

# **“One Man One Vote” for Protectorates** **contact** **say U.N. Committee**

Vol. 5 No. 13

5c (6d)

28th JUNE 1962

Registered at the G.P.O.  
as a Newspaper

— see page 8

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**



## **WELCOME IN DAR ES SALAAM**

TANGANYIKA'S Home Minister, Mr. OSCAR KAMBONA, greets members of the United Nations Committee on Colonialism which sat in Dar es Salaam from 4th to 8th June. He is seen shaking hands with Mr. V. OBEREMKO, the Soviet member of the Committee. See story on page 8.

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## SUBSCRIPTIONS:

### AFRICAN POSTAL UNION

Surface:  
R1.40 (14/-) per year  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year

Airmail:  
R2.70 (£1. 7. 0.) per year  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year

### ELSEWHERE

Surface:  
R1.70 (17/-) per year  
R0.85 (8/6) per half year

Airmail:  
On application

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

## COMMENT

# Press Freedom is Indivisible

THE Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster, has declared that he is going to ban certain newspapers which he believes to be furthering the aims and objects of Communism. The only newspaper that he and his colleagues have mentioned by name is *New Age*, a journal with which *Contact* has on several occasions expressed the strongest disagreement. But we do not believe that Mr. Vorster is going to ban that paper principally because he thinks it is furthering the aims of Communism: we believe he will ban it because it is strongly opposed to the political and social system that Vorster,

Verwoerd and the Nationalist Party maintain in South Africa by force. They will ban *New Age*, and probably other newspapers as well, because they oppose in principle the rule and policies of the Nationalist Party.

*Contact*, with democrats throughout the world, believes that the press and individuals have a right to oppose, a right to express that opposition, a right to seek to change a system which they believe to be wrong, and a right to print and publish their beliefs.

This right the Nationalists are now about to take away from some of their

fiercest opponents, and we wish to state our clear opposition to this move. The freedom of the press is indivisible.

## APPEAL

ONE of South Africa's oldest freedom fighters is now living in the utmost poverty in Maseru, Basutoland, where he has had to take refuge from the laws of apartheid. He is Mr. J. M. (Anti-pass) Kumalo. His Anti-pass title he earned in the early days of the freedom struggle—in 1919, and since then he has had a distinguished record in the freedom movement. He was at one time Chairman of the Evaton branch of the now banned African National Congress.

A local Maseru committee helps him with his rent, but he still has nothing to live on. The Human Rights Welfare Committee, which helps the banished and the exiled, does not have the funds to assist Mr. Kumalo.

We do not believe that our readers are prepared to let an old freedom fighter die of cold and misery so we appeal to you to send whatever you can to the Human Rights Welfare Committee, P.O. Box 59, Claremont, Cape, who will forward it to Mr. Kumalo.



## Shorts . . .

- There is a total of 516 African students in Italy, studying in institutions throughout the country. The students are taking courses such as architecture, economics, pharmacy, civil engineering, agriculture and literature. There are 30 clerical students. Most students are in Rome.
- The Tanganyika government is to give Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party direct help in the Northern Rhodesian election campaign which is now getting under way (the election is in October)—UNIP will be able to use the Tanganyika radio facilities to broadcast its election message to Northern Rhodesia.
- Ministers in Mr. Tshombe's Katanga provincial government earn up to R1,800 a month, with free milk, a crate of whisky per week, and rent-free houses thrown in. (*African Mail*, 15th June.)
- The Socialist International, meeting in Oslo, Norway, this month, devoted considerable time to discussion on Africa. The conference condemned all forms of discrimination, rejecting in particular the doctrine of apartheid and the "medieval" legislation in South Africa. The conference called for the right to freedom for the people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the end of the Federation imposed by Britain, and their right to decide their own destiny.  
—*Jeune Afrique*, 24th June.
- The first issue of *Zimbabwe News*, international organ of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, has been published. Printed and published in Cairo, it comprises 8 pages of news and opinion on Southern Rhodesia. Subscription 6/- (sterling) per year, to 5 Ahmad Hishmat, Zamalek, Cairo, U.A.R.

## NEW LIBERAL PARTY HANDBOOK PUBLISHED

A NEW AND COMPLETELY revised edition of the Liberal Party's handbook has been published under the title "Non-racial Democracy". (Price 10c from Liberal Party, 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg.) The 38-page booklet gives in full the policies of the Party as approved by the Party's national congress last year. Simplified descriptions of these policies have been published in "Contact" in the "Blueprints" series.

The new handbook has an Introduction by Mr. Alan Paton, the Party's National President, and a short essay on Universal Adult Suffrage by Prof. Edgar Brookes. In his Introduction Mr. Paton writes:

This Handbook of the Liberal Party of South Africa has been completely revised and rewritten, and presents the policies of the Party in a new and readable form.

The Liberal Party is a non-racial Party. All its policies are non-racial. It believes that non-racialism is the only sure foundation for a multi-racial society of such complexity as ours, and that our problem can only be dealt with by people of all groups working together.



The policies of the Liberal Party accord full political, social, and individual rights to all adult South Africans. This is done not only because it is a non-racial party, but because it seems to us to be unrealistic to suggest anything else in Africa today.

We reject the qualified franchise, not only because we believe it to be absurd to suggest the re-introduction of a franchise whose previous record was one of continuous retreat, but also because we believe that every adult person is entitled to a voice in the election of his government.

### "All Colour Bars Must Go"

All colour bars must go. The damage they have done to race relations in Africa is incomputable. But they must not only be removed; strong measures must be taken to redress the imbalance of privilege which we have inherited. This Handbook contains policies on land, taxation, and education which are designed for this purpose.

The Liberal Party believes that any government would need tremendous powers to carry out such reforms, but it is opposed to any form of authoritarian society. The provision of work, security and opportunity for all people is of the highest priority, but they must not be attained at the expense of fundamental civil liberties. Therefore the Party aims to secure the consent of the people to the setting up of a controlled constitution, in which their rights will be entrenched, and to which all authorities, national and local, as well as the citizens themselves, will be subject.

