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REBELLION IN ANGOLA

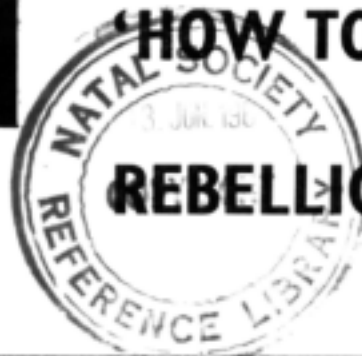
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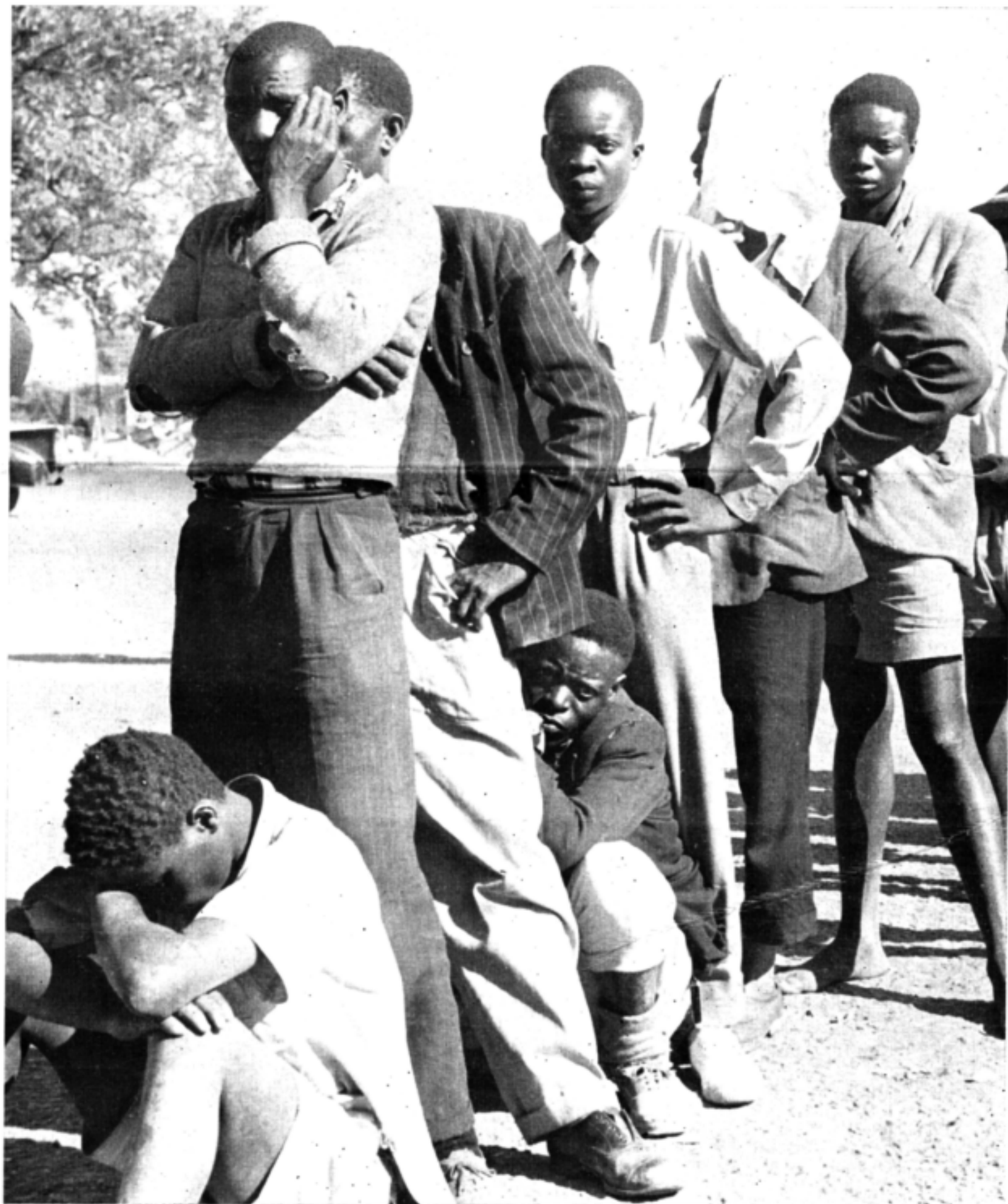
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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY



## BACK TO NORMAL IN S.A.?

*The price of the pass: weariness and frustration when you queue for it, misery when you've got it. This pass-queue picture was taken in Salisbury before Southern Rhodesia abolished passes. It is still to be seen daily in South Africa, where the "dompas", badge of slavery, reigns supreme.*

# contact

The following editorial expresses the views of the editorial board. No other body or movement is in any way responsible for the views expressed.

## Do it Yourself

THE "Do it Yourself" habit has obviously not spread to the White political opposition in South Africa; nor has it found many adherents among businessmen, city councillors, churchmen, or those who decide the policies of opposition newspapers. In 13 years of Government, Afrikaner Nationalism has repeatedly demonstrated that it is unfit to rule South Africa. It has now brought the country to the brink of economic collapse; has forced through a Republic and had us ejected from the Commonwealth without even consulting the majority of the people affected; and, when asked to bring representatives of all races together for consultation, it answers with the force and venom that only a police state can inflict on its own citizens.

This is no Government of South Africans acting in the interests of all its people: it is a narrow, selfish clique of power-crazy politicians. It can never be approached in a spirit of friendly compromise, it will not be moved by timid debate in the comfort of Parliament, and it will not listen to the cautious warnings of commerce and industry. Newspaper editorials in the opposition press do not influence Dr. Verwoerd, and even moderate calls for a National Convention are scornfully rejected as "communist inspired" plots to unite non-White and English-speaking White South Africans against the Afrikaner.

Dr. Verwoerd has power and he means to hold it against all comers. The milder, the more restrained they are the better it suits him. Now is the time to realize that this burden of 13 years will be removed only when the opposition throws aside the restraints that cripple it—when South Africans of all races in one voice cry, "Enough", and in one concerted, patriotic action follow this with a refusal to co-operate with Dr. Verwoerd, his Government and all the instruments under its control.

It is no secret that many White South Africans, who could hardly be called radicals or even moderate liberals, have been secretly hoping for the success of the end of May stay-at-home call. Their anxious enquiries about the progress of the campaign have been an indication of their interest; whispered good wishes for its success have indicated support. But how many of these sympathisers have done anything to help it along? "Let others take the risks while we watch hopefully on the sidelines", seems to be the attitude of those who despair of any other way of bringing good government to South Africa.

Worse still is the apparent attitude of businessmen towards workers taking positive action against a Government that may soon ruin business and industry in South Africa. While some

# HOW TO GET A CONVENTION

By a Special Correspondent

THE call for a National Convention—taken up by almost every Opposition party, pressure group or organization in South Africa—has developed into an insistent demand.

Four years ago the Liberal Party adopted a Constitutional Policy that envisaged a representative National Convention as a preliminary to democratic, non-racial government; the Black Sash has long and energetically pleaded for a Convention; the Progressives took up the call last year; Coloured leaders throughout the Union are making a concerted demand; and the stay-at-home campaign initiated at the Maritzburg Conference had as its object the calling of a sovereign National Convention. This is also the desire of 250 staff members of the University of Cape Town and of some 180 members of the Natal University staff; petitions have also been signed by leading politicians, business and professional men in Cape Town and other cities.

But there is something unrealistic in most of these petitions and demands. With a drastic change in Government and a desire among those in power to create a non-racial society acceptable to all, a National Convention would be a vital prelude to a new, democratic South Africa. Leaders, fully representative of all people in the country, would meet and would, we hope, agree to a Bill of Rights and the framework of a Government which all adult South Africans would be given the chance to choose.

