

ALGERIA, RWANDA: LESSONS

contact

FOR SOUTH AFRICA

14 JUL 1962

— see pages 2, 4, 5

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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



—Photo: A.F.P.

AFTER 7 YEARS' WAR Algerian leaders return in triumph to Algiers. In a military jeep, Premier **BENYOUSSEF BENKHEDDA** (left) and Vice-Premier **BELKACEM KRIM** drive in triumph through the city.— See story on page 5.

contact

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COMMENT

ALGERIA, RWANDA AND SOUTH AFRICA

ON ANOTHER page in this issue there is an article about Algeria which outlines the history of the Algerian war of independence. On yet another page is an article about the newly independent Republic of Rwanda.

In the coming to independence of both Algeria and Rwanda there are lessons for South Africa—for the rulers as well as for the ruled.

The first is that an oppressed people will win its freedom in the end—in Algeria 132 years after conquest had taken their land from them, in Rwanda more than 600 years after a political

and economic system closely resembling apartheid had been imposed. A time is reached in the history of all people when they can no longer tolerate conditions of oppression and when they organize and act in order to end it. That is the lesson for the White masters of South Africa.

And a further lesson for them is that the longer they try to keep their privileges, the more certain they are of losing their very homes and livelihoods. It did not matter to the Hutu people of Rwanda that their overlords had been with them 600 years and had

"no other country to go to". They pulled them from their high thrones and forced many of them to flee. If the Whites want to make of South Africa a permanent home, they must be prepared to surrender their privileges, their superiority and share the country with their darker fellow citizens, on a basis of equal rights for everyone.

Culture for the New Nazis

THE government of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) has entered into a cultural agreement with the government of the Republic of South Africa, signed in Cape Town last month by the German Ambassador to South Africa and the Minister of the Interior, Senator Jan de Klerk.

In signing this agreement the German government has committed the German people to cultural exchanges with South Africa. But with how much of South Africa? Will the benefits coming to this country as a result of the agreement be shared equally by all the people of South Africa, or will they be apportioned by the government according to the government's policy of White supremacy?

For our part we do not see that the majority of South Africans will benefit in any way from the agreement.

If our belief is correct, the German cultural agreement will do no more than strengthen White supremacy and Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa, strengthen a political movement which is turning daily into a more and more recognizable imitation of a political force that wrecked Germany—Nazism.

It is distressing to see a country which claims to have thrown off the heritage of race hatred created by Hitler, entering into cultural agreements with a government whose policies resemble Hitler's in a multitude of ways.

Certainly this agreement will do the reputation of the German Federal Republic very little good in the free states of Africa and among the oppressed people of South Africa whose constant call is for the complete isolation of the apartheid government.

Peter Brown Writes to Liberals

"AS I WRITE WE ARE in the lull after the storm of protest against the Vorster Bill. The Bill has now become law. The protests and the Parliamentary debate produced no significant changes in it. So far the Minister has taken no steps to use the powers he now has but, by the time this article appears, he may well have done so.

"What does this new law mean for South Africa and for Liberals?

"For South Africa it means that a Minister now has the full armoury of the police state at his disposal. He may not be able to put people in gaol without trial, but he can certainly lock them up in their own houses without trial. He can also bring them before the courts and charge them, with the reasonable certainty that they will be found guilty, with any one of a long list of offences which would not be offences in a democracy.

"The Minister has great powers and there is no doubt that he will use them if he wants to. But it may be true that he will not want to use them against Liberals generally and that he has taken these vast powers as much to frighten us into silence as anything else. If he fails to frighten us he may use these powers, but he will be hoping not to fail.

"Our first task is to see that the Minister does fail in this aim. Liberals will refuse to be intimidated. They will carry on as before, paying the minimum attention to this Act. They will continue to hold their meetings at all levels—public and private meetings, national, provincial and branch meetings. They will continue to say what they think on every important national and local question of the day—and not to mince their words. And they will continue to build up their organization, from the bottom, so that the Nationalists are one day faced with a non-racial machine they cannot resist.

"This last task will not be easy and Mr. Vorster will do his best to prevent its success.

"But until it is done there will be no end to apartheid and no certainty at all that when apartheid goes it will be succeeded by non-racial democracy.

"There is plenty to be done. Let's get on with it!"

PETER BROWN,
National Chairman of
the Liberal Party.



WEED SUPREMACY
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

RHODESIA:

Students Demonstrate against Portuguese Repression

● One of the first signs of public protest activity by students at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, was the demonstration against Portuguese policy described in this article by a student at the College.

THE news that the Governor-General of Moçambique, Rear Admiral Sarmiento Rodrigues, would visit the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, on 15th June, sparked a meeting of concerned students who selected an *ad hoc* "steering committee" of five to draw up a petition requesting the

Principal, Dr. Walter Adams, to "use his influence to bring about the cancellation of the visit" because of the students' disapproval of Portugal's educational policies.

Eighty-six students indicated, by signing the petition, that the Governor-General of Moçambique, as an official representative of Portugal, would not be welcome "in our academic community where we are working to maintain freedom of thought and speech, and attempting to assert the rights of the individual to intellectual advancement".

On Thursday morning, 14th June, the petition was delivered to the Principal's

office. No reply was received, and on Thursday evening the steering committee — at the urging of the petitioners — met and planned a non-violent demonstration for the Governor-General's visit the next morning.

More than sixty student demonstrators, displaying a dozen placards with carefully chosen statements in Portuguese and English, lined Mt. Pleasant Drive at ten o'clock on Friday morning to await the Governor-General. It was — and still remains — the conviction of the petitioners — become — demonstrators that such action is non-political and entirely within the academic tradition of freedom of speech, in which the university has been the conscience of its society.