# WHY TANGANYIKA IS BECOMING A REPUBLIC . . .

## 'We need Speedy Development'

TANGANYIKA obtained independence on 9th December, 1961, and became — suddenly — a monarchy. Since then there has been an urgent need to frame a more realistic constitution which would meet the needs of this young country. Our constitution should fit in with the traditions of our people; it should be felt to belong to the country. Only then can it foster a sense of nationhood and inspire a sense of loyalty.

The proposals which will be presented to our National Assembly this week have been designed to give effect to four principles.

First, as far as possible, the institutions of government must be able to be understood by the people.

To us, honour and respect are accorded to a chief, monarch or president not because of his symbolism, but because of the authority and responsibility he holds. We are not used to the division between real authority and formal authority.

### "Wishes of the People"

Second, the President must not only carry the responsibility for the actions of government; he must also have the power to fulfil his responsibilities.

Third, Parliament must remain sovereign. It is our intention that government shall be carried out in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Finally, freedom requires the operation of the rule of law.

We have tried to prevent unnecessary conflict by making clear where the ultimate power and responsibility lie.

Our President, who will be Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and will have full executive authority, will not be bound to accept the advice of his Cabinet. In

practice, of course, no politician in a democratic country has as much freedom as that. He governs by consent; if he cannot get the consent of his own chosen colleagues he is likely to have some difficulty in getting it from the country as a whole.

The Government are aware that some of our friends may be over-conscious of the dangers of dictatorship. But they recognized an overriding need to provide leadership.

### Dangers of Dictatorship

We have to acknowledge that although the people of Tanganyika can understand the idea of law being made by groups, they see leadership and the enforcement of the law as the responsibility of a "person" with authority, answerable for his actions to the group, but not hampered by it in effecting them. Under our proposals, therefore, where it is necessary to lead, the President has the powers to lead.

Our first President, who will take office on 9th December, will be directly elected by the people on a basis of adult suffrage. In future, however, the executive and legislature will be interlocked by ensuring that the President, like a Prime Minister, is leader of the majority in the National Assembly.

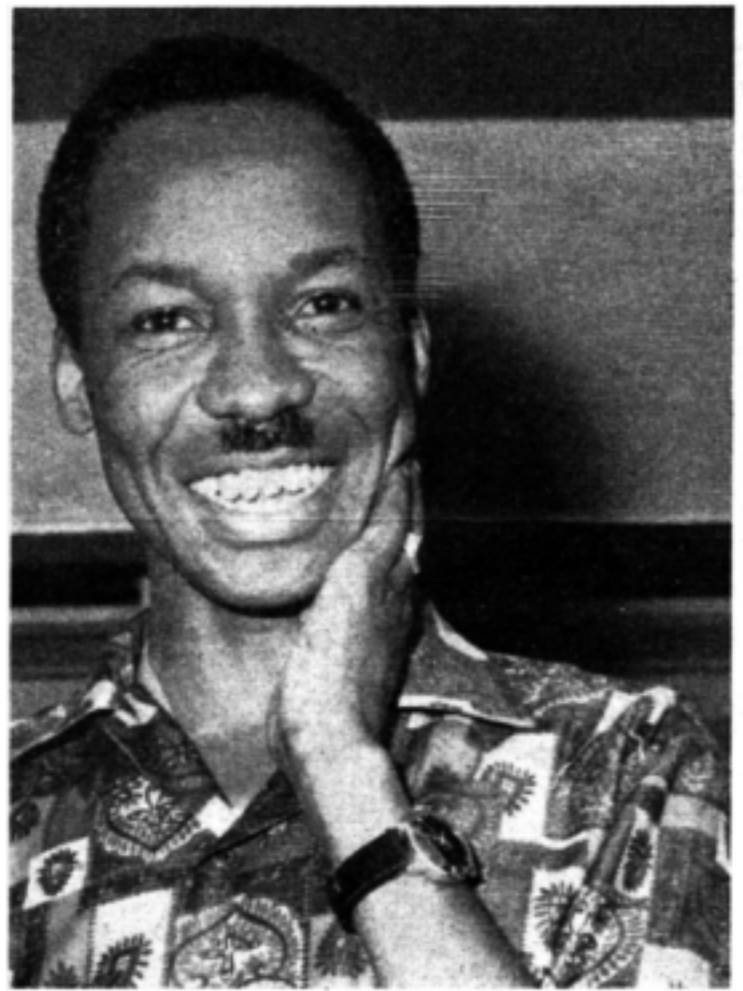
### No "Checks and Balances"

This will be done by allowing every Assembly candidate to name the presidential candidate he will support, provided he has first received an assurance of support from that man. This links the two candidates and means that when the Assembly acts as an electoral college, the issue has already been decided by the people.

Our constitution differs from the American system in that it avoids any blurring of the lines of responsibility, and enables the executive to function without being checked at every turn.

For we recognize that the system of "checks and balances" is an admirable way of applying the brakes to social change. Our need is not for brakes — our lack of trained manpower and capital resources, and even our climate, act too effectively already. We need accelerators powerful enough to overcome the inertia bred of poverty, and the resistances which are inherent in all societies.

Our conception of the President's office is obviously incompatible with the theory that the public services are and ought to be politically impartial. Civil Servants are human beings; they do have political views and this



. . . By JULIUS K. NYERERE

must affect their work. Policies they like are executed with enthusiasm, those of which they disapprove are implemented reluctantly, or may even be slowed down.

But in Tanganyika enthusiasm is a most important national asset. We cannot afford the luxury of administrators who are neutral.

We therefore propose giving the President the power to appoint, promote, dismiss and exercise disciplinary control over Civil Servants and the police. In fact, except in the case of more senior posts, he will delegate his power to the Commissions, but he will be able to override their decisions.

In practice the main difference between our new proposals and those

which really operate in Britain may well be our recognition in law of something which happens anyway. Where they have no power, Ministers must — and do — use unconstitutional pressure to get in their office men with whom they can work. We are simply making the law accord with the facts.