### VISION

This is the vision of South African democrats today, but Dr. Verwoerd and his Nationalists reject this suggested method of solving problems obvious to all but them. They have their own answer: a disastrous fragmentation of our country preceded by a long, long period of White domination over all other races.

Satisfied with his solution, Dr. Ver-

### DO IT YOURSELF . . . .

enlightened factory owners indicated that no action would be taken against workers who remained at home, others warned employees that they would lose pay and even be dismissed. The South African Railways expectedly warned its 110,000 employees against staying at home: the "tolerant" Cape Town City Council, itself writhing under Nationalist rule, threatened its 9,000 workers with dismissal.

This threat by the City of Cape Town to workers deprived of all other means of opposing the Government demonstrates, as do the actions of other town councils and many businesses, the blindness and callous stupidity of the people who decry but do nothing to really help change the system that is disgracing our country.

If a stay-at-home, boycotts and other forms of non-co-operation are not the means of helping South Africa along towards democratic government, then what has the White opposition got to offer? Another wasted 13 years under

woerd has been emphatic in rejecting any suggestion of a representative National Convention. Such calls on his Government will be as ineffective as previous futile demands to abolish or alleviate the Pass Laws, to drop Job Reservation, or end Group Areas. Afrikaner Nationalism never intended to rule with the consent of South Africa's people. In its view all except the willing one-tenth must take what is thrust on them, and, if they refuse, the Government has its police, its troops and their guns.

### CONSULTATION

When we talk of Conventions, therefore, should we not think first of an urgent consultation or conference among all of us of all races to work out how to put teeth into our demands? Weakened by division into competing groups, and often divided racially, the opposition in South Africa has wasted too much of its energy in useless internal conflict. If this continues, what good could come of any Convention, and when would a Convention with the power behind it to carry out its decisions ever be allowed to take place?

There are in South Africa many experienced political leaders who have proved their determination to oust the present regime, and have demonstrated their courage and willingness to make sacrifices in campaign after campaign against White domination. There are also able newcomers to the struggle, and there are others on its fringes who could be induced to come into a united movement capable of backing a Convention call with the political drive necessary to change the government.

Such a movement should not look only to the White electorate; nor, however, should it depend solely on extra-Parliamentary pressure. Every method of non-violent opposition should be used; ideological differences would have to be shelved in the common cause; no one organization or attitude should attempt

to dominate the others; the movement would have to be a non-racial one; and it would have to make a genuine effort to remove the suspicions and the fears that have so long divided opponents of White domination.

### BILL OF RIGHTS

This movement could well grow out of a national consultation or conference which could meet to consider a basic programme for the new South Africa. If the conference agreed to a programme and perhaps accepted a Bill of Rights, then it would be ready for its most urgent task—planning the quickest and most effective methods of changing the government without violence and without ruining the country it would have to take over.

United by a spirit of generous co-operation and a common desire to save our country and its people from Afrikaner Nationalism, those who now call for a Convention would have the instrument of change in their hands. Without unity and a readiness to work and to struggle for what they believe to be right, they can sign a thousand petitions, make countless calls and protests, fight a hundred elections and yet still leave South Africa hopeless in the paralyzing grip of White baasskap.

## Dr. Verwoerd's New Order

LAST year the 50th Anniversary of Union was celebrated under a State of Emergency, writes Mr. Peter Brown, National Chairman of the Liberal Party. This year the Republic has been born, not under a State of Emergency, perhaps, but certainly under the next best thing—a state of universal apprehension.

A long history of pass raids precipitated Sharpeville last year. Learning nothing from that experience, the Government has now revived such raids on a new and unprecedented scale.

At night one cannot drive any distance at all without negotiating at least one road-block.

Now a ban has been placed on all meetings for a period of over a month. While it seems that one does not require permission to be buried or cremated, a permit is required to exercise a fundamental right of ordinary living—that of free speech.

No one knows, from one day to the next, whether he is to be detained or not. All any man of common-sense does know is that a Republic ushered in under a false calm induced by such draconian measures has no prospect of a great or lengthy future.

Verwoerd? Must four South Africans in every five suffer the humiliation of white baasskap while their country is broken into ridiculous pieces and their children grow up in fear of police and of Saracens, without hope and in abject poverty? This future cannot be accepted. For a free South Africa, no sacrifice is too great, no cost is too high and no campaign is too difficult. And the struggle for freedom will be neither waged nor won in the luxury of a company board room, or in the quiet of a luncheon club, a Houghton house meeting, or in debating chambers that mock the democratic institutions they are meant to represent.

For South Africans who want an end to Verwoerd Nationalism and all its trappings of race discrimination and reckless disruption of our country, there is a simple choice. Join those working for a democratic non-racial South Africa. Join them now, for if you want change you must be prepared to work for it and to sacrifice for it.

Training in Leadership

# Tanganyika College to Open This Month

ON 21st June thirty-four men and women will meet in a converted Dar es Salaam hotel as the first students of Kivukoni College, a unique African institution fathered by the Tanganyika Education Trust Fund under Dr. Julius Nyerere's chairmanship.

Kivukoni will offer these students courses in the subjects that equip a man for leadership and service to his country. Nearly all the students will be Tanganyikans, but applicants from elsewhere will be considered. Tanganyika has already raised £95,000 of the £250,000 needed to get the College started. And the Fund is seeking to raise a further £30,000 so that the enrolment can increase to 50 next year.

Thus in three weeks from now, an idea put forward at the 1958 Conference of the Tanganyika African National Union will bear fruit. It has been a struggle to raise the money to get the College going and the Trustees are proud that all of it has so far come from Tanganyika.

**ALL CONTRIBUTE**

The secretary of the Trust writes: "Members of all communities have contributed, and the donations have varied between £60,000 from the Karimjee family and five cent pieces in the collecting boxes." The secretary, Mr. Mahmud Rattansey, went on safari to appeal to the African people: "Innumerable meetings have been held with a collection at the end. In many places people without cash have brought eggs,

maize, chickens or other gifts. People have been seen to untie the one coin from the bottom of their pockets and put it in the collection box. Many thousands of poor people have contributed either directly, or through T.A.N.U. or other African organizations."

**NOT FREE**

But all the money collected does not buy a free education for the lucky 34 chosen from the large numbers who have applied to study at Kivukoni. Many will have bursaries, but some will have to find £100 for the eight-month course, plus about £30 for pocket money, books, and other expenses. And then many will have families and dependants to pay for while they are studying.

What will they study? A healthy mixture of politics, economics, social structure and history, for the purpose of giving them the stated "good grasp of African affairs and a knowledge of human experience and ideals elsewhere". All students also study note-taking, keeping records of meetings, English grammar and expression and other matters related to meetings, negotiations and reports.

Additional, optional courses cover various subjects, including literature,



The converted Dar es Salaam hotel which will house Tanganyika's Kivukoni College.

community development, and international affairs.

Principal of the College is Mr. Colin Leys, M.A. (Oxon), who at 29 already has an outstanding academic record and experience in adult education. His students are to be men and women between 20 and 40 (though over-40's can be admitted) regardless of race, who are active in society, and have not had an opportunity of advanced study. Their only qualification will be the ability to read and write English well enough to make good use of the course, and a record of service to the community.

# Troops Move in S.W.A.

CAPE TOWN: Letters locally received from Ovamboland report the movements of military vehicles along the dusty roads of Ovamboland. Their destination is the northern boundary of South West Africa. The Ovambos believe that aircraft crossing the skies of this once peaceful and remote "reserve" are Portuguese war-planes heading for South West African airports to refuel before heading back to bloody, rebellion-torn Angola, which lies just across their northern border.

The military road and air traffic "is crossing South West Africa without the smallest regard for the international status of S.W.A." states a correspondent. "The terrified inhabitants of Ovamboland and other African 'reserves' are wondering just what the troop movements are all about. Of course, there is one thing everyone knows, that there is war in Angola between colonialists and the Africans."

