTER "ONE JOT OR TITTLE" OF THE THREE WORDS "ANY POLICE MATTER". HE DID, HOWEVER, ASSURE ANXIOUS OPPOSITION MEMBERS THAT THE AMENDMENT WAS NOT INTENDED TO PREVENT REPORTING OF NORMAL POLICE WORK UNCONNECTED WITH THE SECURITY OF THE STATE. HE HAD ALSO, HE SAID, MADE IT CLEAR TO NEWSPAPERS THAT THE PROTECTION WAS INCLUDED IN THE INTERESTS OF STATE SAFETY AND THEY HAD BEEN SATISFIED.

WHAT IS DISTRESSING ABOUT THE PASSAGE OF THE BILL THROUGH PARLIAMENT AND ABOUT PRESS REGULATION WILL NOW ENSURE THAT

ACTION TO IT IS THAT THE SINISTER EMPHASIS ON SECURITY HAS BEEN ALMOST CASUALLY ACCEPTED. THE TALK OF PRESS FREEDOM HAS REVOLVED ROUND THE RIGHT OF NEWSPAPERS TO OBTAIN THEIR USUAL HEAVY DOSE OF NEWS ABOUT THE LATEST MURDERS, ROBBERIES, SWINDLES AND OTHER CRIMES. QUITE CLEARLY THIS WILL CONTINUE AS WILL NEWS OF PROMOTIONS, TRANSFERS AND PERHAPS OTHER ROUTINE POLICE MATTERS. THE FOG WILL DROP IN THE VERY AREA WHERE THERE SHOULD BE MOST LIGHT; THE INCREASING INTRUSION OF POLITICAL POLICE INTO THE LIVES AND THE ACTIVITIES OF PEOPLE WHOSE SOLE "CRIME" IS THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

LITTLE, IF ANYTHING, WAS SAID DURING THE DEBATES OF THE EFFECT OF THE AMENDMENT ON AN INCREASING NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHOSE HOUSES ARE LIKELY TO BE RAIDED, AND WHO MAY BE QUESTIONED OR OTHERWISE HARASSED BY POLICEMEN WHOSE ACTIONS WILL SOON BE IMMUNE FROM THE RESTRAINT OF PUBLIC EXPOSURE.

WITH MANY OTHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN ASSURANCES BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE. HIS IDEA OF "SAFETY OF THE STATE" DIFFERS WIDELY FROM THAT OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION OR FROM, SAY, THE EDITOR OF THE "CAPE ARGUS" OR THE "SUNDAY TIMES". A LIBERAL URGING NON-RACIALISM OR A NEWSPAPER EXPOSING THE ZEAL OF THE POLITICAL POLICE ARE EQUAL MENACES TO HIS CONCEPT OF SECURITY. AND THE POLICE-SHROUDING AMENDMENT HE OR HIS MINIONS CAN ACT WITHOUT WHAT THEY DO EVER BEING PUBLICLY REVEALED.

THE POLITICAL POLICE COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, INVADE THE OFFICES OF A NEWSPAPER OR A POLITICAL ORGANISATION EVERY DAY FOR A MONTH, COULD DISRUPT ITS WORK AND TERRORISE ITS MEMBERS OR WORKERS. NO REASON NEED BE GIVEN FOR THE RAIDS. WITHOUT PERMISSION

THEY COULD NOT BE REPORTED. EVEN TO SAY THEY HAD OCCURRED COULD BE REGARDED AS COMMUNICATING INFORMATION RELATING TO A POLICE MATTER. AN EXAGGERATION? PERHAPS. BUT WE STILL REMEMBER THE MINISTER'S BLITHE ASSURANCES WHEN HE INTRODUCED THE GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL OF 1963 WITH ITS "90-DAY" CLAUSE.

IT WAS THE STEADY DISCLOSURE OF WHAT WAS BEING DONE TO PEOPLE IN TERMS OF THAT CLAUSE WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO ITS SUSPENSION AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR. THE SLIGHTEST HINT OF TROUBLE COULD BRING IT BACK INTO OPERATION. THEN WE WILL REALLY LEARN WHAT IS MEANT BY "ANY POLICE MATTER" IN THE AMENDED OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT.

THE RIGHT TO DETAIN - WITHOUT ANY REVEALING APPEARANCES IN COURT - WILL CONCEAL THE NAMES AND THE NUMBERS OF THOSE ARRESTED BY THE POLITICAL POLICE. MEN AND WOMEN WILL SIMPLY VANISH AS THEY DID DURING THE 1960 EMERGENCY. ONLY THEIR CLOSEST RELATIONS WILL KNOW WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THEM, AND THEY WILL HAVE TO KEEP QUIET.

NEWS WILL PASS IN WHISPERS AND RUMOUR WILL FOLLOW RUMOUR. THOSE MOST ANXIOUS TO KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING WILL, NO DOUBT, DEVISE AN EFFECTIVE "GRAPEVINE". THE REST OF SOUTH AFRICA WILL WAIT; NEVER KNOWING HOW MUCH IS REVEALED IN THE OCCASIONAL OFFICIAL STATEMENT. FEARFUL AND SUSPICIOUS, IT COULD BE STAMPEDED BY SUGGESTION INTO ACCEPTING A MINOR DISTURBANCE AS CAUSE ENOUGH FOR A FULL-SCALE EMERGENCY WITH ALL THE EXTRA POWERS THIS WOULD GIVE THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND THOSE AROUND HIM.