Again, while judges will have complete security of tenure once they are appointed, the man who appoints them will be the President.

We believe that this constitution will best serve the people of Tanganyika. But the wisdom of the constitution of any country cannot be vindicated by the phraseology of its clauses, nor yet by an article to a newspaper. Time will provide a better verdict.

## Personal Files

IT is an open secret among Afrikaner newspapermen that the concern expressed by Dr. Albert Hertzog and his colleagues for the possible ill-effects of television on South African morals and commodity prices is nothing but a sham.

The ill-effect that really troubles them is the possibility that Afrikaans periodicals they publish will go out of business under the impact of television. *Brandwag* is said to be threatened and would be knocked out by television, as would *Die Huisgenoot* and others. Only the Sunday newspapers could withstand the decline in light magazine reading habits, and the big merger of *Sondagblad* and *Dagbreek* is partly a preparation for it.

IT IS, OF COURSE, a scandalous thing when their private fortunes affect the public conduct of ministers of state. Fourteen years spent implementing policies based on greed and fear may have caused an incurable moral decay,

and business and cabinet policies have certainly become unhealthy mixed in the Afrikaner press sphere. Not only in the press sphere. One minister is said to have accepted a five-figure lawyer's fee (in pounds) for a certain deal involving west-coast diamonds recently. Legally he may well be entitled to the fee. Morally his accepting such a sum would be reprehensible.

IN the world's capitals there are growing numbers of expatriate South Africans, of whom only a few look forward to returning to a changed South Africa. The majority have gone for good, taking brains and talents with them. A friend saw **Gerald Sekoto** in Paris last month and learned that he felt no strong desire to come back to Africa. Looking like a middle-aged Frenchman, painting prolifically — street scenes and café life at present — Sekoto has become part of Paris. Sixteen years ago he was struggling to stay alive by playing the piano in *les caves*, the underground nightclubs then the rage.

What happened to **Mancoba**, the aspirant young sculptor who went to Paris to study at about the same time? Where is **Advocate Ndlovu**, first African to be called to the bar in South Africa, who went to England a few years ago?

Please tell *Contact* if you know. *Malawi News* mentioned in May that Mr. Chisiza only met one Nyasa on his visit to Germany, namely **Dr. Kadalie**, son of the great Clements Kadalie of the I.C.U., and now working in "a big private surgery". Other medical emigrants are the entire team and their wives and children, engaged in the heart disease and "cholesterol" research that has been conducted at the University of Cape Town Medical School for several years. They are moving in a body to Scotland.

UNIVERSITIES all over the English-speaking world have benefited from the exile or emigration of South African academics, some of whom are tied to South Africa by their subjects. Professor Leonard Thompson, now at the University of California, Los Angeles, for one, has written lately (in *The Journal of African History*) on history as the Afrikaner nationalists write it: "hard and humourless mythology of an anxious embattled people . . . a mythology of bitter grievances and solemn heroics". Teachers of history should read this: the same mythology is taught to all the children of South Africa as history, not just to the Afrikaners. Another expatriate don is

Professor Denis Cowen who visits South Africa and the High Commission Territories next month. A third, Dr. A. C. Jordan, who escaped from South Africa without a passport last year, has now resigned his post at the University of Cape Town and may be thought to intend staying away, at any rate for "the duration".

THE Johannesburg *Sunday Times* man who accompanied U.N. commissioners Carpio and Martinez de Alva round South West Africa has obscured the truth about Señor Carpio's attitude to South West Africa even further. He suggested that the latter's powers may have been vitiated by the amount of South African brandy he consumed on the tour. Certainly it would be inappropriate to condemn the impropriety of the report: with what satisfaction would one receive a similar report — I am surprised it has never appeared — of Mr. De Wet Nel's Transkei tours. It is the facts that are important and it should be recorded that two other journalists in the party have since privately denied the truth of the *Sunday Times's* smear.

By Jacob Bam

**ANGOLA:****Freedom Forces Harass Portuguese near Luanda**

NEW streams of refugees are pouring across the Angola-Congo border as heavy fighting between the Angolan patriot Army of National Liberation and Portuguese forces (which now number 35,000 men). The heaviest fighting is taking place in the region of Luanda, capital of Angola.

Angolans in the territory who have refused to return to their villages from the forests where they have been hiding from the Portuguese and to avoid the fighting, are being hunted by the Portuguese, and their encampments in the jungle destroyed by napalm bombs dropped from aircraft. This Portuguese tactic has increased the flow of refugees. Military patrols also enter the forests to harass the people living there.

**War Communique**

A communique from the Ministry of Information, Government of the Republic of Angola in Exile in Leopoldville, dated 13th June, gives details of the fighting in Angola.

"16th May: Forces of the Angolan National Army of Liberation (A.L.N.A.) encamped in the Sierra da Canaga with reinforcements from Nova Caipemba, attacked a Portuguese military patrol which was going in pursuit of refugees in the forests. The enemy was put to

flight and left behind 10 dead and quantities of arms and ammunition, including a machine gun and Mauser rifles. The Air Force then bombed the area during the two days following without reaching their objective.

**Captain Lost**

"18th May: At 6 a.m., at Vale do Loge, A.L.N.A. forces attacked a plantation formerly owned by one João Ferreira Carlos killed last year. A military patrol stationed there was taken by surprise. The attack lasted an hour and 20 of the enemy were killed.

"21st May: Four Portuguese jeeps and a lorry trying to penetrate the jungle ran into ambush near Zalala. In the fighting, the A.L.N.A. lost a Captain, José Sebastião, who was born at Zonda. He was brought down by machine gun fire. His arms, ammunition and body were recovered.

"23rd May: The Portuguese bombed in the Ambuila district, causing the deaths of several people.

"27th May: A Nationalist encampment was raided and set alight by the Portuguese at Quileque.

"30th May: An enemy patrol, composed of about 30 soldiers was fiercely attacked while going to repair a bridge over the river Calambinga. Three Portuguese survived. On the same day, near the River Cameia, A.L.N.A. forces attacked two Portuguese lorries and killed 20 Portuguese, wounding others.