Africans are being recruited in Ovamboland, mainly for guard duty on the frontier. A report claims that "recruiting is even done by force". It is also believed that there is some degree of co-operation between the South African and Portuguese military authorities.

The whole of South West Africa now seems like a militarily-occupied territory, with Saracens performing their exercises in the non-White locations, helicopters doing their "routine checks", and heavy military vehicles making their ways in the reserves, to arrest and search for "agitators".

The South African Air Force has opened new airstrips in northern Ovamboland, and has brought the wartime airstrip at Ohopoho, Kaokoveld, back into commission.

Sam Sly Looks Beyond . . . . .

# THE SHORT-LIVED "FIRST REPUBLIC"

NEARLY two-thirds of the way through the 20th century, South Africa leaves behind the Union and enters a short period which will soon be called the First Republic. The nature of the Second Republic is being decided now and next year and the year after. And the decision rests with the African people. They must choose between racialism and non-racialism.

Many Africans are to-day being wooed by leaders who deny the name of African to men and women whose forefathers came from Europe, Asia or both, a few thousand years later than their own entered this continent. These Black racialists fear the competition of men who have qualities other than their genetic origins to commend them to the African masses. They say: "Africans must win freedom on their own" — a slogan depressingly similar to De Wet Nel and Verwoerd's "the Bantu must develop along their own lines".

THE African masses may let this disease of racialism infect them: it is one that has made many Afrikaners unhappy even neurotic people, who cling jealously to *ons eie*, and seek to isolate themselves from the rest of mankind, compared with whom they feel inferior.

To spread the disease, arguments are used that Afrikaner nationalists have found effective. They are based on suspicion, fear and prejudice, these poisonous ingredients of racialism.

If they prevail the last laugh will be with the defeated White racialists. They will know that the disease which corrupted and destroyed them has infected their destroyers, who must thus be doomed too.

And yet the bad record of non-African leaders makes it seem almost inevitable that Black Africans will require racial qualifications in their leaders in the future. Just as De Wet Nel thinks they should, they may well want to be led by a fellow "Bantu".

In the crucial period between the Anglo-Boer War and the Second World War, the progress to African freedom

was inexorably brought to a halt and then reversed. Where were the non-African liberals then?

AND in the dark days since 1948, while liberalism has woken up, and while from many quarters the non-racial ideal has been formed, the sincerity of non-Africans in the struggle for freedom is constantly called in question. A new cause for doubting comes now from the men and women who have borne witness that we can live happily together, and who now give the lie to their own words by leaving the country.

Who is there to show as proof that the Whites have not always been united in oppressing the Blacks, with the Liberals as their auxiliaries? Until now, when a new generation of non-racialists is arising, there have been few to show. I would name "Chinese" Gordon, W. P. Schreiner and Michael Scott. In 1882 the great General Gordon was chided by the Cape Prime Minister for refusing to fight the Basuto, whom he had been engaged to defeat after an expensive two-year war. Gordon had quickly found that his sympathies were with the Basuto rather than with the Whites. "Is it likely," asked Gordon, "that I would fight against a man with whom I am life and soul?"

SCOTT and Schreiner are especially dear, as men who "dared to be a Daniel, dared to stand alone". Schreiner lost his seat on the National Convention in 1908 because he felt it his duty to defend Chief Dinuzulu against the oppressive Natal Government's charge of high treason. He knew his voice would have been the only one calling for justice and right in the Convention, and when the Act of Union came before the Cape Parliament, his was the lonely single vote against it.

Scott not only identified himself with the oppressed in South Africa. He also faced up to the oppressors. No one but Scott would have obeyed the demand of the farmers of Bethal to

appear before them after he had accused them in the press of "near-slavery".

IN the treatment of non-Whites by the Act of Union, W. P. Schreiner saw the triumphing of greed, selfishness and power lust over that principle of which he once wrote: "life's experiences have taught me that the golden thread of justice in every matter is the only clue out of the labyrinth". He saw the thread snapped at Union.

We have wandered in the labyrinth for fifty-one years. Now perhaps after the First Republic has come to an end, we shall find this golden thread again and take up our journey.

Our labyrinth is made of the problem Du Bois saw in 1903, which we have in

its acutest form: "The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the colour line, the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men, in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea".

WILL we spend the next fifty years in a new labyrinth that a new racialism may lead us into? Or can men one day say to other men who now face them questioning across the colour line: "with you I am life and soul"? The answer depends on the power that believers in non-racialism can command, and also on the response of the African people, with whom the choice will rest.

**To all over 40**

## NU-CELL

ANDREAS DE PARE (SWITZERLAND)

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NOT A FLOP BUT . . . .

# WHY DID SO FEW STAY HOME?

WRITING on 31st May — Republic Day — a final analysis of the stay-at-home is not yet possible. Certainly it has not been the complete flop the Government and most of the White press are calling it, but it has failed badly enough.

The progress from African Leaders' Conference, Orlando, to All-In African Conference, Pietermaritzburg, and on to a "multi-racial" National Convention has been halted. And the only significant gains for all the words uttered and ink spilt, and the imprisonments and banings, has been the fact that the Government and the Whites as a whole, took stock of the Africans' threat to withhold their labour — and panicked.

**By the Government:** troops called up, massive police action, special legislation, banning of meetings, 12-day imprisonment law, endless speeches and debates.



MANDELA

**By the White public:** hoarding of food, candles, "Primuses", and ceaseless guilt-inspired rumours of planned bloodshed and sabotage.

## SEVEN WEEKS

The seven weeks' campaign from strike call to "strike" reached its peak early in May, with nearly a month to go. From then on the call grew fainter as the Government's intimidatory methods took effect. Came the 29th May and what was there to show for the All-In African National Action Council's and its allies' efforts, and to justify the Whites' panic?

**In Johannesburg.** While Pretoria and the reef towns failed to register any success, Johannesburg workers responded — up to 50 per cent, some reports say, of industrial and commercial workers, on Monday 29th May. There were successes in laundries, dry-cleaning works, and in many factories near the African townships, especially where trade unions were at all strong. On Tuesday most of the workers went back but a few factories held out.

**In Cape Town.** The hoped-for support of the Coloured people did not fully materialize, but more obeyed the call than among the African labour force. Some clothing and footwear factories, building and engineering works were paralyzed on Monday. On Tuesday many came back to work. The Malay community was true to its resolve at its 4,000-strong meeting held on 8th May, and a huge majority of Malay workers stayed away, even on 31st May, when most of Cape Town was normal. At best 30 per cent of the Coloureds stayed home and 10 per cent of the Africans. Many Indian shops closed for part of Monday.

A minor incident in Cape Town was the burning of many files in a fire in

the "Bantu Affairs Commissioner's" office at Salt River, in what, in spite of police denials, was probably an attempt, partly successful, to throw the hated pass records into confusion.

**Durban.** Here, too, the Africans failed to come out, while there were thousands of Indians and Coloured strikers. On Tuesday many came back. Some factories showed 100 per cent success, especially a Howick rubber works, and a shoe factory at Pinetown. On Tuesday 50 per cent of Indian workers in Durban were still out, with some clothing factories 100 per cent unattended. In Durban and Pietermaritzburg most Indian businesses were closed on Monday and open again on Tuesday. Large numbers of Indian school children kept away from school. There were attacks on buses at Cato Manor, and a bus to Maritzburg from a reserve was fired on.

**Port Elizabeth.** High hopes for a Port Elizabeth strike like that 100 per cent 1953 achievement were not realized on Monday, but on Tuesday, when many bus drivers refused to drive out of the townships without adequate police protection, the African stay-at-home began. Numbers were up to 50 per cent of African absentees on 30th May. On 31st May, there was a further increase, and an ugly situation was building up, with bands of white-clad Baca "home guards" roaming New Brighton, claiming to protect the "law-abiding Bantu", apparently with police connivance. Saracens, arch-violence-provokers, patrolled the Port Elizabeth townships. On the night of 30th May, clashes occurred, ambulances took away injured men, and one was reported killed. Coloureds and Indians who had stayed away in large numbers on Monday drifted back on Tuesday.