Heated Encounters

In heated encounters between anti-Rodrigues demonstrators and others who threw tomatoes at them and tore their posters, little physical injury was inflicted, except in the case of the police who, in breaking them up, managed to twist one student's neck and send his glasses flying, while on another occasion a student who was trying to retrieve his poster received a blow on the side of the head from a heavily-gloved policeman.

While the Governor-General toured the library, antagonism between the demonstrators and their opponents as they waited outside, flared into a bitterly



WHO ARE THE SAVAGES? asks the poster: part of the demonstration against Portuguese policy by Rhodesian students.



Rhodesian students protest against Portuguese educational policy in Moçambique.

racial verbal exchange, but subsided at the reappearance of Rear Admiral Rodrigues. There two main groups accompanied the Governor-General — with placards, jeers and cheers — the whole time he was on the campus.

One Step Ahead

From the reports in the local European press and the response given by certain vocal citizens of Salisbury, it is clear that a mature understanding of the purpose and value of such a student demonstration is far from being comprehended and appreciated. If the "good fun" response of Lord Malvern and the University College's Principal, Dr. Adams, can be taken as a diplomatic way of recognizing the validity of such student demonstrations, it indicates that these leaders are at least one step ahead of most Rhodesians.

Personal Files

SURPRISE has been expressed in the South African press at the banning of *Uhuru*, a novel by Robert Ruark, which is reported to out-do the anti-African tone of his best-seller about Mau Mau, *Something of Value*. No surprise was expressed at the banning of either *The African Image* by Ezekiel Mphahlele or *Everyman's Africa*, by John Hatch, two books of outstanding interest and value. I surmise that Hatch's banning is a personal matter: the book says no more against apartheid than do a hundred other (unbanned) books. Hatch, Commonwealth officer to the British Labour Party, is a prohibited immigrant in South Africa. He is married to a Coloured South African.

Of course, the very name *Uhuru* may have been enough. The Special Branch's African language experts know that it means freedom. Last June a 15-year-old White schoolboy was given lashes for sticking "Strike May 29-31", labels, which he had hand-printed, in buses. The Special Branch searched his room at home and found other stickers with "Uhuru" and "Kwacha" printed on them. In the Juvenile Court, where he was tried, the language expert gave evidence that *Uhuru* meant freedom, but he could shed no light on the other word. In some quarters it is difficult to believe one is in Africa.

IN FAIRNESS TO THE GERMAN cultural representatives, which our

editorial (page 2) refers to, one of them, Dr. F. S. Sommer, was very charming and patient when my informant approached him about the theatrical performances that formed part of the German cultural fortnight staged in Cape Town in June. No, they did not know that the Hofmeyr Theatre was for Whites only, all the booking had been done by the University of Stellenbosch. Yes, they thought it was a pity. So kind Dr. Sommer approached the producer, Professor Fred Engeln, of Stellenbosch, and asked him to arrange a special performance at the non-segregated Camps Bay Civic Centre, which my informant had been prudent enough to book in advance. But no, it was not possible to cancel the colour-bar performance at the Hofmeyr; I know nothing of these matters, Dr. Sommer sighed apologetically.

DOWN the corridor from our editor's office is a very exclusive lady milliner, who makes those huge, ornate hats that are to be seen in rows in the Parliamentary gallery for M.P.'s wives. Wives of Nationalist M.P.'s seem to favour them most: Mrs. P. M. K. le Roux, wife of the Hon. the Minister for Agricultural Technical Services, is an exceptionally keen buyer, judging by her frequent appearances on our floor. Sometimes a group of Nationalist wives stand chattering at the lift, giving occasional nervous little looks into the large common room opposite, where non-racial junketings or "agitator" sessions are frequently in process. Well, we had an unusually grand visitor a few days ago, in the person of Mrs. Nellie Swart, wife of the State President. It was memorable for the asking of the Most Unlikely Question for June, when a handsome young South African Navy

officer, the State President's A.D.C., dripping with gold braid, popped his head into the office of the absent, much gaoled, much banned and confined Editor of *Contact*, and asked brightly: "Have you got Mrs. Swart in here?"

MR. JAPIE BASSON'S entry into the United Party may revive the behind-the-scenes campaign to freshen up the U.P., especially by giving it a new name. Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn is said to favour this idea, but he cannot do much about it, as Sir de Villiers Graaff is at pains to make it clear who is boss in the U.P. Changing the name of the U.P. is a minor matter, but the bastion of reaction which it remains is very largely Graaff's doing. Sir de Villiers's personal role in these dark days for South Africa will one day be evaluated. Personal loyalty to Graaff-the-man and Graaff-the-symbol has done more, among otherwise clear-headed politicians, newspaper editors, business men, to hold back the process of change than the rantings of scores of Nationalist backbenchers. As the shadows lengthen in South Africa, Graaff must stand as a guilty man.

Among the Nationalists, Dr. Verwoerd does not yet have to make clear who is boss. He is boss, and that is that. But Mr. Vorster's power grows, in spite of his lack of personal appeal, *bonhomie*, or the common touch. An observer in touch with Transvaal Nationalist faction-fighting tells me that in a contest for power there today, Vorster would beat Verwoerd. But that contest won't happen, until the actions of the radical opposition bring it about.

By Jacob Bam

OXFORD Africa

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“Science in General Education”

EXPERTS DISCUSS EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

From “Contact” Correspondent

MASERU: An international conference on “Science in General Education” was held at Pius XII University College, Roma, Basutoland, from 1st to 8th July.

One of the principal speakers was Dr. Adam S. Skapski, a research scientist and educationist with the United States Agency for International Development. In his address he stressed the importance of science and technology in the modern world and showed the way in which they affect political, economic and social problems particularly in the developing countries. He said that it is important for school-children to understand the role of science and technology so that they could choose correctly in their further studies.