"4th June: Portuguese troops, trying to enter the bush near Quileque, were attacked and abandoned boxes of cartridges."

**Political Developments**

This communique shows that the war of liberation against the Portuguese is continuing unabated. As reported in the last issue of *Contact* Angolans trained by the Algerian army of liberation have returned to fight the Portuguese.

It is reported from Accra that the two principal Angolan liberation movements, the U.P.A. (Union of the Peoples of Angola) and the M.P.L.A. (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) have agreed to co-operate. Up to now they have been bitter rivals.

The U.P.A. information service in New York has issued a bulletin called *Angola Calling*. An article discusses Portuguese policy in Angola and declares that the Angolan people have had no say in government; but continues: "... with the formation of an Angolan Government in exile, our people are, for the first time in their history, taking part in a genuine popular movement. All over Angola, sometimes openly (as in the liberated northern areas), sometimes secretly (as in Luanda, Lobito, Malanga and other districts), Angolans are organizing themselves into political units in preparation for eventual self-government."

**LIBERAL PARTY'S 'URGENT TASKS'**

IN A STATEMENT to *Contact* Mr. Jordan Ngubane, National Vice-President of the Liberal Party, outlined the "urgent tasks" facing the Party:

"As I see the position, the Liberal Party has four distinct and urgent tasks to perform in the race crisis, now that events have pushed it to the forefront in the fight against apartheid. It must:

- project with increasing determination before the country the image of a non-racialism which is as feasible as it is the only real alternative to apartheid in a nation which must always be mixed;



NGUBANE

- convince increasing numbers of Whites that against the background of the changes taking place in Africa, their real guarantee of survival and security is neither the partitioning of the country nor the arming of their women but the giving to citizenship of a meaning the Africans will accept and honour;
- reinforce powerfully the tradition in the African community which has, since 1912, consistently rejected race and colour as the yardsticks by which to fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation;
- mobilize, co-ordinate and focus external and internal pressures in such a way as to make non-violence effective while, at the same time, creating conditions which will conduce to non-racial collaboration after the collapse of apartheid."

**BASUTOLAND:****DEMONSTRATION BY WORKERS BEARS FRUIT**

From "Contact" Correspondent MASERU: The 600-strong demonstration by the unemployed of Maseru has borne some fruit, Chief George Bereng of the Basuto

National Party told *Contact* last week. Thirty-eight unemployed men have been given work by the government on police and prisons housing projects. Unfortunately

more cannot at present be given work as there is a severe shortage of surveyors and experts without whom the plots for the houses cannot be laid out.

In reply to a question Chief George Bereng said that the situation remained very serious, and the queues of out-of-work men were bigger than ever. "There are now well over the six hundred whom we registered two weeks ago," he told *Contact*.

**Little Success with Officials**

The National Party, the chief said, has tried to persuade the government to make available some funds which have already been voted for the repair of contour banks. "This is work which does not need surveyors," he said. The government could lend picks and shovels, and pay a nominal wage. Several public-spirited individuals and firms have donated funds and food. In this way something could be done for these men who, through no fault of their own, are roaming the streets and suffering from hunger."

So far the chief has met with little success with government officials. He told *Contact* that he could see that the men would lose patience soon, and would stage another demonstration. He also said that Chief Leabua Jonathan, the Party's leader, who telegraphed Mr. Macmillan about the unemployment crisis in Basutoland, had not yet had a reply.

**500 Pass "Offenders" Every Day**

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Although in official circles it is maintained that pass prosecution amongst Africans have been greatly reduced, I came to bear witness myself of how hundreds of Africans are being charged for minor offences.

In Pretoria, African work-seekers dread the Labour Bureau where they have to obtain work-seekers' permits. The moment they report here, they are whisked over to the office of a man called Kriel. He is a White municipal policeman who dresses like a traffic cop. He has been given the task of dealing with and prosecuting "vagrants", "work-seekers" and "tsotsis".

His name is well known by Africans who are unemployed. He is known to raid homes of "suspects" as early as 4 a.m. after checking on the files at his Influx Control office.

At one time when I was also a suspect and had to answer questions on why I'm not employed, a man in his office was being assaulted by him and his African municipal police assistant.

It has been said that those who are unemployed for over six months will face a six-month term of imprisonment for vagrancy. At times Africans are forced to take low-paying jobs offered by the Bureau: the alternative is prison. But learned Africans, mostly young men, find it hard to accept jobs as kitchen-boys (which will prevent them from being allowed to accept any other type of work later) and that is when they are arrested at the Labour Bureau offices themselves.

Over 500 Africans pass through the Bantu Commissioner's court every day for pass offences. A man who had been serving a term of imprisonment for homicide remarked that even in Johannesburg where he came from, less people pass through the courts for minor crimes.

In the eyes of the Bureau's White employees, a "tsotsi" is any young African who has a little education.

**"Complete Independence" for Nyasaland**

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: By 11 votes to one, with three absentions, the United Nations Committee on Colonialism adopted a resolution on Nyasaland's future supporting the demand for the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia with Nyasaland and recommending "complete independence" to Nyasaland.

The British delegate on the 17-member Committee opposed the resolution which was drafted by a working group consisting of Syria, Ethiopia, India, Russia and United States of America. (See also page 8.)

**MRS. SUZMAN**

MRS. HELEN SUZMAN is Member of Parliament for Houghton, and not Parktown North as she was described in the last issue of *Contact*. Our apologies to Mrs. Suzman and anyone else who may have been inconvenienced.

# Durban Council Ignores 'Phone-tapping Allegations

From "Contact" Correspondent  
DURBAN: Durban's supposedly anti-Nationalist City Council continues to ignore the mounting volume of protest at continued allegations of 'phone-tapping by local police.

A recent example of this form of eavesdropping came on the morning of Saturday, 9th June, when a group of Liberals, Progressives and Trade Unionists, headed by Mr. Alan Paton, Mrs. Janie Malherbe (wife of Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Principal of Natal University), Dr. Monty Naicker and Mr. S.