JOHN HARRIS

THE EXECUTION OF JOHN HARRIS ON THURSDAY, APRIL 1, BRINGS TO A CLOSE ONE OF THE SADDEST EPISODES IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. A YOUNG MAN OF PROMISE CAUSED THE DEATH OF ONE PERSON AND INFLICTED INJURIES ON OTHERS, LOST HIS OWN LIFE, AND BROUGHT UNHAPPINESS TO MANY PEOPLE, WITHOUT ADVANCING HIS OWN CAUSE IN ANY WAY WHATSOEVER. ON THE CONTRARY HE DID IT INCOMPUTABLE HARM.

BY TEMPERAMENT AND PRINCIPLE I AM OPPOSED TO THE USE OF VIOLENCE. BY INTELLECTUAL CONVICTION I AM OPPOSED TO ITS USE IN SOUTH AFRICA, BELIEVING THAT IT WILL NOT ACHIEVE ITS DECLARED PURPOSE OF MAKING THIS COUNTRY HAPPIER AND BETTER. IT IS ON THIS SECOND PREMISE - THE INTELLECTUAL RATHER THAN THE MORAL - THAT I WISH TO BASE THIS ARTICLE.

THE USE OF VIOLENCE BY JOHN HARRIS WAS REGARDED BY MANY WITH THE UTMOST HORROR, AND BY MANY WITH THE UTMOST FURY. YET IN FACT THE USE OF VIOLENCE IS A COMMONPLACE IN HISTORY. IF VIOLENCE IS USED IN A REVOLUTION, AND THE REVOLUTION SUCCEEDS, THE USERS OF VIOLENCE BECOME HEROES. ONE FORGETS THE DEAD AND INJURED. I HAVE PONDERED OVER THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER JOHN HARRIS THOUGHT HE WAS ACTING IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION WHERE GREAT CHANGES WERE IMMINENT. IF SO, HE PAID A VERY HEAVY PRICE FOR HIS MISCALCULATION. SO DID THOSE WHO ARE NOW SERVING LONG PRISON SENTENCES FOR SABOTAGE.

IF WE ARE NOT IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION - AND I BELIEVE WE ARE NOT - THEN THE USE OF VIOLENCE, QUITE APART FROM ANY MORAL CONSIDERATION, IS FUTILE. OUR RACIAL PROBLEMS ARE DIFFICULT ENOUGH. THE USE OF VIOLENCE WOULD ONLY MAKE THEM MORE DIFFICULT. MUTUAL FEAR IS BAD ENOUGH, BUT MUTUAL HATRED IS WORSE. THAT MUTUAL HATRED ALREADY EXISTS IS DOUBTLESS TRUE, BUT TO INCREASE IT WOULD BE INTOLERABLE. AND THE BEST WAY FOR US TO INCREASE IT IS TO USE VIOLENCE AGAINST ONE ANOTHER. THIS IS A LESSON FOR BOTH RULERS AND SUBJECTS TO LEARN.

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THESE VIEWS THAT I AM EXPRESSING WERE UNPALATABLE TO SOME OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION. THEY DESIRED WITH ALL THEIR HEARTS TO REFORM THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY, AND THEY WERE RIGHT. BUT THEY CHOSE A METHOD WHICH HAD NO HOPE OF SUCCESS.

JOHN HARRIS HAD A BURNING WISH TO REMOVE THE INJUSTICES AND CRUELITIES OF APARTHEID. HE MADE A NOTABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF NON-RACIALISM IN SPORT. HE WAS MILITANT IN HIS CRUSADE, AND WAS FINALLY BANNED. ONE CAN ONLY GUESS AT THE DEPTH OF THE FRUSTRATION THAT COULD CAUSE AN INTELLIGENT YOUNG MAN TO THINK THAT HE COULD CHANGE THE HEART AND MIND OF THIS GOVERNMENT BY DOING WHAT HE DID.

MANY OF THOSE WHO WERE ENRAGED BY HARRIS'S ACT HAVE CONVENIENT MEMORIES. MANY OF THEM SUPPORTED ACTIVELY OR PASSIVELY THE OSSEWABRANDWAG, WHICH WOULD HAVE OVERTHROWN THE GOVERNMENT BY VIOLENCE, AND WOULD HAVE PLUNGED THE COUNTRY INTO BLOODSHED AND CIVIL WAR IF IT HAD BEEN A CHANCE OF SUCCESS. ONE OF ITS MEMBERS, A CERTAIN VAN BLERK, EXPLODED A BOMB IN THE BENONI POST OFFICE, AND KILLED A BYSTANDER. FOR THIS HE WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH, BUT THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL COMMUTED THIS TO A LIFE SENTENCE, PRESUMABLY AT THE INSTANCE OF SMUTS. WHEN MALAN CAME TO POWER VAN BLERK WAS RELEASED. THE CLEMENCY WHICH SMUTS, AND LATER MALAN, SHOWED TO VAN BLERK COULD WELL HAVE BEEN SHOWN BY THIS GOVERNMENT TO JOHN HARRIS. MERCY IS AN ATTRIBUTE, NOT OF WEAKNESS, BUT OF STRENGTH.