He added: “It is being increasingly realized in several countries that a Comprehensive School System which involves a combination of a ‘hard core’ of general education with different elective biases is the most satisfactory preparation for specialized training.”

Dr. Skapski is at present working in Western Nigeria where he is experimenting on the Comprehensive School System with Dr. B. Somade, the Chief Inspector of Education in Western Nigeria. He is convinced that by 1970, 60 per cent of Western Nigeria's children will have gone through three levels of general secondary education, namely, vocational, technical and managerial. Dr. Skapski left Basutoland shortly after he delivered his lecture to the conference.

He said in an exclusive interview with “Contact”: “I know the Verwoerd government practises discrimination against the man of colour. Apartheid is atrociously wrong. I hate it as much as I hate communism which made me flee from my country, Poland, 40 years ago.”

R.A.F. TRANSPORT 'PLANE VISITS BASUTOLAND

From “Contact” Correspondent

MASERU: Britain's Royal Air Force seems to have plans for moving troops and arms into the High Commission Territories from the great military bases in Kenya.

On 2nd July, to the amazement of the inhabitants, a huge prop-jet R.A.F. Beverley transport plane landed at Maseru airfield. The plane is big enough to carry 90 fully equipped soldiers. At Maseru a jeep drove out of its hold. The plane later took off again.

The Maseru airfield has never before handled a plane of such size. Although the runway has been lengthened, up to now the largest plane to use it has been a DC3.

In Swaziland, too, plans are being made to fly in troops. The runway of a new airfield near Manzini is 5,000 feet long—long enough to accommodate the largest aeroplanes.

An official at the Maseru airfield said that the Beverley had come from Kenya and had visited Swaziland.

It takes three hours to fly from Kenya to the High Commission Territories.

“The practice of discrimination in education, is the worst thing that any civilized person or government can do in the 20th century.”

The conference was attended by scientists from all over the continent, including Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Congo (Leopoldville), Uganda,

Kenya, the Rhodesias and the three High Commission Territories.

The conference, which opened on the 1st July with a stimulating address of welcome by the Paramount Chief Motlotlehi Moshoeshe II closed on the 8th July 1962. The conference was attended by about 100 delegates.

“WHITES NEED NOT FEAR,” SAYS UNIP LEADER

From “Contact” Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: Speaking at an election rally in Livingstone, Mr. Mainza Chona, Secretary General of the United National Independence Party, said that the delay of the British government in granting majority rule in Northern Rhodesia was because of the “undemocratic” Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky. He said that Sir Roy had interfered in the affairs of Northern Rhodesia which he had no right to do, especially as regards the constitution.

Mr. Chona said that Whites who want Northern Rhodesia to be their home

must not fear anything, provided they co-operate with us as brothers and sisters. Those who want to stay in Northern Rhodesia as bosses will have to go their way.

“We do not hate Whites, but we hate the type of government they rule us with. We are regarded as second class citizens in the country of our birth. Yet we should be the people to rule Africa because we are Africans and Africa is the country that God gave us.”

Mr. Chona warned U.N.I.P. supporters to refrain from any sort of violence because that would increase Welensky propaganda.

DOUBLE FREEDOM FOR RWANDA AFTER 600 YEARS

INDEPENDENT on the 1st July after being a Belgian trust territory for some 44 years are two new states—Rwanda and Burundi. Before independence they constituted the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, a country lying between the Congo and Tanganyika with Uganda to the north. Burundi (two million people) is a kingdom. Rwanda (2½ million people) is a republic.

The latter country has thrown off two types of domination at about the same time, and is going through a phase of what might be called a “double de-colonization”.

600 Years Ago

Six centuries ago, the land that was to become Rwanda, was occupied by a people who lived by agriculture, as did their cousins in the neighbouring territories of Burundi and Buganda. They dwelt in small communities under the authority of patriarch, the representative of the ancestors of the tribe.

In the 14th century of our time (about 1300 A.D.), Rwanda and Burundi were invaded by a tribe of warrior cattle farmers who spoke a different language and belonged to different stock from the indigenous people (who are known today as the Bahutu): the invaders were the Watutsi, men and women of great height.

After the invasion the Watutsi systematically enslaved the Bahutu, creating a political and economic system from which there seemed to be no escape. The Bahutu wanted cattle, which they could get only from the Watutsi—and the only way to get cattle was to submit to the authority of the invaders. Even then the cattle were only on loan, and the rent was part of the crops grown by the Hutu peasants.

On these simple foundations the Watutsi built a way of life which required them to do no productive work—they merely ruled and exploited. Although they formed less than a fifth of the population, they consumed far more than a fifth of the gross national product, and their supremacy though a monarchy, was absolute.

Racial Myths

In order to bolster their position, the Watutsi invented racial myths to justify their overlordship: myths which held that the Bahutu were by origin and birth inferior to the Watutsi. They declared that the Bahutu had no right to enjoy equally the fruits of their country. The “traditional Rwanda way of life” has been described as follows as by Watutsi courtier:

“The relations between us (Watutsi) and them (Bahutu) has always been, and is now, based on domination: between us and them there is no foundation for fraternity.”

Germans, Belgians

In 1902 Rwanda became part of German East Africa, and German policy was to maintain the authority of the Watutsi and rule through them. When the country became a trust territory under Belgian rule after the German defeat in the 1914-18 war, that policy remained the same.