Vakalisa (of SACTU), arranged a wreath-laying ceremony at the local law courts.

"Invitations to the Press about the ceremony went out a few minutes before the ceremony, which was a protest against the Vorster Bill, took place. Yet the first person to appear on the scene when the demonstrators came there was Sgt. Erasmus of the Special Branch and his colleagues," said one of the protesters to me.

Several people have assured me that they have adequate proof of the fact that their calls are being interfered with. A journalist on a non-White weekly here told me that he had in the course of the day made four separate phone calls to numbers in town. All the people he telephoned were politically active, he said. "I could clearly hear voices speaking in Afrikaans in the distance, whilst the 'phone rang on the other side," he told me.

Early last year when 'phone-tapping was exposed, the acting Mayor, Mr. Jack Forsdick, who had reportedly given his blessing to a request by the S.B. to tap certain phones, was lauded by some of his colleagues as having "acted in the interests of his country."

## "Algeria" Man takes over S.A. Police

THE new chief of the South African police is Lieutenant-General J. M. Keevy, who studied police methods in Algeria at the height of the French-Algerian war. He replaces Lieutenant-General H. J. du Plooy, the man who helped pull the South African police out of their "Arlow" days. He has gone on leave pending retirement.

During his time in office, General Du Plooy went on a relentless drive to

- Weed out rotten elements in the Police Force
- Attract older and better men to the Force
- Raise the educational level necessary to join the Force.

General Du Plooy was unswerving in his campaign, and his most significant victory was the standing order that policemen should cease assaulting prisoners, and that uniformed White policemen should wear their service numbers at all times. This in itself led to a great improvement in the conduct of the Police.

### ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID:

## NYASALAND WORKERS CALL FOR BOYCOTT OF S.A. GOODS

From "Contact" Correspondent  
BLANTYRE: The Transport and Allied Workers' Union has announced here that all Trade Unions in Nyasaland are to be urged to support a total boycott of all South African goods in September this year.

This was one of the main resolutions passed and recommended at a Conference at Kampala in Uganda early this month.

The Nyasaland representative there was Mr. C. C. Msisia, National Organizing Secretary of the Transport and Allied Workers' Union. He told *Contact* that the decision to boycott South African goods was part of an "Africa-wide" protest at the republic's apartheid policy.

It is likely that the boycott will include all types of motor vehicles assembled in South Africa and all goods manufactured in Rhodesia on an agency basis from the republic.

"We can buy goods from Tanganyika and many other countries," said Mr. Msisia. "But what is greatly needed is big improvements in road communications between African countries"

Asked if the resolutions have the Nyasaland government's consent, he answered: "We are going to see the government. But I cannot see any reason why they should turn down the scheme."

### Northern Rhodesia:

## OCTOBER ELECTION MAY CRUSH FEDERATION

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: The Northern Rhodesian election campaign has started. Four political parties are taking part: the United Federal Party, African National Congress, Liberal Party and United National Independence Party, which is the

most powerful nationalist party in Northern Rhodesia and most likely to win the election.

In an interview with *Contact*, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of UNIP, said at his home in the Chilenje location, Lusaka, that he was confident of winning the election and having an African majority in the next Legislative Council.

Asked to comment on the Accra conference of African freedom fighters, Mr. Kaunda said: "The conference discussed various methods of ending Colonialism and Imperialism in Africa."

He went on to say that the conference resolved to support UNIP in the election campaign "morally and materially". He described the conference as a "tremendous success".

### If UNIP Wins

Mr. Kaunda said that if UNIP wins the election, the first sitting of the Legislative will vote Northern Rhodesia out of the "Welensky Federation". UNIP will press for independence and will be renamed Zambia. He said that when Northern Rhodesia has achieved independence it will help the freedom movement in Southern Rhodesia: "Never mind whether Welensky likes it or not, Federation is dead". Polling day in the election is in October.

### Campaigning

Leaders of UNIP are touring the territory campaigning. They are accompanied by the Election Campaign Band which stages concerts at the beginning and end of public meetings. Before singing any song they shout, "Vote UNIP" and "Down with Federation! Down with Imperialism! Down with Colonialism!"

## LIBERAL PARTY DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT

THE LIBERAL PARTY was discussed hotly by several Nationalist M.P.s during the debate on the Vorster Bill in the session of Parliament that has just ended.

The following extracts from Hansard will interest readers:

● "They (Communists) are infiltrating into the Liberal Party." — H. G. van Wyk.

● "As long as the Liberal Party pleads for one man one vote in a constitutional way and tries to convince the electorate that the policy of one man one vote is the best policy for the country, nothing will happen to them. But when the Liberal Party goes to Pondoland and causes riots, arson and murder with the object of promoting that policy, when these people enter the Bantu areas with the object of inciting the people to Communist sabotage in an attempt to paralyze the government and to force the policy of one man one vote on to us in that way . . . this Act will be used to bring them to book, to bring to book these people who are wittingly or unwittingly communist. . . ."

● "I say that anybody who tries to force down the policy of one man one vote . . . on to us in this country in an unconstitutional way, as some members of the Liberal Party want to do, such as Patrick Duncan, is guilty of high treason, and this law is intended for them." — B. Coetzee.

### Moçambique

Mr. Msisia added that at the Conference it was eventually agreed that every country should implement the boycott in its own way. He said that his Union had decided to extend the boycott to anything manufactured in Portuguese East Africa or any goods coming into Nyasaland through Moçambique.



The Election Campaign Band at a public meeting in Lusaka.

### **GERHARD COHN**

Photographer

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Johannesburg

# Vorster and Krushchev use Same Methods to stifle Opposition

IN May this year, Mr. B. J. Vorster, the Minister of Justice, introduced the General Law Amendment Bill in the South African Parliament.

● In May, 1961, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union issued a decree "On the Increased Struggle against Particularly Dangerous Crimes."

Mr. Vorster's Bill deals with sabotage, unlawful organizations, suppression of communism, prohibition of meetings, and restriction on persons found guilty of "furthering the aims of communism."