THERE ARE REDEEMING ELEMENTS IN THIS TRAGIC STORY. ONE IS THE COURAGE AND DIGNITY WITH WHICH ANN HARRIS CONDUCTED HERSELF THROUGHOUT HER LONG ORDEAL. THOSE WHO READ HER ACCOUNT OF HER LIFE WITH HER HUSBAND WILL NOT EASILY FORGET IT. IT IS A NOBLE AND MOVING DOCUMENT.

NOR WILL ONE EASILY FORGET THE COURAGE AND GENEROSITY OF THE HAIN FAMILY. THEY MADE A HOME FOR ANN HARRIS AND HER INFANT SON THE MOMENT THE ARREST BECAME KNOWN, AND WERE HER COMFORT AND SUPPORT THROUGHOUT THOSE TERRIBLE MONTHS. ONE NEED NOT SAY WHAT CONSTRUCTION CRUEL PEOPLE PUT UPON THIS ACT. THE HAINS DISREGARDED SUCH MALICE; THEY SAW A JOB TO BE DONE, THEY THOUGHT IT RIGHT TO DO IT, AND THEY DID IT WELL. THESE WORDS APPLY EQUALLY WELL TO RUTH HAYMAN, WHO APPLIED HERSELF TO HER TASKS WITH CHARACTERISTIC UNSELFISHNESS AND ZEAL.

IN THIS CRISIS, AND IN THE OTHER CRISES OF 1964, THE LIBERAL

PARTY BEHAVED ITSELF IN A WAY THAT IT CAN BE PROUD OF. IT CONDEMNED THE DEEDS, AND IT FORGAVE THE DOERS. ONE CANNOT DO BETTER THAN THAT.

EAST RAND HEALTH CRISIS

MORE AND MORE EVIDENCE IS ACCUMULATING ON THE WITWATERSRAND THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC BOOM IS BENEFITING ONLY THOSE NON-WHITES ENGAGED IN THE BETTER-PAID JOBS IN INDUSTRY AND THAT THE BROAD MASS OF THE PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING POVERTY AND ILL HEALTH JUST AS MUCH AS EVER BEFORE.

DOCTORS ON THE EAST RAND REPORT THAT IN SPITE OF THE SO-CALLED BOOM CONDITIONS MALNUTRITION DISEASES LIKE KWASHIORKOR ARE RIFE IN THE TOWNSHIPS. AND CHILDREN FALL PREY TO THE ANNUAL SUMMER ENTERITIS MORE EASILY BECAUSE THEY ARE WEAKENED BY INADEQUATE FEEDING.

ENTERITIS IS THE GREATEST INFANT KILLER IN THE URBAN TOWNSHIPS.

TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE THERE IS A CRISIS IN HEALTH SERVICES AMONG NON-WHITES IN THE BENONI-BOKSBURG AREA BECAUSE OF THE OVER-CROWDING IN HOSPITALS AND CLINICS.

THERE IS A SHORTAGE OF HOSPITAL DOCTORS AMONG WHITES TOO BUT IT IS NOT SO ACUTE. WHITE PATIENTS ARE BEING FAIRLY ADEQUATELY CATERED FOR.

AFRICAN MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS POINT OUT THAT ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THE SHORTAGE OF HOSPITAL DOCTORS FOR NON-WHITES IS THAT AFRICAN DOCTORS ARE PAID ONLY THREE-FIFTHS OF THE SALARY OF A WHITE DOCTOR HOLDING THE SAME QUALIFICATIONS.

AFRICAN DOCTORS FIND PRIVATE PRACTICE MUCH MORE LUCRATIVE AND MANY LEAVE THE HOSPITAL SERVICE AND OPEN THEIR OWN CONSULTING ROOMS. A FEW DEDICATED AFRICAN DOCTORS CONTINUE HOSPITAL AND CLINIC WORK BUT THEY ARE FORCED TO WORK UNDER OVERWHELMING DIFFICULTIES.

AN AFRICAN WOMAN DOCTOR AT A HOSPITAL CLINIC IN ONE REEF TOWNSHIP SEES AN AVERAGE OF 140 PATIENTS A DAY. THESE ARE POOR PEOPLE WHO CANNOT AFFORD THE SERVICE OF THE PRIVATE DOCTORS PRACTISING IN THE AREA. SHE HAS A MAXIMUM OF ABOUT THREE MINUTES IN WHICH TO DIAGNOSE AND TREAT EACH PATIENT. SHE OPERATES THE ONLY CLINIC IN A TOWNSHIP OF 50,000 PEOPLE AND MEDICAL EXPERTS SAY THE WORK SHE IS DOING SHOULD BE HANDLED BY THREE DOCTORS.

THERE ARE LONG QUEUES IN THE CORRIDORS, WITH SOME PEOPLE HAVING TO COME BACK THE NEXT DAY AFTER WAITING ALL DAY FOR ATTENTION.

IN THE MIDDLE OF AN EPIDEMIC OF ENTERITIS IN A REEF HOSPITAL

RECENTLY A PART-TIME DOCTOR HAD TO ATTEND TO THE CHILDREN, WHO WERE IN MANY CASES SLEEPING FOUR TO A COT. THIS SITUATION WAS ONLY RELIEVED WHEN A FULL-TIME HOUSE DOCTOR WAS APPOINTED.

IN A RECENT PUBLICATION THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS SAYS THAT WHILE WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS ENJOY A LIVING STANDARD PROBABLY UNEQUALLED EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF AFRICANS LITERALLY CANNOT AFFORD TO LIVE.