## MINORITY STRIKE

It seems that East London, Bloemfontein, Kimberley and the country towns failed to produce any but a tiny minority of strikers.

**In all, the proud terms, "general strike" or "national stoppage of work" cannot be applied to the minority stay-at-home of 29th-31st May, 1961.**

## REASONS WHY

Baffled political observers and journalists, many of whom got their biggest surprise since the Nats. won the 1948 election unexpectedly, are searching for the reason why.

Contact had high hopes of the success of the stay-at-home call, having earlier criticized the Pietermaritzburg Conference for not being representative. With humility, the editorial staff have listed these main factors in the

## "The Next Best Thing"

# U.K. ACTORS HIT APARTHEID

From "Contact" Correspondent

LONDON. — Anti-colour bar campaigners at the annual general meeting of the British actors' trade union, Equity, failed to get their union to "instruct members not to appear before audiences from which persons have been excluded on grounds of race or colour".

This would have put an end to tours by British theatre and musical companies, most of whose members are members of Equity, until the "change" comes in South Africa.

This move had been urged from South Africa, by members of the Liberal Party and others, as well as from within Equity. But Equity did the next best thing. They passed a resolution which will mean that members of Equity may only perform in South Africa providing

failure of the African people and a majority of the other oppressed people of South Africa to obey Mr. Nelson Mandela's Council's call for them to strike.

1. **The idea itself was too big to succeed,** and a campaign whose stated aim cannot be reached does not inspire as a meaningful limited objective can. A "general strike" cannot work without years of solid trade union work. This was lacking for obvious reasons. Furthermore, the Government holds all the cards in a contest which requires its opponents to communicate with the masses lawfully.

2. **The objectives had not the right appeal.** The Republic was too abstract an objective, a National Convention too academic. Exclusion from the Republican Referendum is a minor item in the catalogue of African miseries. A National Convention was hardly enough for a man to risk his job, his home, even injury or death, by striking for it.

3. **Tied up with 2 is the massive police intimidation:** Saracens, police trucks, night-flying helicopters beaming into African houses and yards, 4 a.m. raids, arrests under the special 12-day laws, threats of deportation, "repatriation" and sackings. The leaders could promise no immediate freedom or economic gain, to inspire people to face these things. Then the army call-up, with troop movements and a belligerent attitude by the Government.

4. **Leadership, except perhaps in Johannesburg, was largely lacking.** Many leaders who disappeared early in May and were expected to rally their followers the week-end before the strike, did not reappear at all. A common attitude was, "Why should I suffer if the people who are telling me what to do are not here?" Then the leaders did not delegate their work thoroughly. Some thousands of leaflets, press statements, desultory household canvassing could not do the solid work of organizing in industry that was needed and not done. Where it was done, there were excellent results. The ban on meetings crippled the campaign: its leaders should have had an emergency plan to meet this.

A warm tribute must be paid to the many who risked their safety, and to the number who suffered.

5. **The police scarcely needed to leaflet Port Elizabeth from the air with a phony call from an unheard of African union telling the people to go to work.** The P.A.C. did this for them. The deep divisions of African politics were revealed by the P.A.C.'s bitter attacks through leaflets and whispering. In Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg this had a serious ill-effect.

Continued on page 8, col. 3

## Mozambique Lead Exile say: "F"



(Left to right): Mr. C. Z. Mahlayeye; N Publicity Secretary, União Democratica Nacional; C. Gwambe

# CAMPAIGN MOZAM

From "Contact"

DAR ES SALAAM: Independence will come to Mozambique, Portugal's largest East African territory, by October 1965.

This forecast was made here by the African-born exiled leader of União Democratica Nacional de Moçambique, Mr. Adelino G. Gwambe, who with the full "moral and financial support" of Dr. Julius Nyerere's party (TANU), has announced plans for the opening of his Party's offices in Dar es Salaam and also in Lindi, the Tanganyika port bordering Mozambique and Tanganyika, to intensify the "liberation movement" outside Mozambique.

Mr. Gwambe and three of his other African colleagues who come from the Portuguese-ruled Mozambique, are busy mobilizing opinion in Tanganyika against the Salazar regime in Mozambique and Angola.

Mr. Gwambe told me that the União Democratica Nacional de Moçambique had a large following outside Mozambique, mainly in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It also has members working "underground" in Mozambique belonging to "all races and colours", whose names could not be disclosed.

"Before we take action against

## Rehoboth to Ha on Partial

From "Contact"

WINDHOEK. — Following the announcement by the Administrator of South West Africa that the Rehoboth Coloured Community will soon be granted a large degree of self-rule, in accordance with the 1923 Agreement, the political limelight has been focused on the Rehoboth Gebiet.

It lies south of Windhoek, and comprises 1,244,000 hectares of what is in effect a Coloured "reserve", with a few exemptions from African "reserve" conditions, such as ownership of land and pass laws. The Coloured people arrived in Rehoboth before the Whites, and occupied it with the consent of Hereros and Namas. They were united under their leader, or "Kaptein", and vigilantly guarded their freedom and solidarity. But the past 75 years has seen a steady deterioration of these rights.

● They signed a so-called "Protection and Friendship" agreement with the Germans in 1885, and their rights under this were guaranteed when South Africa took over.

● They signed a fresh agreement with the Union Government in 1923. It

## ers in Tanganyika 'freedom 1965'



Mr. F. G. Mahluza; Mr. Y. A. Sigauke, Naçional de Moçambique; Mr. Adelino, President.

## TO FREE MOZAMBIQUE

Correspondent

Portugal and its dictatorial regime in Mozambique," Mr. Gwambe said, "we must educate our people in politics, administration, economics and militarily.

"Towards this end we plan to send our people abroad so that they may be trained in the art of propaganda before launching a 'quit Mozambique' campaign within Mozambique and other countries abroad."

Mr. Gwambe, who had just returned here after attending a conference held in Casablanca of nationalist organizations of Portuguese Colonies, said his Party's main objective was "complete independence" and that it would work for this "peacefully by mobilizing all Mozambiqueans irrespective of race, colour or religion."

For the present the Party was looking to the Tanganyika African National Union for "full moral and financial support" in their campaign against Portuguese rule in Mozambique.

"We cannot be ruled by Salazar for ever," Mr. Gwambe said, "and the maximum time during which Salazar may continue to hold Mozambique and other African territories will be for the next three years. Independence must come to Mozambique before October 1965."

## ve Referendum Self-rule

Correspondent

safeguarded the rule of Kaptein, council and officials, but gave the S.A.W.A. administration rights to pass certain kinds of legislation.

● After the "civil war" of 1925, Proclamation No. 3 of 1924 was enforced to counter the opposition of the people to the 1923 Agreement. This transferred the Kaptein, council and officials' powers to the Magistrate, later to be assisted by a Coloured Advisory Board.

The Rehoboth people now face a referendum on 10th June, to determine their attitude towards partial self-rule. But they insist that the Coloured Advisory Council and the South African Government must first meet them and discuss the 1923 provisos with them. They must also assess the progress made in the last 38 years. They will be told what the aspirations of the people are.

Above all, the leaders of the Rehoboth people want to know what the South African government will do if the Rehoboth people decide to abolish all or any forms of apartheid, in terms of their rights under self-rule.

# Rebellion in Angola—and then?

By Russell Warren Howe

- Fear and Tension Are Evident Throughout the Territory.
- 10,000 to 20,000 Killed by early May.
- Thousands of Refugees Flee in Terror.
- Independence May Only Come Through Revolution and Chaos.