● The Soviet decree lists the crimes of treason, terrorism, sabotage, anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, the preparation of particularly dangerous State crimes, and crimes committed against other "workers' states".

Mr. Vorster's Bill makes sabotage a crime punishable by death.

● The Soviet decree makes the listed crimes punishable by death.

In Mr. Vorster's Bill anybody of the age of 14 or over is punishable by death.

● In the Soviet Union, anybody of 14 or over is held to be a fully responsible person and liable to the death penalty.

In Mr. Vorster's Bill, anybody who injures, damages, destroys or contaminates a public amenity can be guilty of sabotage, for which the penalty may be death. The minimum penalty is five years imprisonment.

● In the Soviet Union "especially dangerous" crimes against the State include any act aimed at undermining industry, agriculture, transport or any State agency for the purpose of "undermining Soviet rule".

It includes also any act which, "although not directly intended to overthrow the Soviet regime, nevertheless leads to a disturbance of normal operations of agencies of the administration

Violations against property either moveable or immovable are punishable by imprisonment of up to 25 years.

In Mr. Vorster's Bill, anybody being

By  
**T. V. BEARD**  
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Rhodes University

tried for sabotage has to prove his lack of intent, which includes having to prove that there was no intention to "embarrass the administration of the affairs of the State".

● In Russia, anybody charged with an especially dangerous crime against the State has to prove his lack of counter-revolutionary intent, and this includes proving that there was no intention to weaken the power or authority of the State.

In Mr. Vorster's Bill, the minimum penalty for sabotage is five years' imprisonment.

● In Russia, courts may pass an additional sentence of from two to five years deportation in cases where the death penalty is not applied.

Mr. Vorster's Bill enables the Minister to declare an organization unlawful if it professes communism, or if in his opinion it carries on directly or indirectly any of the activities of an unlawful organization.

● In Russia, the state may dissolve any organization at any time "if its activities do not correspond to the objectives defined in the charter or if they cannot be reconciled with State interests".

Mr. Vorster's Bill does not allow for appeal to the courts by any banned organization.

● In Russia, there is no appeal to the courts if an organization is dissolved.

## Gatherings

In Mr. Vorster's Bill, the Minister may prohibit the assembly of any gathering.

● In Russia, all gatherings have to be licensed and may be dissolved.

Mr. Vorster's Bill enables the Minister, in the case of listed persons who advise, defend, encourage or who engage in activities which are furthering or may further the achievement of the aims of communism, to confine them to any place or area and prohibit them from receiving any visitor or communicating with any person.

● In the Soviet Union, until 1953, persons could be exiled without trial. Since 1953, such exile has been suspended, but people may still be confined by the courts and the machinery for exile without trial is still in existence.

## Censorship

Mr. Vorster's Bill enables the Minister to ban any publication or newspaper if it serves as a means for the furthering of the aims of communism.

● In Russia, Article 58/10 of the Soviet Criminal Code states: "Propaganda or agitation involving appeals to overthrow, subvert or weaken Soviet authority . . . as well as the circulation, preparation or storage of literature with such contents, is punished by deprivation of liberty for not less than six months". In times of disturbance, the penalties are much greater.

The Ministry concerned has the power to exercise censorship before and after

publication and forbid the publication or dissemination of writings.

Under the General Law Amendment Bill, the possession, publication or dissemination of any periodical furthering the aims of communism is a crime punishable by up to ten years imprisonment.

## Other Similarities

These similarities extend also to other South African laws.

For instance, no African in South Africa may travel without a permit, obtain a job without a permit or work without being registered with a labour permit if he works in a town.

In the Soviet Union, a peasant may not leave his farm without a passport and must register on his arrival at any inhabited place.

Both in South Africa and the Soviet Union, anybody who subscribes to a liberal democracy on the British model is regarded as a danger to the State.

South African Cabinet Ministers refer to the "sentimentality" of those who speak in terms of human rights: liberal democracy they class along with communism.

In the Soviet Union, human rights are also described as "sentimental" and are associated with what they call "liberal bourgeois democracy".

Tolerance is what is lacking in the South African Government and it is that

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

## SECURITY POLICE RAID DURBAN NURSES

From "Contact" Correspondent  
DURBAN: A six-man group of Security policemen raided the private quarters of African nurses

at the King Edward Hospital last week and asked questions from all those with friends and colleagues overseas — particularly in Tanganyika, Ghana, and England.

This is believed to be the climax of extensive police enquiries about the group of 40 African nurses who quietly slipped out of the Republic last year and settled in Tanganyika "as a gift from the African people of South Africa on the attainment of independence in that state".

Since then the police have been baffled and flummoxed by the departure of the girls. They have made enquiries and at least one nurse is believed to be their informant at King Edward Hospital.

Last Friday they swooped on the Chesterville home of an African staff nurse, and confiscated some letters from her boy friend who is at present overseas.

They also took possession of other letters from pen-friends in other African states, and refused to issue a receipt for them. "I have made repeated trips to the Special Branch offices but each time I have been sent from pillar to post," she told me. She added that the police asked her who were the next batch of nurses to leave, and when they would be doing so. "I told them I knew nothing about this."

A day later another nurse was also visited by the police at home and asked questions about her correspondence with South Africans who are now overseas.

Later the police are said to have visited the Nurses' Home at King Edward Hospital and there to have asked questions from some of the senior staff nurses. Hospital authorities were silent when asked about these raids.

## Patrick van Rensburg in Bechuanaland

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: News has reached here that Patrick van Rensburg, who resigned from the South African diplomatic service in 1956 because he could not stand the government's apartheid policy, has arrived in Bechuanaland and plans to assist the Bamangwato Tribal Authority in founding a secondary school.

Mr. Van Rensburg, it will be remembered, was for some time the Liberal Party's Transvaal Provincial Organizer, and in 1959 led the anti-apartheid boycott in England with Mr. Tennyson Makiwane of the African National Congress. He has also written the successful book *Guilty Land* and has collaborated in the production of an African historical atlas.