"MORE THAN 45 PERCENT OF AFRICANS IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE ARE PAID BELOW-THE-BREADLINE LEVEL OF R48 A MONTH. IN JOHANNESBURG ALONE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY HAVE 4,000 WORKERS LIVING BELOW THE BREADLINE."

DEMOCRATS UPPER HAND TRANSKEI ASSEMBLY

WITH THE TRANSKEI LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AT THE BEGINNING OF ITS THIRD SESSION AND WITH TWO BY-ELECTIONS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE IMMEDIATELY AFTER IT ENDS, DEMOCRATIC PARTY MORALE IS HIGH AND READY TO TAKE WHATEVER COMES. THE SESSION IS EXPECTED TO BE A HEATED ONE. MEMBERS ARE BETTER USED TO PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES, AND THE ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE THE GOVERNING PRO-APARTHEID TRANSKEI NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY FROM THE OPPOSITION NON-RACIALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAVE BECOME MORE CLEARLY MARKED.

ALTHOUGH THE TNIP IS THEORET-

ICALLY IN CONTROL, IT IS FORCED TO BEHAVE IN MANY WAYS AS IF IT WERE THE OPPOSITION PARTY, FOR IT HAS NOW BECOME VERY PLAIN THAT IT IS THE DEMOCRATS WHO HAVE THE PEOPLE BEHIND THEM. CHIEF KAISER MATANZIMA'S THREATS TO BAN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BECAUSE OF ITS ALLEGED COMMUNIST INFLUENCE AND SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE, BOTH OF WHICH ALLEGATIONS HAVE BEEN HOTLY DENIED BY THE DEMOCRATS ARE SEEN BY MANY TO BE A TACIT ADMISSION OF POPULAR DEFEAT.

IN THIS SITUATION, MATANZIMA IS FORCED TO FALL BACK ON THE BOLSTERING SUPPORT OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, FROM WHICH, DESPITE OCCASIONAL DRAMATIC DEMANDS FOR MORE LAND, HE IS UNABLE TO FREE HIMSELF. HIS MAJORITY IN THE ASSEMBLY IS DEPENDENT LARGELY ON THE SUPPORT OF GOVERNMENT-EMPLOYED CHIEFS, BUT EVEN HERE HE IS INSECURE. THE EXTENT OF POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATS IS FORCING THE CHIEFS TO RECONSIDER THEIR ALLEGIANCE. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS HIGH HOPES OF WINNING ENOUGH OF THEM OVER TO ITS SIDE TO TURN ITS OVERWHELMING ELECTORAL MAJORITY INTO A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY TOO, FOR THE CHIEFS ARE NOT ELECTED. IT IS NOT BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF POSSIBILITY THAT THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED BEFORE THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION IN 1968, FACING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WITH A MAJOR DILEMMA, FOR TO INTERFERE WITH THE ESTABLISHED PROCESSES OF ELECTION WOULD SPOIL IRREPARABLY THE ALREADY TAWDRY DISPLAY OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE TRANSKEI "SHOP-WINDOW".

ONE OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IN THE COMING SESSION IS LIKELY, ONCE AGAIN, TO BE EDUCATION, DESPITE THE UNANIMOUS REJECTION OF BANTU EDUCATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAST YEAR. ALTHOUGH THE ASSEMBLY DIRECTED THAT THE CAPE PROVINCIAL SYLLABUS SHOULD BE INTRODUCED INTO THE TRANSKEI, EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS HAVE SAID THAT THIS IS NOT PRACTICAL. SO FAR, THE ONLY REASON GIVEN HAS BEEN THE NEED TO INCLUDE XHOSA AS AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE, A REASON WHICH DOES NOT HOLD MUCH WATER IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT ONE OR TWO WHITE CAPE SCHOOLS ARE ALREADY TEACHING IT. HOWEVER, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ASSEMBLY DIRECTIVE HAS BEEN DELAYED A YEAR WHILE AN ENTIRELY NEW SYLLABUS IS BEING DEVISED. THE ONLY IMPROVEMENT DEFINITELY PROMISED IS THE ABOLITION OF MOTHER-TONGUE EDUCATION FROM STANDARD III, AND IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE CHIEF MINISTER AND HIS GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE HIGHLY EMBARRASSED BY THE SEARCHING QUESTIONS THAT OPPOSITION MEMBERS ARE LIKELY TO ASK.

OTHER ISSUES LIKELY TO CAUSE HEATED DISCUSSION ARE REHABILITATION MEASURES, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO ENFORCE AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE REFUSAL BY MATANZIMA'S REGIME TO PRESS FOR THE REPEAL OF THE EMERGENCY LAWS INTRODUCED IN 1960 AND WHICH ARE OBVIOUSLY A CONSIDERABLE ASSET TO A WEAK AND UNPOPULAR GOVERNMENT. ANOTHER EMBARRASSING QUESTION FOR THE TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT IS ITS HELPLESSNESS IN THE FACE OF REPUBLICAN ENFORCEMENT OF INFLUX CONTROL MEASURES. THE CHIEF MINISTER HAS ONCE OR TWICE MADE STATEMENTS BLAMING LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THE REPUBLIC FOR HARSH TREATMENT OF HIS SUBJECTS, WHO ARE ENDORSED OUT TO A TERRITORY WHERE EMPLOYMENT IS AT A PREMIUM, BUT THESE BODIES HAVE BEEN QUICK TO POINT OUT THAT THEY ARE HELPLESS IN THE FACE OF GOVERNMENT POLICY.