LEOPOLDVILLE: The silent empire of Portugal, which persists almost unchallenged in Asia (Goa, Timor, Macao) is beginning to crack in Africa, where there are three Portuguese territories—Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The most serious challenge has come in Angola, where the rebellion now affects the northern third of the country and is spreading into the centre.

Of the 5,000,000 inhabitants, more than 200,000 are White—more than half of these being recent, Portuguese government-encouraged immigrants, including state-assisted farmers. In addition, a further 50,000 inhabitants are listed as "civilized"—mostly mulattos, who total about 100,000 throughout the country and bear a striking witness to the fact that Portuguese navigators, slave-dealers, administrators, traders and the Catholic Church have been present in Angola for 479 years.

Only in recent years has black nationalism been a force in Angola, and only in 1961 has it become a revolutionary element on the Angolan scene, pushing the country's long-standing White reform movement into the background.

The nationalist rising in Angola seeks principally to create an atmosphere of terror. The rebels conduct commando attacks on European dwellings and plantations, and on Africans who are suspected of collaboration. Automatic weapons of Portuguese manufacture are now widely used (presumably obtained from Angolan sympathizers in the local Portuguese armed forces), but most members of the raiding groups use machetes—farm cutlasses.

Portugal's forces in the country are relatively small, and their retaliation methods, like the nationalists' own tactics, are principally aimed at terror.

Mass executions and village burning are characteristic features of the Portuguese campaign. By early May, something like 10,000 to 20,000 Africans, and more than a thousand Whites (soldiers and civilians, including women and children) were estimated to have been killed. Over 25,000 African refugees have fled to the Congo to avoid Portuguese reprisal raids.

Fear and tension are everywhere evident. Considerable brutality has been shown by both sides. Numerous political prisoners have also been taken by the Portuguese, and sent to one or other of the country's five big prisons, or to Sao Tome, an island slave-labour camp in the Atlantic.

Portugal's entire armed forces are believed to number 100,000. In Angola, Portugal has about 15,000 White troops, mostly young conscripts, and an equal number of Angolan levies; most of the latter have been disarmed as a precaution, and are now used for non-combatant duties.

Portugal's forces in Angola include a battalion of paratroops, an aviation transport unit comprising about eighty military aircraft and three chartered DC4s. There is a naval patrol to check gun-running. A popular militia is being raised among civilisados and is already active in Luanda.

There is a considerable police force, and, of course, a widespread effective secret police, the P.I.D.E. Angola's defence budget for 1961 has just been raised. Most of the fresh funds will be spent on arming and indemnifying the part-time militia, and on supplying machine guns, grenades, flares and ammunition to White plantations to enable

these to be defended against night raiders.

### ROBERTO

There are several Angolan national movements. The main one is the Angolan Peoples Union (U.P.A.), which has its headquarters in Leopoldville. Led by Holden Roberto, a 36-year-old former Belgian Congo civil servant who has spent most of his life outside Angola, it is the main organizing body for the present rising—some elements of which appear to be spontaneous, and

## Was Predicted

Six months ago a Forum News Service correspondent concluded an article on Angola with the prediction that "one of the main trouble spots of the 1960's will be Portuguese Africa".

The present rebellion has borne out these words, and the situation in Angola and the Angolan nationalist movement is described from first-hand experience in this article by Mr. Howe, who is an expert on Africa, and who writes: "If independence is to come, as seems likely, through revolution and chaos, the world family of nations will have to envisage a U.N. operation similar to that undertaken in the Congo."

not under any real direction. The U.P.A. now has a New York office, paid for by the Tunisian government.

A second party is the F.R.A.I.N. (Angolan Revolutionary Front for Independence), which has its headquarters in Conakry, Guinea, and is headed by Mario Andrade, a former Sorbonne professor and a reputed communist. The F.R.A.I.N. also has a London office.

The U.P.A. is essentially a Bakongo party. The Bakongo are the main people of Northern Angola, western ex-French Congo and western Leopoldville Province. The F.R.A.I.N. is mostly made up of intellectuals. The smaller parties are mostly uni-tribal in composition, and are found in the Mbundu-, Ambundu- and Kwamyama-speaking parts of the country.

### SUPPORT

The U.P.A. appears to have the active or tacit support of most of the 60,000 Angolans living in the Congo, and particularly of the 40,000 in Leopoldville.

Apart from the political problem of trying to wring reforms from Dr. Salazar, the principal problem facing Angolans today are economic and structural. Only 30 per cent of White children and four per cent of Black children go to primary school in the



territory. High school and university graduates are extremely rare. If Whites and their mulatto and few Black collaborators are forced to leave by a revolution, the country would to all intents and purposes collapse.

### ANGOLA'S NEEDS

Ideally, the territory requires: (1) a timetable for progressive constitutional reforms, leading to representative government and ultimate independence; (2) a crash training programme to prepare adults for responsible office, and hundreds of new schools to sow the seeds of an educated generation; (3) considerable investment. The first two factors run contrary to Portuguese policy, and it is difficult to implement an important education programme because of the shortage of teachers, and the shortage of Portuguese-speaking countries which could supply teachers as a form of technical assistance. The third factor—investment—remains doubtful in the present dangerous climate.

If Salazar were overthrown or should die, and a more democratic régime set up in Portugal, Lisbon might be persuaded to place Angola under U.N. trusteeship, with Portugal as the trusteeship power. A rational plan of preparation for independence could then be worked out with international advice, and Portugal might be able to retain her economic interests in the country. This, however, does not appear to be the policy of alternative Portuguese premier General Delgado, who has tried to win the support of the U.P.A. by sending a delegation to Leopoldville, but whose supporters in Angola are mostly White home-rulers who do not want representative government in the territory for some time yet.

If independence is to come, as seems likely, through revolution and chaos, the world family of nations will have to envisage a U.N. operation similar to that undertaken in the Congo.

If, as seems possible, Roberto should emerge as the country's principal leader, much will depend on his ability to assert his authority without using measures that would inflame his tribal enemies. Angola suffers from centuries of neglect, of medieval dominations, of bitterness: it is a wonderful country for an African leader to fail in.

## IS DIFFICULT TO DEFEND

ANGOLA occupies a part of South West Africa larger than Nigeria. It is twelve times Portugal in size. With a population of only five million spread over all the country except for the Kalahari Desert confines in the south-east, it is a territory difficult to develop, administer—or defend.

# Swazis Hear Dr. Zwane's Report on Cairo Conference

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: On 10th May about 700 people packed the Msunduzi Hall, Mbabane to welcome Dr. A. P. Zwane of the Swaziland Progressive Party back from Cairo, where he recently addressed the All-Africa Peoples Conference on behalf of the Swaziland Progressive Party and the people of Swaziland.

The excited crowd awaited as a group specially selected to escort Dr. Zwane sang freedom songs outside the hall. Dr. Zwane came in, made the Africa salute and shouted the freedom slogan "Uhuru".

He opened his address by saying: "having witnessed freedom in action, I must dish its magnificent fruits to you, sons and daughters of the soil." He summarized his impressions of the free African States. When he quoted Dr. Nkrumah's words: "To me the freedom of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the rest of Africa"—there were shouts of approval from the crowd.

The Conference itself, Dr. Zwane said, had paid special tribute to all who had either died for the liberation of Africa or whom had suffered long jail sentences.



Dr. Zwane addresses the All-Africa Peoples Conference in Cairo.

## THIS COUNTRY OF VIOLENT THINKING

By Herbert Mofulatsi

I WAS shebeening with my friend Can Themba the other day when two other friends joined us. As is normal under such circumstances we talked about women and politics—the two seem to go together. We were all agreed the two are just a pain in the neck.

Said one of the boys: "Chaps, you better be careful. The heat is on for passes and tax. I think it's because of the Republic thing."

Asked another: "But when are we going to get our freedom? I can't understand why they give such barriers (barbarians) like Tshombe freedom and not us."

Of course, this is a general feeling among South African non-Whites. When Ghana attained her independence the general reaction was, "Jeepers, if hair-brained guys like the Ghanaians can get independence, then our salvation is not too far off."