He left England at about the new year, and travelled through Europe and Africa by surface. He arrived at Francistown, Bechuanaland, early in May, and has been in the Protectorate ever since.

On 4th June it was announced in *The Observer* (London) that Mr. Van Rensburg had put up banners of marriage in Bechuanaland. He plans to marry Miss Elizabeth Griffin, who travelled from England with him.

## SECURITY MATTERS:

### "No Basutoland — S.A. Collaboration"

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The Basutoland police are not working with the South African police in political matters. This important fact emerges from a statement to *Contact* by Mr. U. B. Tristram, head of the Basutoland Information Service. He was commenting on the following incident which was brought to his attention.

Recently Mr. Potlako K. Leballo, one of the Pan Africanist Congress leaders, was released from prison in Pretoria. The South African government wished to deport him to Basutoland. He objected, on grounds that he was born in South Africa. The South African authorities then decided to keep him in the Republic, but as an exile. He has since been sent to the Ubombo area of northern Natal.

He has a sister living in Maseru. During May she was approached by Inspector Lephoto, a member of the

Basutoland Mounted Police, who asked her questions about her brother's place and time of birth.

A member of the Refugees' Committee in Maseru commented to *Contact*: "This could only have been done at the request of the apartheid Security Branch. We are most disappointed that even now, after the Ganyile case and after the departure of South Africa from the Commonwealth, these things can happen. We would like the Basutoland authorities to give an assurance that police collaboration between Basutoland and South Africa will be limited to non-political things. As it is we do not feel safe, and we are sure that the Basuto themselves are not happy that these things happen."

Asked to comment, Mr. Tristram said: "Collaboration between the Basutoland Police and the South African Police is limited in this way: The government for its own purpose must find out facts about possible refugees, whether they were born here and so on."

## READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

### WAR, REVOLUTION, BRING WAR, REVOLUTION

**SIR**,—Several times recently it was stated by your correspondents on the letter page, that the French Revolution brought liberty, equality, and fraternity. This was true only for a few years.

The oppressed at that time used more than just a little violence. The results were thoroughly unpleasant for the revolutionaries. Indeed, the National Assembly lawfully elected the Third Estate. The later terror in the French Revolution was merely the fruit of sordid quarrels for power among the revolutionaries.

This unsavoury struggle for power gave rise to the Directory, still later to Napoleon's military dictatorship. The violent emotions were channelled into military fervour. This was the strength of the victorious French armies, and at the same time brought forth French Imperialism. This produced an increase in European nationalism, and military slavery, conscription, was introduced in several countries.

The awakened Imperialism coupled with Nationalism was the impetus for

the rape of Africa. All major powers at the time took what they could as mineral wealth was expected. In Europe itself it was the French Revolution that can be held responsible for a Bismarck, and most probably for militant Communism, Fascism, and the First World War.

All who earnestly desire freedom should study the European history of the last century. War and revolutions resulted in yet more war and revolution.

Those who refuse to use violence for liberation cannot deny freedom to any group or race. They can and do strive to practice co-operation and reconciliation in their surroundings and in other parts of the world.

This does not mean that no great sacrifices are called for. The sacrifice may be as much as one's life, all that one possesses. It entails the development of one's own personality. It takes a great man with moral courage not to retaliate when attacked and not harbour resentment against the attacker.

T. KLOPPENBURG,  
Durban.

### Break the chains

**SIR**,—We want freedom in the land of our forefathers and we hate nobody but injustice. Dear brothers and sisters, sons and daughters of Africa, the days of apartheid are numbered.

Let us unite and be strong. We must unite to break the chains of racialism, colonialism and imperialism and to achieve African unity and African freedom. We are the salt of this continent of Africa.

We are fighting to unite as brothers and sisters of Africa, and not as strangers.

JAVINGURURA TJITO,  
Keetmanshoop, S.W.A.

### Swaziland's Leaders and Policies

**SIR**,—I feel it is the duty for us in Swaziland to let our fellow Africans and all those people who are interested in the welfare of Swaziland know the stand of our leaders and their policies. I am therefore writing this letter for the benefit of those who live outside Swaziland.

Sunday night, 20th May, at Msunduzi Hall, Mbabane, at a meeting of the Swaziland Progressive Party led by Dr. Ambrose P. Zwane (President) and Mr. Dumisa Dlamini (Secretary-General) a new picture appeared in our politics. It all started when the leader of the Swaziland Democratic Party, Mr. Simon S. Nxumalo, directed a storm of searching questions at Dr. Zwane. After efforts to avoid giving direct answers, Dr. Zwane declared that Swaziland will follow the pattern of Socialism as practised in Ghana, the forerunner of African independence. He added that

### PRIZE LETTER

#### I Will Join SWAPO

**SIR**,—I am a schoolboy of 18 years old. We all know that South West Africa has many people, Whites and non-Whites. There are many tribes of non-Whites in South West Africa.

The Ovambos, the largest tribe of non-Whites, are treated badly Down South in the Police zone.

There are some Ovambos in Down South who have settled, and the sons of these Ovambo people are constantly forced to go back to Ovamboland. I am one of these people who was born here in Down South where my father and mother are, and I am now forced to go to Ovamboland where there is nobody whom I know.

Schoolchildren are told to go to where they were born, to leave their parents for Ovamboland. I do not know who will protect us by keeping us, giving us food and clothing and money to buy school books and other school materials.

I am very sorry for my school friends and for myself, who are being forced to go back to Ovamboland although we are with our parents, in South West Africa our own land.

I am sure that there will be no good treatment in South West Africa unless there are new rulers.

I now call myself A.Z., the beginning and the ending, because I am going to join SWAPO.

Oh, God, have mercy upon us and send us good rulers.

A.Z., Windhoek.

### 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

Swaziland will join a United States of Africa.

Dr. Zwane stands for Socialism—Ghana pattern.

Mr. Simon Nxumalo for Democracy—Westminster fashion.

Mr. John Nquku?

DAVID D. DLAMINI,  
Manzini.