IT WAS PROBABLY A FEAR THAT ALREADY THE DEMOCRATS MIGHT HAVE CLOSE TO SUFFICIENT SUPPORT TO DEFEAT HIM IN THE ASSEMBLY THAT CAUSED MATANZIMA TO DEFER THE BY-ELECTIONS IN FINGOLAND AND UMZINKULU TILL AFTER THE SESSION. BUT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT HIS STATURE WILL BE IMPROVED VERY GREATLY IN THE EYES OF THE PEOPLE BY ASSEMBLY DEBATES, AND HE MAY FACE DEFEATS IN THESE ELECTIONS EVEN MORE IGNOMINIOUS THAN THAT IN GCALEKALAND LAST YEAR. AT ANY RATE, HE IS UNLIKELY THIS TIME TO CHALLENGE POTO TO RESIGN ON THE BASIS OF THE RESULTS.

TRIALS

THE LENGTHY COMMUNIST TRIAL IN JOHANNESBURG CAME TO A DRAMATIC END ON 13TH APRIL WHEN, AFTER BEING SENTENCED, 12 OF THE 14 ORIGINALLY ACCUSED RAISED THEIR FISTS AND SANG NKOSI SIKELELE TOGETHER WITH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN THE PUBLIC GALLERIES. POLICE HAD TO ENTER THE DOCK AND FORCIBLY REMOVE THE PRISONERS.

BEFORE SENTENCE WAS PASSED, SEVERAL OF THE ACCUSED MADE STATEMENTS TO THE COURT, GIVING THEIR REASONS FOR JOINING THE COMMUNIST PARTY. PAUL TREWHELA SAID THAT SHARPEVILLE HAD TAUGHT HIM THAT THE MISERY OF OTHER PEOPLE WAS HIS RESPONSIBILITY. HE SAID: "I AM A COMMUNIST BECAUSE I AM A SOUTH AFRICAN AND DESPITE THE FACT THAT, AS A WHITE MAN,

I AM PRIVILEGED." ANN NICHOLSON TOLD THE COURT; "MY CRIME IS SIMPLY THAT I BELIEVE IN FREEDOM, EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL PEOPLE - AND THAT I HAVE FOUGHT TO ACHIEVE THESE THINGS."

OF THE 14 ACCUSED, ONE, ABRAM FISCHER, QC, IS MISSING AND ANOTHER HYMIE BARSEL, WAS FOUND NOT GUILTY AND DISCHARGED. THE REMAINING 12 WERE SENTENCED TO TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT VARYING FROM ONE TO THREE YEARS ON EACH OF TWO COUNTS. IVAN SCHERMBRUCKER AND ELI WEINBERG, DESCRIBED AS MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY, WERE SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS ON EACH COUNT, ONE YEAR TO RUN CONCURRENTLY. THEY WILL SERVE FIVE YEARS. THREE YEARS' IMPRISONMENT WILL BE SERVED BY ESTHER BARSEL, NORMAN LEVY, LEWIS BAKER AND JEAN MIDDLETON; TWO YEARS' BY ANNE NICHOLSON, PAUL TREWHELA, SYLVIA NEAME, FLORENCE DUNCAN AND MOLLY DOYLE; AND ONE YEAR BY CONSTANTINOS GAZIDES.

ALSO IN JOHANNESBURG, SHEILA WEINBERG, 19-YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER OF ELI WEINBERG, IS APPEARING ON A CHARGE THAT SHE TOOK PART IN THE ACTIVITIES OF A BANNED ORGANISATION, THE ANC; AND DAYAN GOPAL WAS SENTENCED ON 29TH MARCH TO ONE MONTH'S IMPRISONMENT, SUSPENDED FOR THREE YEARS, ON BEING FOUND GUILTY OF BEING IN POSSESSION OF THREE COPIES OF "NEW AGE", A BANNED PUBLICATION.

IN CAPE TOWN SAM PETERSEN, CHARGED WITH SABOTAGE, HAS BEEN FOUND UNFIT ON MENTAL GROUNDS TO STAND HIS TRIAL.

STILL CONTINUING IN THE CAPE TOWN REGIONAL COURT IS THE "GUERRILLA WARFARE" TRIAL INVOLVING FOUR ALLEGED MEMBERS OF PAC. IN MASERU, BASUTOLAND, EIGHT PAC MEN FROM SOUTH AFRICA ARE CHARGED WITH CONSPIRING TO COMMIT ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THIS COUNTRY. FOUR PAC MEMBERS WERE SENTENCED IN GRAHAMSTOWN TO TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT VARYING FROM 2½ TO 16 YEARS. MKATAL LOIWE WAS SENTENCED TO 15 YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR RECRUITING MEN FOR TRAINING AND ONE YEAR FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS, FRANK NGCOSO TO 13 YEARS FOR CONSPIRING TO RECRUIT MEN FOR TRAINING AND ONE YEAR FOR MEMBERSHIP, SIDWELL KANTYO AND MBINKULU HOMO TO TWO AND A HALF YEARS EACH FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE PAC.

ALSO IN GRAHAMSTOWN, LUNGILE HODI WAS SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS' IMPRISONMENT FOR SABOTAGE AND ONE YEAR FOR BEING A MEMBER OF POQO, THE SENTENCES TO RUN CONCURRENTLY.