It is an uncontested fact that throughout the whole of Africa the Blacks in South Africa are more advanced and educated. Also, pro rata, we are more educated than the Afrikaans-speaking community.

### "WE GET EDUCATED"

"Boere is dom," someone once said. "They only go up to standard six and then leave off to join the police force or become bus or tram conductors and drivers. We don't have any money, but, boy, we get educated."

Jan Burger in his article "What the Platteland is Thinking", quotes one of the people he talked to as saying: "The Belgians never prepared the Congolese for self-government. Now we Afrikaners all think that what happened in the Congo will also happen in other countries when the Blacks take over."

Of course, no sane person would like what happened in the Congo to happen here. But we should not lose sight of the fact that a people can be pushed into such a situation—especially when others treat them with granite bestiality. Kindness begets kindness and the converse also holds water.

As Can Themba said while we were drinking: "There's violent thinking in South Africa on both sides. The

punitive measures desired by Blacks on this government are such that I wouldn't wish them on my worst enemy. But I feel I can't blame these chaps."

That's "violent" thinking on the Black side.

On the White side? Said Themba: "Most Afrikaners are still in the laager mentality. You know, in the old days when things got a little dull, these people used to go out and hunt Blacks. They found this 'sport' more exciting and adventurous because the quarry was more cunning. That mentality still obtains to this day."

The other day I was in a taxi coming to work. The conversation centred round the Republican issue and the proposed demonstrations by the All-African Conference and other organisations.

"What do you people think is going to happen at the end of the month?" asked the taxi driver.

"Ag, man, I think these people are going to kill us again."

"I don't think they will do that this time. Mandela said we must just stay put at home."

"Yes, but I tell you that they are going to dig you out of your homes and shoot you."

### LOST FAITH

Of course, everybody knows that such a thing cannot happen, but that is the general feeling among Blacks of late. And recent events like Sharpeville and Langa have made the Blacks lose any faith they might have had in the humanity of their fellow-citizens—especially the Afrikaans-speaking community.

They regard the Afrikaners as people who wouldn't think twice of placing a blunderbuss on your head and pulling the trigger.

Inevitably the talk in the taxi trailed off into the usual refrain of what will happen when we "take over".

Said one of the passengers: "The day we take over I'm going to be a cop. And when they bring one of these

He then gave in brief an outline of his own message to the Conference on behalf of the S.P.P. and the people of Swaziland.

"We of the Swaziland Progressive Party are fighting a constitutional battle in Swaziland, but before I continue with my speech, Mr. President and honourable delegates, I shall first say how we lost our beautiful land to the White settlers.

"The sheep farmers asked for pastures to graze their stock from the Swazi king of the time and they also asked for sites to settle and all this was kindly given to them. They also made small presents in turn by way of gratitude to the King. When these farmers started to come in tens of scores, however, the King found it fit and proper to seek British protection. This is the protection we have not understood up till now because when the English came to Swaziland they issued the 1903 Order-in-Council which made the Swazis lose more land instead of gaining it; in 1905 we were handed over to the Transvaal Republic and from 1906 when the British finally took over we have more and more land going away.

"Two-thirds of the land was given to the sheep farmers who claimed that they had bought the land with the small presents they made to the King, things like soap, blankets, brandy, etc.

"On top of that, we have from that time fought serious wars on behalf of and for the British Government, the two World Wars in particular in which many of our brothers and fathers died like flies are a good example of this. Up till now we have seen nothing the British Government has done for us for all that and we sincerely believe that giving us the independence we demand would be the only thing they can do for us now and only then can we be worthy of the name Nation.

"But we are surprised that even at the time when the British Government should be making all means possible to give us our independence they still want to have a grip of things in our country. Just now we are busy with Constitutional talks but what do we get? The so-called Constitutional Committee is government controlled and everything is marked 'confidential'!

"The position is, therefore, a very serious one since the affairs of the nation are being decided behind tightly bolted doors so that the government may be better able to impose unwholesome decisions on the shoulders of the African people in our country.

"The Swaziland Progressive Party is denied any kind of representation. It is a mere bluff to say that the Party has its members in the Committee since these members are nominated by the National Council which is part and parcel of the Government of the country.

"The Swaziland Progressive Party envisages the implementation of a non-racial policy which will grant to all citizens, irrespective of race or colour, democratic enfranchisement."

Dutch chaps to the police station at night I'll ask him in Zulu what they brought him in for.

"And when he starts answering in Afrikaans, I'm going to belt him one on the nose and tell him to answer in Zulu. I'll fix them up."

The man gave me the feeling that he had once been arrested for something or the other and the police must have given him a raw deal. We Blacks know only too well of some of the

## News of Exiles is Wanted

AS is well known the apartheid government has exiled hundreds of people without trial to distant areas.

Some of these people are living in wretched conditions. To all of them life is hard.

Committees devoted to their welfare exist in Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg.

One of these committees has appealed for the names and addresses of exiled people. So secretive is the Government that no full list exists, except perhaps in Government records.

PLEASE, anyone who can help:

- Send us the names and addresses of any exiles known to you.
- Ask your nearest committee how you can best help.

## What Refugees Should Say

WE pass on some advice to those who may be forced to cross over into the protectorates. One man recently went to Bechuanaland was arrested and brought before the Court. When asked what he was doing in the territory he insisted that he was on holiday. As he had no papers he was given 48 hours to leave—in whichever direction he wished to go.

We are informed that he should have appealed for political asylum immediately he arrived. If brought before the Court a refugee should say: "I am a refugee and ask for asylum."

Apparently he would then be discharged from the Court and an Administrative Officer would make enquiries to establish whether in fact he was a political refugee.

Our informant tells us that "in most cases the Government officers are quite sympathetic towards refugees and it only annoys them if they are treated with suspicion."

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brutalities that we have to undergo at some of our police stations.

But most of the punitive measures wished upon the Afrikaner—who Blacks identify with the government—are usually said in a sincere spirit of jest. But even then, they are gruesome enough.

With world opinion ranged against our country as it is, it is time that we stop thinking "violently" before it is too late and begin thinking progressively.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## Bamangwato chief?

**SIR**—The Bamangwato Tribal Territory is overshadowed by a rumour that Seretse Khama will ultimately become Paramount Chief. How true it is, I cannot possibly say. It is noticeable, however, that Seretse has lost the fanatical support and confidence of many who expected much from him after his return to Bechuanaland Protectorate.

In view of the justifiable conditions under which he was allowed to come back to Botswana, we may tend to excuse his political inertness for all this time. Now that the ban from politics has been lifted, it lies entirely with him to prove his ability to steer the tender tribe with a tactful and skilful hand through these days of uncertainty.

But, is he to become Chief? He might, but the repercussions would be regrettable and deplorable for the following reasons. The man wielding power just now would not happily and easily accept deprivation of responsibility, respect by subjects and a fertile salary. He has, or ought to have, staunch fanatical supporters who would not like to see him out of the fleshpots of Egypt.

My prophecy is that there might be bloodshed. If Seretse becomes chief,

will his children take after him and become chiefs? This is a very controversial issue which needs some serious thinking. I wonder how many Bamangwato would appreciate a rule by a mulatto. The big question is whether his children embrace any patriotic views which are characteristic by love of "the people". I do not, from what I hear, think it the case. Does the wife love the people to win more support for her husband? Many seem not to like her. For the man in question to become Chief matters would be forced, which thing we abhor because it is not democratic.

To avoid unnecessary and bitter conflicts, let us, before gaining independence, be ruled by a capable man democratically elected by a Council of democratically elected members. He must be responsible to a Council. He must have a trained prosecutor and recognized assessors composed of people conversant with African law and custom, and these must be elected by the Council.

That temporary skeleton would help our administration for the time being. It would also do away with many redundant posts.