After the second world war, Rwanda became a U.N. trust territory still under Belgian administration, and it was only in 1956 that the Bahutu began to take stock of their position and to organize politically. In that year elections were held, under a constitution that gave the Watutsi almost complete control of the Assembly. Political parties were formed and agitation began. At this stage, the Bahutu found strength in the Belgian presence in Rwanda because it saved them from the wrath of their other over-

Radio Tanganyika Broadcasts South

By a Reporter

RADIO TANGANYIKA is now beaming a daily programme to Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which can also be heard clearly in South Africa.

The programme starts at 9 p.m. and is heard on 59.4 metres. It consists of news in English, Njanja and Shona interspersed with African music. If one tunes in before 9 o'clock one can hear a programme of African music announced in Swahili, followed by Swahili news and Tanganyika's national anthem played by a military band. The anthem is the same as the South African hymn Nkosi Sikel' iAfrika.

This is only one of the many stations that you can hear if you have a shortwave radio set. This and other stations will give news and entertainment which you will never hear on South African stations which are being used more and more as government propaganda tools.

A small transistor radio on which it is possible to hear a great many stations in the independent African states and overseas can be bought for about R35.00. Enquire at a radio shop, and make sure the set you buy has a shortwave band from 19 metres to 90 metres.

lords, while the Watutsi King Kigeli V became violently anti-Belgian.

In 1959 civil war broke out between the Bahutu and the Watutsi. Thousands of Watutsi were killed or fled the country, and their political power was finally broken when in the next year elections were held in which the Bahutu Parties won 80 per cent of the seats. King Kigeli V fled the country to seek aid and support in his attempts to regain his throne. The only country which gave him support was the Soviet Union.

In 1961 a referendum was held on the question of his return and on whether the monarchy should be retained. Eighty per cent of the voters rejected both Kigeli and the monarchy. Rwanda became a republic and for the first time in 600 years the Hutu people were in control of their own destiny.

But the succession of violent events that have led to this freedom continue to have grave consequences for the country. National reconciliation between the former dominant group and the majority has become difficult. Watutsi refugees in Uganda carry out raids into Rwanda, killing Bahutu indiscriminately, while in the country itself, Bahutu take their revenge on the Watutsi still living there. Watutsi students in Europe refuse to return home where their skills are desperately needed because they fear for their future.

These problems of a double de-colonization face the new republic.

—Jeune Afrique, 8th July.

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ALGERIA: SEVEN YEARS' WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

ON 4th November, 1954, a series of bomb explosions occurred in various parts of Algeria, and a war which was to last more than seven years had begun.

"Integration"

Algeria was occupied by France 132 years ago, and French policy for the north African state was "integration"—Algeria was to become part of France, separated only by the Mediterranean Sea. Settlers moved into Algeria from France and southern European countries and by the time the war broke out there were a million of them and nine million Moslem Algerians.

The Moslems, since the conquest of Algeria, had waited in vain for France to fulfil promises of equal rights. Election after election was gerrymandered in favour of the settlers; political movements seeking change were banned and leaders imprisoned; strikes, demonstrations and protests failed to bring reform, and finally in 1954 the war began, initiated by a group of fervent Algerian Nationalists determined to force Algeria out of French hands.

They believed that to be the only way to secure the dignity and freedoms that had been denied during the colonial period. Among the group who started the war, and one of its guiding minds was Mr. Mohammed Ben Bella who two years later was captured by the French and imprisoned in France.

Revolt to Revolution

At the outset the French treated the Algerian war as a minor series of incidents, but as the campaign of terror grew in proportion, French troops were moved to Algeria in increasing numbers until there were more than 400,000 there. Their presence did little to prevent the spread of the revolt, and during 1956 it became clear that the previously neutral population of Algeria

was swinging its support behind the Nationalists.

Out of various political and social groups, the National Liberation Front was formed to lead and control on the political side of the revolution—the military wing was called the National Liberation Army.

During 1956, the French government appointed a new governor in Algeria, Lacoste, whose policy was to isolate the rebels. He moved hundreds of thousands of Algerian civilians from their homes in the countryside into vast "regroupment" camps where they could be kept under watch by the French forces. But during 1956 the Nationalists were beginning to receive substantial help from sympathetic countries, and when in that year adjacent Tunisia became independent from France, it provided a direct route through which aid could be channelled to Algeria.

During 1956 too there was increasing world support for the Algerian Nationalists, and the Algerian question was raised time and again in the United Nations.

It was during 1957 that General Massu was sent to Algiers to break the hold that Nationalists had on the city—the methods he used to do so will remain a brutal blot on the reputation of France.

De Gaulle

During 1958 a crisis in French politics, caused by the inability or unwillingness of successive governments to solve the Algerian problem, brought General de Gaulle to power—on the shoulders of the Europeans and army in Algeria. In that year too the Algerian Provisional Government was formed in exile, with Mr. Ferhad Abbas as first Prime Minister.

De Gaulle realized that it was not realistic to try to keep Algeria in Colonial status, and began to talk of the necessity for negotiations with the Nationalists. This new policy, which



BACK FROM EXILE: The first Premier of the Algerian government in exile, Mr. Ferhad Abbas (right) returned to Algeria to vote in the referendum. He greets an Algerian soldier. — A.F.P. Photo.



Crowds waving the green and white flag of free Algeria celebrate independence when the result of the referendum became known. — A.F.P. Photo.

grew into the Evian talks that finally ended the war between France and the Nationalists was firmly backed by the people of France in a series of referendums, but rejected equally firmly by the Europeans of Algeria, who first tried to overthrow De Gaulle (through the army) and when that failed, formed the Secret Army Organization, to fight to keep their supremacy in Algeria. This failed too.

In 1961, Mr. Ferhad Abbas was re-

placed as Prime Minister of the Algerian Provisional Government, his place being taken by Mr. Benyoussef Benkhedda, under whose direction the talks with France reached a conclusion and the cease-fire was signed in March this year.