IN PIETERMARITZBURG, ROBERT

HAROLD STRACHAN IS APPEARING, CHARGED WITH BEING AN OFFICE-BEARER OR MEMBER OF ANC OR UMKONTO WE Sizwe, WITH HAVING INSTRUCTED PEOPLE IN METHODS OF SABOTAGE, AND WITH HAVING CAUSED OR CONSPIRED TO CAUSE AN EXPLOSION AT THE OFFICES OF THE DURBAN MUNICIPAL BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

TWO PEOPLE HAVE APPEARED IN COURT, CHARGED WITH INFRINGING BANNING ORDERS BY ATTENDING SOCIAL GATHERINGS. THEY ARE TERENCE BEARD, APPEARING IN GRAHAMSTOWN, AND ANN TOBIAS, APPEARING IN CAPE TOWN.

IN BLOEMFONTEIN, SENTENCES WERE CONFIRMED AND THE APPEALS AGAINST THEM LOST BOTH BY NEVILLE ALEXANDER AND HIS 10 CO-ACCUSED AND BY MARIUS SCHOON, MICHAEL NGUBENI AND RAYMOND THOMAS. ALL HAD BEEN FOUND GUILTY OF SABOTAGE. MORE SUCCESSFUL, HOWEVER, WAS THE APPEAL BY INSIGHT PUBLICATIONS AND DIRECTOR JOAN BLOCK, WHOSE CONVICTION AND SENTENCE FOR PUBLISHING UNDESIRABLE MATERIAL WERE SET ASIDE BY THE CAPE TOWN SUPREME COURT. THE CHARGE AROSE OUT OF AN ARTICLE BY CAN THEMBA IN "THE NEW AFRICAN".

STUDENT PROTEST SIMONS BAN

THE PLIGHT OF BANNED PEOPLE AND THE LOSS TO THE COMMUNITY WHICH THE RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON SOME OF THEM INVOLVES WERE AGAIN EMPHASISED WHEN A PROTEST BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN COUNCIL ON THE BANNING OF DR. H.J. SIMONS WAS FOLLOWED IN RAPID SUCCESSION BY PROTESTS FROM THE UNIVERSITY LECTURERS' ASSOCIATION AND THE STUDENT BODY.

ON 14TH APRIL, MORE THAN 1,000 STUDENTS ATTENDED A MEETING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN, TO PROTEST AGAINST THE BANNING OF DR. SIMONS, WHO IS PROHIBITED FROM TEACHING, PUBLISHING AND DOING RESEARCH.

PROFESSOR MONICA WILSON SAID THAT THE BAN WAS NOT AN ISOLATED

EVENT BUT ONE DEFEAT IN THE FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM TO EXPRESS ONE'S BELIEFS. THE RESTRICTION OF ONE SCHOLAR WOULD HAVE AN ADVERSE AFFECT ON THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE WHOLE UNIVERSITY. THE UNIVERSITIES SEEMED TO BE FIGHTING A LOSING BATTLE AGAINST INTERFERENCE AND MANY PEOPLE HAD BECOME TIRED, BUT, AS A COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS SEARCHING FOR TRUTH, THE UNIVERSITY WAS SACRED. TO IMPEDE IT WAS AN OFFENCE AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH.

PROFESSOR WILSON SAID THAT THE MOST PRECIOUS HERITAGE WAS "THE RIGHT TO STATE WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE TRUE AND THE RIGHT TO DEFEND IT." ONE SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO ACCEPT THE RIGHT CONCLUSIONS AND THIS WAS WHAT PROFESSOR SIMONS HAD DONE. HE HAD SOUGHT TO UNDERSTAND, NOT TO DISTORT. SHE SUGGESTED THAT THE COMPLAINT AGAINST HIM WAS THAT HIS LECTURES HAD NOT BEEN "BORING ENOUGH." THEREFORE THE MESSAGE WAS "BE DULL AND CONFORM."

MR. ELDRED TABACHNIK, CHAIRMAN OF THE STUDENT ACADEMIC FREEDOM COMMITTEE, TOLD THE MEETING THAT PROFESSOR SIMONS, IN HIS OBJECTIVITY, HAD BEEN THE VERY SYMBOL OF THE ACADEMIC SPIRIT. IT WAS IRONIC THAT THE BANNING ORDER HAD BEEN IMPOSED IN THE NAME OF WESTERN CIVILISATION.

THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY SEEMED TO BE THAT OF A SERVILE INSTITUTION "TO JUSTIFY REIGNING DOCTRINES." MR. TABACHNIK DOUBTED WHETHER IT WOULD BE "SAFE" FOR AN ECONOMIST TO DISCUSS BANTUSTANS OR A SOCIOLOGIST, MIGRANT LABOUR. FRIGHTENING POWERS HAD BEEN PLACED IN THE HANDS OF ONE MAN. WHAT FREEDOM WAS LEFT TO A UNIVERSITY WHEN ITS LECTURERS WERE AFRAID TO EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS?

HE SAID THAT RUIN AND DECLINE WOULD FOLLOW AND THAT FUTURE LEADERS WERE TO BE TAUGHT TO HAVE PRECONCEIVED IDEAS AND AN INTOLERANCE OF PROGRESS.

PROFESSOR SIMONS WOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN. "WHEREVER SCHOLARSHIP IS ESTEEMED", HE WILL BE "REMEMBERED WITH RESPECT."