SEGAJAME S. S. TLATE,  
Mahalapye.

## Porridge and cow peas

**SIR**—Here is a picture that shows Swazi gentlemen at table. This picture is a picture of the African staff at Emlembe, Have-lock Mine, Swaziland. These learned Swazis are having their meal which consists of stiff porridge and cow peas. Look at them closely, they are all standing. The reason why they do that is partly because there are no chairs, and partly because these tables which are made of concrete were so well devised when they were built that sitting down when using them is next to impossible. The gentlemen cannot use spoons nor plates but bare hands have to be used.



Their maximum wages range between £4 to £10. So there is no wonder that, want or not, there is no other resort for the learned Swazi. He must make his staple food stiff porridge and cow peas. When he demands that his ration allowances should be added to his salary, the oppressor tells him that it is the mine's routine that no ration allowances should be added to basic salary.

This really is oppression, for as you may well imagine, how unpalatable cow peas are, how horrible it is then when one has to force oneself to eat them daily.

Beside palatability an educated person knows well what type of food is well suited for his health and the type of job he does. And many can bear me witness that an office clerk benefits nothing from porridge and cow peas because he does not use energy when working.

Correct me if you can, for I am very, very doubtful if the world can call this Swaziland of ours a Protectorate. Does protection mean to impoverish, to enslave, to dominate and to discriminate?

FREEDOM DEMANDER,  
Emlembe, Swaziland.

## The lion's cage

**SIR**—Don't let the United Nations throw us into the lion's cage after 31st May. For in that cage is the Union government. It must stop especially the recruitment of cheap labour by the South West Africa Native Labour Association. Let the United Nations regard the S.W.A.P.O. party line with a gracious eye; for S.W.A.P.O. is very hungry to achieve the stage of freedom.

S. T. SAJKUKUMUA,  
Oranjemund.



## Pen friends

**SIR**—I am appealing to you to publish my name in *Contact* as wishing to get pen friends in South Africa, both boys and girls. I am interested in South African jazz. I am 17 years old and an athlete.

ORLANDO BALES KASALI,  
King's College, Lagos, Nigeria.

## Race discrimination in churches

**SIR**—Since I was born I have been a member of the Nazarene Church. Ever since I was a member of this church, my soul is not satisfied with the White missionaries' treatment of Africans. I sometimes assume that the paramount reason why most of the Africans show signs of despair and uncertainty is due to this reason.

Please put it in mind that never before was it decided that the Africans should be entitled to go it alone in their hardships and difficulties. There is no law in Christianity nor in the affairs of this world that there should be discrimination of race. The principles of equal pay for equal work have been adopted. Teachers, ministers, preachers and any other worker under the White missionaries are underpaid. I say this because the missionaries are the ring-leaders in saying, "We are the same before the eyes of God." Or is it the fault of our skin that we should be black? The White missionaries have got cars, good buildings, cheap labour, etc. Why is it so, O Lord? Why do you suffer men to be the slaves of another? Is this fit to be called a just religion? Really I don't find it to be true.

This problem is made more complex by the different rights which are also found in missions. An African is not supplied even with a donkey to use when visiting the branches of the church. But the White missionaries are being supplied with motor cars to use in the same work. Is that justice? I still can't admit it.

Is that what is meant by loving our neighbours as we love ourselves? Is that what is meant by the death of Jesus Christ our Lord? This is not justice nor can we call it civilization.

HOWLER,  
Piggs Peak.

## African socialism

**SIR**—Africans should be aware of the White man's tactics and should know what they do or stand for. The spirit of action should not concern the "All-in African National Action Council" alone but the masses and businessmen and professionals too. There is no more time, for neutralism and runners in between the Africans and the White nationalists are wasting their energy because they are late. We are at an advantage and so should not be frustrated at all.

The recent intimidation by the government has proved to be a good organising force; even those who were prepared to be neutral have been hardened. Even if they have taken your typewriters (as is the case with me), duplicators, documents, cuttings, books and any other useless articles, your brains remain in you.

It is ridiculous to find that of late the master does not trust the servant and vice-versa. That plants dishonesty and hatred. For that matter, the government itself does not trust its civil servants. So away with apartheid.

We are facing a crisis through the White men's deed and whatever may happen they are to blame. Non-Whites are losing confidence in the Whites because of their superiority complex tactics. I am suddenly forced to say that what happened in 1910 is not going to be repeated in this generation. The Ossewa time has long passed and we Africans cannot allow ourselves to be thrown back to barbarism and paganism and we are not going to tolerate being classified according to standards of education and wealth and tolerance.

It is a fact that Africans are a very meek and moral nation. We have endured suffering in rural areas and farms with a smile and we are used to sharing the little we get amongst us in common. The veld and lands we used to share all. The system of ploughing, hoeing, reaping and threshing, really shows our socialism and power of unity.

So, why then, can we not be socialistically inclined in thought in the present circumstances. I say forward South Africa and we Africans will not seek revenge. All depends on this White generation.

C. R. S. KOTI,  
Springs.

## READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This page is for your ideas
- This page is for readers to learn about Africa
- Please write but keep your letters short (especially our various Swaziland correspondents)
- Enclose a photograph if you can

## Kenya today

**SIR**—It is a period of rapid and intensive change, alike in the social, economic and political life of the people of Africa and elsewhere. It has been said many times before, but is still worth repeating, "freedom in Africa". We in Kenya are increasingly concerned over the treatment given to Kenya political affairs by the British Government.

Poverty is widespread. Discontent and resentment is rife. We have two African parties, namely KADU and KANU, the latter having the majority in Parliament, and as far as the well-known Lancaster House Constitutional Conference was concerned the majority was to rule and not the minority, which is not the case at the moment. This is just so because of lack of non-racialism.

A. D. O. AUMA,  
Kenya.

## Anti-C.A.D. and 31st May

**SIR**—So the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee has decided to throw in its lot with Mr. George Golding in condemning the end-of-the-month demonstrations. (*Cape Times*, 17.5.61.) In this the National Anti-C.A.D. is echoing the call of its masters: the Dr. Verwoerds, Mr. Erasmus, Col. Rep. Abe Bloomberg and Nic Olivier of S.A.B.R.A. These breakers of unity are not satisfied with the disunity among their own ranks, but must try and disrupt other groups fighting to overthrow oppression and White baaskap.

This clique last held a conference in 1953 and they have lost contact with the people they claim to lead. It is forever telling us of what they did in 1943—if they achieved anything in fact. But we are not interested in the history of the Anti-C.A.D. 18 years ago. What is important now is: What is the Anti-C.A.D. doing now to end oppression? Those Coloured leaders whom they accuse of forging a deal for themselves, rejected in toto the overtures of Nic Olivier and Co., the "political vultures", to use Anti-C.A.D.'s own term. The vulture is Mr. C. M. Kobus, who has been offering his services to the S.A.B.R.A. politicians. (We guess they have already been invited to talks with the S.A.B.R.A. leaders whose views they share.) To-day the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee has lined up with Mr. George Golding, whom they have always dubbed as an arch-collaborator. We, the people, would like to know why?

But those of us who have been following the inactivity of this group are not at all surprised that they should be in the position in which they are to-day for (a) Has not racialism split the Anti-C.A.D. from top to bottom so that to-day even the splinters have further split into atoms? (b) Was it not the leaders of the National Anti-C.A.D. who called in the police—Erasmus's police—to a meeting of students in the Banqueting Hall in February, 1960? (c) Was it not the leaders of the National Anti-C.A.D. who, at that same meeting, called for the implementation of the "Eiselen Line", when they shouted to the African students of the opposing faction: "Go back to the reserves; that's where you come from!"

Poor Mr. C. M. Kobus! He does not realise even now that when his Coloured pals shouted that "Go back to the country!" to these African students they included even him, for when the "Eiselen Line" is implemented (at the request of the National Anti-C.A.D., George Golding and Deputy Minister Botha), Mr. C. M. Kobus will also be sent back to his "natural home": the reserves of the Transkei.