A referendum was held in Algeria on 1st July, and an overwhelming majority of the people voted for independence, which was accordingly granted by France.

FOUR BASUTOLAND PARTIES STATE POLICIES

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: As reported in *Contact* (14th June), the Constitutional Commission is sitting in consideration of the new constitution for Basutoland. It has now received over 1,300 memoranda from interested persons and bodies, and the secretaries are busy organizing these memoranda for the Commission.

Contact put a series of questions to the leaders of the four main Parties in Basutoland in order to get their views on the new constitution. Two questions dominate: the date of Responsible Government, and the position of the Paramount Chief.

The Basutoland Congress Party leader, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, declared that his Party wanted independence immediately, but for the sake of convenience a short period of Responsible Government might precede it. He

declared that the Paramount Chief should be a constitutional monarch like the Queen of England.

The Basutoland National Party leader, Chief Leabua Jonathan, said that independence should come soon after Responsible Government and that the Paramount Chief should be a constitutional monarch.

"Unrealistic"

The leader of the Basutoland Freedom Party, Mr. B. M. Khaketla, said that it was unrealistic to ask for independence immediately. The Party is in favour of immediate internal self government to be followed soon by independence. The Paramount Chief should be Head of State exercising all the powers now exercised by the Resident Commissioner and the High Commissioner.

Chief S. S. Matete, leader of the Marema-Tlou Party said that independence should come gradually, and that 1965 should be the target year for it. The Paramount Chief should be Head



MOKHEHLE

JONATHAN

of State with certain defined executive powers.

Questioned about future relations with the British Government, all Parties except the B.C.P. said they wanted to maintain close relations. The B.N.P. and the B.F.P. want a Treaty of Alliance; the Marema-Tlou Party wants British Protection to continue. The B.C.P. declare that the only acceptable relationship with Britain was "belonging to the same Commonwealth and the same United Nations Organization". The B.C.P. is committed to positive neutrality.

Three Basutoland Parties to Join Forces?

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Secret talks between the three smaller Basutoland Parties have been taking place during the past few months with a view to amalgamation: the Parties are the Basutoland National Party, Basutoland Freedom Party and Marema-Tlou Party.

Fifteen delegates attended the first meeting—five from each Party. The proposed name of the new Party after amalgamation is Basutoland Independence Party, but amalgamation has been postponed while the leader of the B.F.P., Mr. B. M. Khaketla, is away. He is attending a Peace Conference in Moscow. Observers wonder whether his visit to the communist-controlled conference will not make amalgamation more difficult as the other two are conservative Parties.

African Writers meet in Uganda

The first conference of African writers who use English was held at Makerere University College in Uganda early in June. This article describes and discusses the conference.

THE FIRST ASSEMBLY of African authors writing in English has just been held at Makerere University College at Kampala, Uganda. It was a kind of literary African summit meeting, with special observers from the West Indies and Dahomey, guests of honour from America and publishers from the U.S. and Britain, and magazine editors from four countries. The conference was convened by the Mbari Centre of Ibadan, Nigeria, and was sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. It was presided over by the South African writer Ezekiel Mphahlele, author of *The African Image*.

Mr. Mphahlele opened the conference by introducing the guests of honour, among whom were Langston Hughes, the American poet, and Dr. Saunders Redding, Professor of literature at the Hampton Institute, and then presented the other writers and observers. There was a sad note in the announcement



SOME DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE: from left to right: Donatus Nwoga (Nigeria), Gabriel Okara (Nigeria), Christopher Okigbo (Nigeria), Shégun Ofusola (Nigeria), Dr. Saunders Redding (U.S.A.), Barry Reckord (West Indies), and Neville Rubín (Editor "The New African", South Africa).

asperity. They were critical comments on specific novels, short stories and poems; and then workshops on the novel, play, poem and short story.

Langston Hughes read a paper on Negro poetry and Dr. Redding on Negro fiction; Arthur Drayton of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Jos, Northern Nigeria, read a paper on West Indian writing, and Gerald Moore, director of Extra-Mural Studies, Makerere University College, delivered a paper on French writing in Africa.

Novel Competition

The conference was marked by many highlights: perhaps the most stimulating—for the writers—was the announcement by the London publisher Mr. André Deutsch of an African first novel competition with £1,000 in prize money. There was also great interest shown by publishing houses in African writing. Robie Macauley, editor of the "Kenyon Review", Heinemann's Van Milne and others were looking round for the work of new writers. Robert Armstrong, the director of the Northwestern University Press, whose publishing house has an impressive list of books of African interest, was present to arrange American distribution of the list of Mbari publications.

Sparks flew during the session devoted to a dialogue between two publishers. Vital and sometimes penetrating questions were thrown—like poison arrows—at the publishers. Were African writers getting a square deal from publishers' readers? Were they guided by pre-conceived ideas as to what an African novel ought to be? Did the publishers have African readers? Were the selections guided by the considerations of a European audience?

At times the questions implied a difference between a European and an African audience and then the need for a publishing house in Africa was discussed.

Reactions were heated. African writers protested against the publishing of bad African literature with broad—and unfortunate—hints that Amos Tutuola would probably not have been published if his manuscript had been read by an African reader.

Double Obligation

Dr. Saunders Redding articulated the problem that "the Negro writer, therefore, has a double obligation: to truth, and to the effect upon his reader of the particular truth he selects". He pointed out the Negro writer's selection of "scoundrel Negroes" could be interpreted by his people as a labour of disservice; "for every scoundrel Negro he

describes gets magnified out of all proportion into a person supposedly typical of all Negroes". Another problem facing the African writer is his reluctance to write about white people, and it was suggested that since White writers had no qualms about writing on Negroes, the African writer should write about white people.