IN A STATEMENT ENDORSED BY THE MEETING, IT WAS REMEMBERED THAT, BY THE 1959 EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION ACT, THE UNIVERSITIES HAD BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT TO DECIDE WHO SHOULD BE TAUGHT. A SECOND FREEDOM, THAT OF DECIDING WHO SHALL TEACH, HAD NOW BEEN TAKEN AWAY. "WE REGISTER OUR EMPHATIC PROTEST AGAINST THIS FURTHER VIOLATION OF THE AUTONOMY OF OUR UNIVERSITIES. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR THE RESTORATION OF OUR RIGHTS AND FOR THE REALISATION OF OUR IDEAL OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM."

RADIO

FOR THE MANY LISTENERS WHO OBJECT TO WHAT THE S.A.B.C. PUTS OUT AS OBJECTIVE NEWS, THERE IS A SIMPLE CHOICE. THEY CAN LISTEN, OR THEY CAN SWITCH OFF THEIR RADIOS. BUT THIS CHOICE IS DENIED TO AFRICAN CHILDREN OBLIGED TO LISTEN TO ONE OF THE 2,000 RADIOS IN THEIR SCHOOLS.

GIVING THIS FIGURE IN REPLY TO A QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT LAST MONTH, THE MINISTER OF BANTU EDUCATION SAID THAT A SPECIAL SCHOOL NEWS SERVICE WAS BROADCAST ONCE A WEEK IN THE XHOSA, ZULU, NORTHERN-SOTHO, SOUTHERN-SOTHO AND TSWANA LANGUAGES. IT WAS COMPULSORY FOR ALL AFRICAN SCHOOLS SUPPLIED WITH F.M. SETS TO LISTEN TO THE SCHOOL RADIO PROGRAMMES, WHICH INCLUDED THE SPECIAL SCHOOL NEWS SERVICE.

WHITES REJECT COLOURED HAND OF FRIENDSHIP

PROGRESSIVE VICTORIES IN THE COLOURED PROVINCIAL COUNCIL CONSTITUENCIES WERE HAILED AS AN OFFER OF THE HAND OF FRIENDSHIP BY NON-WHITE TO WHITE. IF SO, IT HAS BEEN FIRMLY REJECTED. NOT ONLY WERE THE PROGRESSIVES VERY SOUNDLY BEATEN IN THE WHITE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, BUT THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY A STATEMENT BY DR. VERWOERD ON COLOURED POLITICAL PROSPECTS WHICH FINALLY DISPOSED OF ANY IDEA THAT THE NATIONALIST PARTY HAD SOME PLAN OTHER THAN PERPETUAL SUBJUGATION FOR COLOURED CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY.

WITH "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT", ITSELF A FAIRLY RECENT VARIATION ON THE OLD "BAASSKAP" THEME, GIVING WAY TO THE TERM "SEPARATE FREEDOMS", SOME COMPARATIVELY ENLIGHTENED NATIONALISTS THOUGHT THAT THIS ATTITUDE COULD BE APPLIED TO THE COLOURED POPULATION TOO. "THE SKY IS THE LIMIT" THEY PROMISED COLOURED PEOPLE PREPARED TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT. SMALL BEGINNINGS WOULD LEAD TO GREATER THINGS. TALK OF STANDING TOGETHER, WHITES AND COLOURED AS ONE, AGAINST ANY ENEMY OF THE COUNTRY, LED SOME TO THINK THAT THE COLOURED PEOPLE WOULD EVENTUALLY BE ABSORBED INTO THE WHITE COMMUNITY AFTER ALL. EVEN AFTER THE RECENT INSULTS IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE, THE PROHIBITION OF MIXED ENTERTAINMENT, SOME ARGUED THAT IT WOULD NEVERTHELESS BE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF "SEPARATE FREEDOM" FOR COLOURED PEOPLE WITH NO "HOMELAND" OF THEIR OWN, TO BE REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT - EVENTUALLY - BY PEOPLE OF THEIR OWN RACE.

BUT THE PLATTELAND COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO TOLERATE SUCH IDEAS, AND, AS IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS EXPERIENCING DIFFICULTY IN FINDING A FORMULA TO PREVENT ITS OPPONENTS FROM "INTERFERING" IN NON-WHITE POLITICS WITHOUT PREVENTING ITSELF FROM DOING SO, SOME FACESAVING HAD TO BE DONE. DR. VERWOERD'S ANNOUNCEMENT DID IT.

PROBABLY THE ONLY COMMENT WORTH MAKING IS THAT AT LEAST THE COLOURED PEOPLE NOW KNOW WHERE THEY STAND. UNDER NATIONALIST RULE THEY FACE A FUTURE OF PERMANENT SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP IN THE LAND OF THEIR BIRTH. "SEPARATE FREEDOM" HAS BECOME BLATANT "BAASSKAP" ONCE AGAIN.

DOCKWORKERS

A MUCH-PUBLICISED EVENT DURING 1963 WAS THE TRANSFER FROM THE TRANSKEI TO THE WESTERN CAPE OF HUNDREDS OF COLOURED PEOPLE. THE MEN WERE TO BE GIVEN WORK IN CAPE TOWN HARBOUR AND IT WAS SAID THAT THEY WOULD REPLACE AFRICAN WORKERS WHO WOULD BE SENT BACK TO THE TRANSKEI. SIGNED ON FOR SIX MONTHS, THEY WERE TO BE PAID R1.10 RISING TO R2 A DAY. WHAT HAPPENED TO THESE NEWCOMERS TO CAPE TOWN? ACCORDING TO THE MINISTER OF TRANSPORT

(REPLYING TO A QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT), 293 COLOURED MEN WERE RECRUITED IN THE TRANSKEI IN 1963 AND 1964. AT THE END OF LAST MONTH 163 HAD LEFT THE SERVICE OF THE RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.