P. MADLOKWANA,  
Athlone.

## Towards Non-racial Democracy?

# SWAZILAND ENTERS PERIOD OF POLITICAL CHANGE

From "Contact" Special Representative

MBABANE: "Swaziland is in an interesting condition," said the Resident Commissioner, Mr. Brian Marwick, opening the first session of the Reconstituted European Advisory Council in Mbabane. The tenor of his opening address suggested that the council, whose function is to advise the government on draft legislation and constitutional development, should conduct themselves as sane and unmelodramatic midwives.

Swaziland is to-day at the critical stage of its political development, with diverse forces at work seeking to guide it.

The most important factor at present is the desire of government, unlike that in South Africa, to move Swaziland gradually in the direction of non-racial democracy.

Other forces at work are these:

- The Paramount Chief and the Swazi National Council (established in accordance with British colonial policy of indirect rule). The Paramount, Sobhuza II, and the council desire a multi-racial government in which they will still enjoy considerable power over the Africans of the territory. They oppose the Swaziland Progressive Party, regarding it as a threat to their power.

- The Swaziland Progressive Party, barely a year old but with its roots in the Swaziland Progressive Association, was formed in 1927 as an association for educated Africans.

The Party is now the voice of the increasingly large number of Africans who accept neither the tribal rule of the Paramount Chief nor the undemocratic rule of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

The Party wants a non-racial democracy for Swaziland soon and independence within a few years. Its membership is open to all people of Swaziland, irrespective of race, who accept the principles of the Party.

It believes that democracy is possible only if all adults have the vote.

The S.P.P. has established branches throughout the country and at present has a membership of more than 2,000. Membership is increasing rapidly.

Its ultimate ideal is a social democracy under a constitutional monarch.

- The Whites as represented by the European Advisory Council, which is elected on a very narrow franchise.

They accept the inevitability of change, but would canalize it to their own purposes by using the Swazi

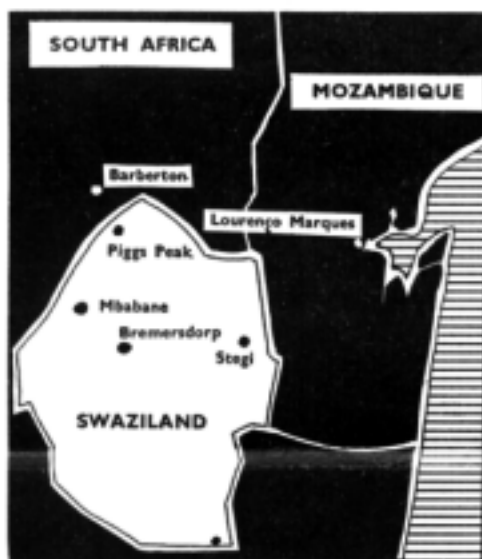
National Council to prevent the growth of a genuine democratic movement.

They would like Swaziland to develop into a Welensky-style "partnership" — maintaining White political and economic supremacy.

- A group of Whites who support the objects of the Swaziland Progressive Party, but would prefer a qualified vote on the common roll.

## THRIVING

ALL these forces must be seen against the background of phenomenal economic development in Swaziland and a corresponding increase in the standard



of living of all people in the territory.

Mbabane and Bremersdorp, the two main centres, are thriving commercial towns.

The great Usutu pine forests, established by the Colonial Development Corporation and private investors, have provided the basis for a new pulp industry which will come into production soon.

Large sugar estates have been established in the Lowveld and a mill is producing 60,000 tons of sugar annually.

A railway, to provide an outlet for vast iron ore deposits near Mbabane,

will soon be built and will link central Swaziland with Lourenço Marques.

## LAND SCHEMES

The Land Utilization Department, under its new director, Mr. Jock King, has an amazing programme for the improvement of agriculture in the territory, and a growing number of Africans are becoming master farmers. Development is being retarded by the tribal system of land tenure under which no farmer is able to get title to his land if it lies in the Swazi National (tribal) area.

The Land Utilization Department plans to make Swaziland self-sufficient in mealies as the cost of mealies imported from the Union constitutes a serious drain on the territory's resources.

In spite of progress in all sectors of the economy, there remains much that must be improved.

## NOT ENOUGH MONEY

If the progress of the territory is the work of men concerned for the welfare and development of Swaziland, the inadequacies can be attributed to two main factors:

- The British Government does not give Swaziland enough money to operate comprehensive welfare services, provide cheap housing or free compulsory education for all.

- There is little democratic voice in government; Whites can advise through the European Advisory Council, and Africans can advise, but only through the Swazi National Council, which is not the most progressive of bodies.

## CHANGE COMING

But all stands to be changed soon: Swaziland is preparing for the making of the territory's first constitution. This will give it its first legislative council and establish organs of local government such as urban councils.

The European Advisory Council has chosen from its members a constitutional advisory committee which will work with Africans chosen by the Swazi National Council.

Meanwhile the Swaziland Progressive Party has briefed Professor D. V. Cowan, Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape Town, who played a major part in the drafting of the Basutoland Constitution, to advise it on proposals.

## TALKS THIS MONTH

The talks will be held in June, and all parties, including the E.A.C., accept the inevitability of change. Important issues have to be decided, however, the most immediate of which is whether the Legco will be elected by people voting on a communal (separate) or common (non-racial) roll.

In a welter of controversy, government remains neutral, and the Resident Commissioner, Mr. Marwick, in his in-

*Continued from page 4, col. 3*

6. Another fault was bad timing. After mid-May the campaign grew cold. Cape Town's excitement began to flag. On 16th May 2,500 packed the Drill Hall in the lunch hour to hear the Liberal Party counsel steadfastness and non-violence, but there was no follow-up after meetings were banned.

The last week-end, above all, should have seen high-pressure organizing, and there was hardly any.

By 31st May, a sovereign National Convention seemed as far off as ever and the republic was inaugurated in tranquillity. For the democratic movements there are many lessons to be learned.

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SOBHUZA II

augural address last week to the E.A.C., invited all interested Swazilanders to send in to the government secretary their proposals for constitutional reform.

Observers see this as an invitation to all who do not feel themselves represented by either the E.A.C. or the Swazi National Council to submit their proposals.

The direction of development in Swaziland can have a close part in the future of the Union. If the people of the territory are able to establish a smooth-running, non-racial democracy soon, Swaziland could become a big threat to the ideology of Dr. Verwoerd.

The chances are that it will do so.

## The Fall of Kruger's Republic

J. S. MARAIS

*Professor of History in the University of the Witwatersrand*

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## Bechuanaland Legislative Council

THERE is dissatisfaction in Bechuanaland with the constitution of the new Legislative Council. Mr. G. M. K. Mmusi, who is General Secretary of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party said at a meeting, held in Francistown before the elections, that though the constitution of the Council is not really acceptable "we feel it is something to start on". The Bechuanaland People's Party has called, "Amend the Constitution".

Organised political opposition feels that the elections are a mockery for the Africans. While the White and Asian communities have the vote only a few Africans will have any sort of voice. When the Legislative Council meets in June it will be composed of elected non-African members and Africans chosen by the chiefs in their council (the African Council).

It has been said by one member of the Bechuanaland People's Party, Mr. Motshidisi: "If one looks into this law-



G. M. K. Mmusi

making combination one will find the government officials, the traders, the chiefs and their subordinates, if not tribal employees. . . . What kind of laws will this council of merchants and haters of African politics and progress make?"

There has been some official reaction to these complaints and the Resident Commissioner met representatives of the politically conscious Batswana at the Hands Memorial Hall, Mahalapye, recently.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party, which stands for a federal link between the tribes in the Protectorate, says that it hopes that the constitution will be reviewed after four years. Then it hopes the Africans will elect representatives direct to the Council and that there will be a common roll.