The sessions were punctuated by two cocktail parties, a special performance by the African Dramatic Society of John Pepper Clark's play, *Song of the Goat*, and romps through the pubs of Kampala.

Back in the sessions, writers read from their own works: play readings from the work of Rebecca Njau, Wole Soyinka and J. P. Clark; short stories by Grace Ogot, Bloke Modisane; Ezekiel Mphahlele read from *Down Second Avenue*. Gabriel Okara, Christopher Okigbo, J. P. Clark and Wole Soyinka presented selections from their poems. These sessions were open to the public.

Unlike the entertainer who has his audience in front of him—excited or disapproving—the writer, because of the isolation that his craft imposes upon him, rarely gets to know the reaction to his work, except from "unfriendly" reviews, which are ignored anyway. At the conference the writers tore at each

(Continued on page 7, col. 4)

By

BLOKE MODISANE
formerly of "Drum"
magazine, now working
in London as a writer,
actor and broadcaster.

that the South African writers Alex La Guma, Randolph Vigne, James Mathews and Richard Rive had been unable to attend because of passport difficulties.

There were four daily sessions for a week, beginning with "What is African Writing?". Christopher Okigbo, the eccentric Nigerian poet who refused to read his poems on the ground that he never read to non-poets, introduced the discussion: Is African literature the body of literature written by Africans of African descent or it is any literature written on and about Africa? Who is an African writer?

Negritude

Opinions shifted to further definitions, trying to pin down the essential elements of African literature. How does it differ from other literatures? Arthur Maimane said it was writing from an African viewpoint: others claimed it was that "feeling of being black"—Negritude. This was challenged in some quarters with the statement that feeling was universal, neither black nor white. The general principle—and the limitations—of Negritude were argued, splitting the Africans from French- and from English-speaking territories.

This discussion took the conference through its first session to an acceptance of the unstated principle that the elements essential to African writing were the African point of view and a little of "that feeling".

Give and Take

The real meaning, the excitement of the conference was the bringing together of writers working in isolation and knowing each other only as names on the cold page. Nigeria's Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, J. P. Clark, Gabriel Okara, exchanged jokes with South Africa's Arthur Maimane, Ezekiel Mphahlele, and the present writer. In discussion, they examined each others' works with precision and at times with

TANGANYIKA PLANS DRASTIC LAND REFORM

IN order to increase productivity, the government of Tanganyika is planning a drastic land reform under which people who do not use their land productively will lose it. All freehold land in Tanganyika is to be changed to government leasehold on which 99-year leases will be obtainable.

A Government Paper (No. 2 of 1962, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, R0.14) outlines the proposals and lays them before the public for discussion. The Paper declares that the purpose of the proposed legislation is to procure the development of land to the greatest possible extent and with the greatest possible speed. The Paper explains too that the right to occupy land will be subject to up-to-date Land Regulations which will specify how the land is to be developed.

The Paper says: "It is recognized that

the intended reform came as a surprise to some freeholders, but government believes that freeholders who have developed their own land and appreciate the vital importance of development in Tanganyika today are not unsympathetic with the government aims . . ."

The main points in the government's proposals are:

- All freehold will be converted to government leasehold
- The terms of lease will be 99 years starting on the date of conversion
- Rents will be one thousandth part of the valuation of the land
- On expiry of the lease, there will be an option to renew provided the land has been properly developed
- Development, as laid down by an appropriate authority will be compulsory. Failure to develop will lead to loss of the lease but the outgoing lessee will be paid for his improvements to the land
- People who at present occupy land and who do not wish to fall under the new conditions will have the right

to surrender the right of occupancy which will then be advertised with the value of the improvements as a premium. This amount will be paid to the outgoing occupier on the disposal of his right of occupancy

- An occupier who surrenders will have the right to retain his dwelling house on the land together with a maximum area of 50 acres.
- Provision will be made for appeals to a Land Tribunal against decisions which may affect the occupier's interests.

Raising Living Standards

The Paper adds: "Government considers that the urgent need for raising the standard of living of the people of Tanganyika and the vital importance of agriculture in the country's economy compel it to use its power to procure development of land."

The proposals affect both freehold farm land and land held under African law and custom.—*Tanganyika Information Services*.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

"There is one Nation, no Tribalism in Swaziland"

SIR,—I felt perturbed and mentally disturbed when I came across the statement issued by Mr. H. D. Dlamini, Chairman of the Usutu Pulp and Timber Workers' Union which appeared in *Contact* (14th June). I feel it my duty to reply to his statement. Mr. Dlamini says that his Union does not support either of the two Progressive Parties, but does not give any concrete reason for his statement. I can only suggest that Mr. Dlamini is confused about the political affairs of the country and therefore suggest that he should only have said that he and his Union are neutral and are sitting on the fence (although neutralism is a crime in African politics today, including Swaziland).

The position in Swaziland is truly in turmoil, but we, the dynamic patriotic forces of our beloved country, cannot afford to fold our arms and watch the political funeral of Swaziland. The battle that has developed in Swaziland is a fair test to every freedom fighter in the territory—that of the constitutional deadlock and the political parties. However serious and antagonizing, as Mr. Dlamini puts it, these are not tea parties but a life and death struggle for Swaziland's 260,000 Africans and 10,000 Whites.

Mr. Dlamini went on to say that the division in the Progressive Party was caused by tribalistic differences. I deplore such an idea, for in Swaziland, unlike in other territories, there are no tribal differences: there is only one Swazi nation headed by the Ngwenyama Sobhuza II to whom we owe loyalty. Mr. Dlamini should carefully check before he makes statements that mislead the minds of the readers of *Contact*.