PROGS NOT TRYING TO APPEASE WHITE NATIONALISM

SIR,

THE MARCH ISSUE OF CONTACT CONTAINED AN ARTICLE ON THE RECENT PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS IN THE COLOURED SEATS. THE ARTICLE SUGGESTED THAT THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY WAS TRYING TO APPEASE WHITE NATIONALISM. THIS SUGGESTION WAS BASED ON A MISQUOTE OF SOMETHING I HAD SAID IN A SUNDAY PAPER AND ON DR. STEYTTLER'S COMMENT THAT THE COLOURED VOTERS HAD REJECTED EXTREMISM ON BOTH SIDES.

THE SUNDAY PAPER CONCERNED CORRECTED MY STATEMENT IN THE NEXT ISSUE. I HAD STATED THAT THE COLOURED PEOPLE HAD STATED THAT THEY WANTED CO-OPERATION AND NOT DOMINATION AND THERE WAS NO RACIAL TAG TO WHAT I HAD SAID.

WITH REGARD TO DR. STEYTTLER'S COMMENT, I CAN ONLY SAY THAT AT EVERY MEETING I ADDRESSED - AND I AM SURE THIS GOES FOR MY COLLEAGUE, MR. VAN HEERDEN AS WELL - WE STATED CLEARLY THAT THE POLICY OF THE PARTY WAS A QUALIFIED VOTE BECAUSE WE WANTED A RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE TO CHOOSE A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. WE WERE OFTEN CLOSELY QUESTIONED ABOUT THE DETAILS OF THE QUALIFICATIONS AND I CAN ONLY REMEMBER ONE OCCASION WHERE DISAPPOINTMENT WAS EXPRESSED BECAUSE THE QUALIFICATION WAS TOO HIGH (THE QUESTIONER WAS ELDERLY AND ILLITERATE). ON ONE OTHER OCCASION THERE WAS CRITICISM FROM THREE PERSONS, NONE OF WHOM WERE ON THE VOTERS' ROLL.

OUR CLEAR IMPRESSION OF THE WHOLE CAMPAIGN WAS THAT THE COLOURED VOTERS WERE COMPLETELY SATISFIED WITH OUR FRANCHISE PROPOSALS THAT THEY CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THEM AND THAT THEY ENDORSED THEM AT THE POLLS. 14,000 NEW VOTERS ENROLLED TO SAY SO. OUR OTHER VERY STRONG IMPRESSION THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN WAS THAT THE BOYCOTT MOVEMENT HAD DIED A NATURAL DEATH EXCEPT FOR A FEW HARDY IRRECONCILABLES. WE FOUND NO RESISTANCE WORTH MENTIONING TO OUR REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN AND NONE OF OUR MEETINGS WAS DISTURBED BY PERSISTENT HECKLING OR APPARENT OPPOSITION. DR. STEYTTLER IN MY OPINION WAS QUITE CORRECT IN HIS CONCLUSIONS.

O.D. WOLLHEIM M.P.C.

WE ARE GRATEFUL TO DR. WOLLHEIM FOR POINTING OUT THAT THE STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO HIM BY A SUNDAY NEWSPAPER AND REFERRED TO BY US IN OUR LAST ISSUE WAS NOT CORRECT. THIS IS REASSURANCE WHICH WILL BE WELCOMED AS MUCH BY OUR READERS AS BY OURSELVES. WHILE WE DISAGREE ON CERTAIN IMPORTANT ISSUES, WE DO BELIEVE THAT THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IS PLAYING A VALUABLE ROLE IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS AND WE WISH IT EVERY SUCCESS.

HOWEVER, WE MUST REITERATE THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT DR. STEYTTLER'S ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION RESULTS. WE CAN WELL BELIEVE THAT THE PROGRESSIVE POLICIES WERE EAGERLY WELCOMED BY A COLOURED ELECTORATE WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN OFFERED NOTHING BUT UNITED PARTY AND NATIONALIST FARE.

IF, AS DR. WOLLHEIM STATES, THERE APPEARED DURING THE CAMPAIGN TO BE FEW DISSENTIENTS TO THE PROGRESSIVE QUALIFIED FRANCHISE POLICY, WE MUST SUBMIT THAT THERE ARE MORE EXPLANATIONS OF THIS THAN ONE. WE OURSELVES KNOW OF COLOURED SUPPORTERS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY, WHO, EAGER TO SEE A PROGRESSIVE PARTY VICTORY CERTAINLY HAD NO INTENTION OF CHALLENGING THAT PARTY ON ITS FRANCHISE POLICY DURING THIS CONTEST WHERE THE POINT WAS NOT AT ISSUE. WHETHER THE QUALIFIED FRANCHISE POLICY OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IS PREFERRED BY THE COLOURED ELECTORATE TO THE UNIVERSAL ADULT FRANCHISE POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OR NOT COULD ONLY BE DETERMINED BY AN ELECTION CONTEST BETWEEN THE TWO. IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A CONTEST, DR. STEYTTLER'S CONCLUSIONS ARE NOT JUSTIFIED.