I wish to give a brief outline to all those who want to know about the

allegation that there are two Progressive Parties. This is theoretically true, but in fact false.

In January this year, the Central National Executive of the Swaziland Progressive Party met. Owing to previous discoveries about the mishandling of Party affairs, and undiplomatic moves by the then Party President, Mr. J. J. Nquku, the Executive was constitutionally dissolved and a general conference was called. This was held on 24th and 25th February. It was there that the people unanimously passed a vote of no confidence in Mr. Nquku and elections were held. Dr. A. P. Zwane was elected President of the Party by the people, together with a new and dynamic Executive. The deposed President, Mr. Nquku, was informed of the conference, but for unknown reasons he left for London.

When he returned, he called on his co-opted nominees and held illegal meetings in the name of the Party. Still unconvinced, all his meetings resulted in chaos, and now they are supervised by the police. One is perplexed by the behaviour of political people in Swazi-



land like Mr. Nquku who cannot see that the masses do not want him any more.

To say that these developments are the result of tribalism is far-fetched and unfounded.

Mayibuye iAfrika!

KHUZA N. DLAMINI,
Leader, Youth League of
the Swaziland Progressive
Party, Mbabane.

TO ALL READERS OF 'CONTACT'

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- Write on any subject you like but
- Keep your letters short and
- Remember there is a prize—"Contact" free for a year—for the writer of the best letter

CORRUPTION AT TEYATEYANENG

SIR,—To the pride of the Basuto Teyateyaneng is one of the first towns in the territory which is almost fully Africanized in both the central and the local government offices. For instance, the following officials are all Africans: the district commissioner, the police officer, postmaster, medical officer-in-charge, sister-in-charge of the hospital, prison gaoler, agricultural officer, district council chairman and many others.

In most ways the work goes ahead more smoothly and faster than when these positions were held by White officials, which proves equal if not better intelligence, devotion, and honesty on the part of the African officials.

But there is a serious danger: that of the African officials imitating the malpractices of the White officials, and seeking to glorify themselves rather than to serve the nation selflessly. Some of our top men have succumbed to this danger. Here are examples: people sometimes have to queue the whole day for attention, while officials chat amongst themselves about sports and such like things. And when they at last turn to the poor people who have come to them for help, they speak harshly to them, and rebuke them unnecessarily, and pompously and without interest give them what they want.

In the gaol the prisoners are exploited. Some care for the gaoler's garden, while others work as his domestic servants who serve tea to his wife as she lounges in bed. Is this how the service ought to work?

In a self-willed manner the district commissioner has flouted the ruling of the local district council by opening a road to Mapoteng which the council had disapproved. As a result the council has opened its own road and the district commissioner has opened his. He used prisoners to make his road to save the money that would have had to be used for hired labour. The prisoners sleep in tents out in the open country.

Space does not allow proper mention of the vehicles and other kinds of government property that these top Africans use for their personal purposes.

The central government knows all about these things but has kept quiet about them. It is that they would like to be able to turn to the world tomorrow and say that the Basotho are not yet fit to govern themselves?

We appeal to you African civil servants to assume an African simplicity and to show love to the masses by whose taxes you were educated and on whom you depend. We appeal to the law to check the corruption that goes on. We ask Africans to work diligently, honestly,

lovingly and selflessly on our march to independence.

"COBRA",
Teyateyaneng, Basutoland.

[This letter was submitted to the Basutoland Government Information Officer who, after a thorough on-the-spot investigation, commented: "There is not one single word of truth in any of these allegations."—EDITOR.]

Nquku must stay

SIR,—I am replying to Mr. J. Shongwe, Chairman of the new Swaziland Progressive Party in the Republic of South Africa who wrote that Mr. J. J. Nquku should leave Swaziland and go to his home of origin.

Is this the way to work for the nation? Fighting for position will divide the nation. People who brought about the split in the Swaziland Progressive Party are fighting for position.

We in Swaziland do not want leaders who discriminate. They are not fit to be elected as leaders.



JOHN HASTINGS BANDA,
Manzini.

PRIZE LETTER

"A HEAVY WAGON"

SIR,—Although I am small, I am pulling a heavy wagon. Whenever we fight for freedom we must forget our differences. There was the banned P.A.C. and the banned A.N.C. and there is the living Liberal Party. If we are too critical amongst ourselves it gives the enemy a chance to be strong, and that can lead to a second Congo.

Anyone who breaks through the iron chains of oppression must be heartily welcomed by all Parties, as long as his manifesto is "Africa must be Free!"

During the last great war when Adolph Hitler seemed to be strong, all the nations of the world came together, forgot their differences and fought against him. We must unite and fight the monster apartheid.

P. M. QINISILE,
Cape Town.

"They side with Imperialists"

SIR,—All Africans must unite! It is a pity that some Africans from the Republic come to Swaziland and start oppressing their Swazi fellowmen. They side with imperialists unnecessarily to create the kind of state desired by Carl Todd and his followers. The Swazi nationalists have come to think these people ran away from the Republic because they would not join Sobukwe's struggle. While in the Republic it seems as if they sided with Verwoerd's Party.

We Swazi people are fully prepared to chase these people out of Swaziland because they are a disturbing factor to progressive work here. We are going to stand by those patriotic sons who fully accept the policy of "Africa for the Africans".

By doing so we hope to attain independence easily because Todd and his followers are going to despair very soon—and they will despair because the opposing forces are too strong for them.

We need more Africans to unite here in Swaziland so as to be sure of African solidarity.

ZEPH. MAKHANDA,
1 Mhlantiwendlunkulu,
Hlatikulu.

African Writers:

(Continued from page 6)

other, pointing out the bad from the good.

But what did emerge from the conference was a sense of security for the writers.

This brought about a moment of illumination. The problems of political stresses—as in South Africa—that have produced a large body of protest literature that is centred in South African writing, were at times criticized and raised the question, "Is it possible to arouse interest in a conflict between a non-resisting object and a bulldozer?"

This element in South African writing set the difference between West African and South African writing. West African writing—because of the easy political climate—is concerned with tribal themes, the conflict between western and tribal culture; the pace is leisurely, and the canvas sprawls to proliferating details, lacking the energy and feverish vitality of South African writing. The tempo of industrialization, the impact of urbanization, the split society of South Africa, were described as the basis of writing there.

—Forum Service.

Appeal to World Tennis Federation:

'RECOGNIZE S.A.'S NON-RACIAL TENNIS UNION', SAYS SASA

THE South African Sports Association, the co-ordinating body for non-racial sports groups in South Africa, has appealed to the International Lawn Tennis Federation, the world body, to recognize our non-racial Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union and withdraw recognition from the all-White Tennis Union.

If the Federation does so, the Whites-only tennis group would be isolated from world tennis. The following letter has been sent to the Secretary of the International Lawn Tennis Federation by SASA:

"The South African Sports Association, a non-racial co-ordinating body for true non-racial sport in South Africa, renews its request that consideration be given to racial discrimination in South African tennis and that the non-racial Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union—an autonomous body supporting us in our work—be granted membership of your Federation in preference to the exclusively White Union, representing only White South Africans, which is at present recognized by your Federation.

"No Law"

"It may be argued that present government policy compels South African sports bodies to practise racialism in sport. This is untrue. There is as yet no law compelling racial discrimination in sport and bodies can still arrange mixed sport without breaking the law.

"If it were true that legislation compelled discrimination in sport, this would be sufficient grounds for expelling this country from membership of the international Federation.

"But the fact is that the present all-White South African Union has consistently and openly practised racial discrimination of its own free choice and without government pressure. No non-White player has been allowed to take part in their championships; no non-White has been

considered for the 'representative' South African teams; not a single non-White tennis club has been allowed to join the exclusively White provincial unions. All these facts can be substantiated; they should be sufficient to ensure that the present all-White body is excluded from international sport until it observes the ordinary rules

of fair play as required by the international Federation.

"We trust that this letter will be made available to all members of the Federation: further, we would appreciate it if you would kindly permit a spokesman of this association and the non-racial Lawn Tennis Union to attend your conference so that further information can be supplied if required."

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

REHEBOTHERS ELECT ANTI-APARTHEID ADVISORY COUNCIL

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The election of the Baster Raad (Rehoboth Advisory Council) in Rehoboth on 28th June resulted in victory with an overwhelming majority for popular people's leaders. All six former members were returned. The opposition candidates who advocated a policy of co-operation with the Administration—the same policy as advocated by the recently created Coloured Council—suffered heavy defeat.

More than 2,000 people participated in the election and the following councillors were returned: Messrs. F. C. Junius (346 votes), J. Beukes (339), C. A. Olivier (334), J. G. A. Diergaardt (315), H. Olivier (330), N. Dentlinger (298).

"Vigorous Opposition"

All members are well known for their vigorous opposition to the South African Administration and their anti-apartheid stand. Last year they successfully opposed the government's attempt to

restore the "1923 Agreement", which envisaged "greater internal autonomy within the framework of present government policy". Since then they have been opposing the government's apartheid constitution for the Rehoboth Gebiet including loans for R20,000 to assist farmers in that area who had been affected by drought and foot and mouth disease. They also refused the Administration's offer to build a new high school in Rehoboth because it would have been given on condition that they accept the proposed government constitution. Later, the Administration withdrew these conditions and the school was accepted.

Anti-Apartheid Programme

The election has given them a clear mandate to carry on with their programme:

- To abolish school segregation between Baster children and the African children.
- To abolish all apartheid facilities in the Rehoboth Gebiet, and ultimately end all apartheid legislation in Rehoboth.

"To Rid the Republic of its Enemies"

The Commissioner-designate of the South African Police, Lieut.-Gen. J. M. Keevy, was cheered last night at a police event when he thanked the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, for the able way in which he had piloted the General Law Amendment Bill through Parliament.

GENERAL KEEVY SAID: "THIS LEGISLATION WILL PROVIDE THE POLICE WITH THE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT TO RID THE REPUBLIC OF ITS ENEMIES." — "Cape Times", 30th June, 1962.

- To restore land that has been alienated by the South African Administration.

The Administration, through their constant pressure, has made a concession and accepted their demands in principle.

On the political future of Rehoboth Gebiet, the Raad stands for nothing less than complete independence and sovereignty.

Goan Nationalist Imprisoned

IN LISBON on 16th June the well known Goan nationalist, Dr. Telo de Mascarenhas, was sentenced to 24 years' imprisonment after being found guilty of alleged treason and working for the separation of Goa, Daman, and Diu from Portugal.

The 64 year old leader is a writer of considerable merit and has published many articles and books. He had been on a visit to Lisbon to help "reach an amicable solution of the Goa question". — *India News*.

ANGOLANS IN TRAINING FOR WAR

A visitor to the part of Angola controlled by Nationalist forces took these pictures of Angolans training to take part in the war against the Portuguese.



Young Angolans drilling with imitation rifles. Angolans trained by Algerian soldiers are now taking over the organization of the Angolan Nationalist forces. The war against the Portuguese started in March 1961 and the Angolan Nationalists now control a large area of northern Angola.—Photos: Jeune Afrique.



A young Angolan learns how to use a machine gun. The Portuguese have an Air Force as well as 35,000 troops in the field against the Angolan Nationalists.



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