## AFRICAN LEADERS TRAVEL EAST AND WEST



LEADERS OF THREE KEY WEST AFRICAN states have recently paid visits to the capitals of the world's greatest powers. Mali's Prime Minister, MR. MODIBA KEITA, has visited Moscow for talks with Soviet leaders, and when he had completed his business there, flew to West Germany where he had talks with Chancellor Adenauer and government officials; he visited Essen, the great industrial centre for talks with Mr. Krupp, Germany's leading industrialist, who has sent 325 lorries to Mali. From Germany, Mr. Keita flew to Cairo.

MR. HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY, President of the Ivory Coast, has visited the United States for talks with President Kennedy and Britain for talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan and other leaders.

SENEGAL'S PRIME MINISTER, Mr. MAMADOU DIA, whose book "The African Nations and World Solidarity" was reviewed in Contact (31st May) has paid a visit to Moscow for discussions with Soviet leaders.

LEFT: President and Mrs. Houphouët-Boigny were met at Victoria Station, London, by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan.

BELOW: The Prime Minister of Senegal, Mr. Mamadou Dia (right), faces the Soviet President, Mr. Brezhnev, and Foreign Minister Mr. Gromyko, at the conference table in Moscow.



# BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND, SWAZILAND

## "One Man One Vote", say U.N. Committee

From "Contact" Correspondent

**DAR ES SALAAM:** The 17-member United Nations Committee on Colonialism which met in Dar es Salaam in the beginning of June for four days have reaffirmed that the people of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland were entitled to the rights of "self-determination and independence".

As is customary with colonial powers, this decision was not a unanimous one. Twelve nations supported it while four opposed. The four who opposed were Australia, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

### Matante's Memorandum

The Committee comprised Australia, Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Italy, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, the U.S.S.R., the United King-

dom, the United States of America, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Uruguay.

While taking evidence the U.N. Committee had the privilege of hearing Mr. Philip G. Matante, Vice-President of the Bechuanaland People's Party, who, in a written memorandum told the Committee that it should call on Britain to grant "immediate independence" to Bechuanaland, immediate dissolution of the constitution and the holding of immediate constitutional conferences without delay, aimed at giving independence to Bechuanaland.

The United Kingdom delegate, Mr. J. A. Sankey, opposed the Committee's resolution on the grounds that it was "an extravagant demand" and that the whole demand for immediate independence was "absurd".

The Soviet delegate, Mr. Oberenko, sharply rebuked the United Kingdom delegate with these words: "You reject these proposals as being extravagant but the peoples of these colonies will eject you tomorrow."



A VIEW of the Committee in session in Dar es Salaam. Among those who gave evidence was the Reverend MICHAEL SCOTT, seen in the background (in white robe).

## Vorster and Krushchev:

(Continued from page 6)

which the communists lack too. It is only on a basis of tolerance that one can have what is called "the open society", a society in which individual freedom and choice is valued.

Upon intolerance is built the "closed society", the society ruled by a class or race or tribe which, if it is to preserve its structure, has to remain a closed society and must perforce become a police state. — *Evening Post*, 9th June.



Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town. Printed by Lincey & Watson (Pty.) Ltd., 36 Albert Road, Woodstock, Cape Town.

## BASUTOLAND FREEDOM PARTY MANIFESTO



KHAKETLA

From "Contact" Correspondent

**MASERU:** In its recently-printed manifesto the Basutoland Freedom Party calls for the country "to fulfil (its) noble destiny of being a haven of freedom in South Africa". This is one of the aims of this Party, which was set up in 1961 after its leader, Mr. B. M. Khaketla, member associated with Education and Health in the Legislative Council, resigned from the Basutoland Congress Party.

Other aims in the manifesto are:

- "to fight relentlessly by all peaceful and constitutional means to achieve responsible government for Basutoland immediately, and independence soon thereafter."
- "to rehabilitate and encourage the free development of African culture and civilization."
- "To work with other nationalist democratic movements in Africa and elsewhere with a view to eradicating the evils of imperialism, colonialism, racialism and other forms of oppression."

The Party is led by Messrs. B. M. Khaketla, J. T. Mokotso (now studying Co-operation in Canada), O. P. Phoofo, C. T. L. Chakela and R. Lebina.

Of these Messrs. B. M. Khaketla and Mokotso are members of the Legislative Council.

## PROTECTORATE LEADERS MEET IN ACCRA

From "Contact" Correspondent

**MASERU:** The Pan African Solidarity Conference (PASCO), consisting of the Basutoland Congress Party, the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party, held its second conference in Accra, Ghana, a fortnight ago.

Most of the time of the conference was occupied with the consolidation programme, which provides for the establishment of:

- A Youth wing of the movement, embracing Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.
- A Women's movement along the same lines.
- One Trade Union group composed of the Trade Unions of the three territories.

It was also agreed that PASCO delegates should appear before the United Nations' Committee on Colonialism.

The PASCO constitution was not approved by the conference because there was not enough time to do so. It will be passed at the next PASCO meeting, in Maseru in September.

The resolution on the High Commission territories has recommended to the General Assembly of the United Nations the following:

- To reaffirm the inalienable right of the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland to self-determination and independence.

- To invite the administering authority immediately to suspend the present constitutional provisions and to proceed without further delay to the holding of elections in the three territories on the basis of direct universal adult suffrage.

### New Constitutional Conference

- To invite the United Kingdom Government to abrogate the present constitutional provisions and to convene immediately a constitutional conference with the participation of democratically elected political leaders of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland with a view to settling in accordance with their wishes the date on which each of the three territories concerned will attain its independence.

- To make a serious effort to provide economic, financial and technical assistance through competent United Nations specialized agencies in order to remedy the deplorable economic and social situation of the three territories.

- To urge the administering authority to take immediate steps to return to the indigenous inhabitants all the land taken from them whatever the form or pretext of such alienation.

- To declare solemnly that any attempt to annex Basutoland, Bechuanaland or Swaziland or to encroach upon their territorial integrity in any way will be regarded by United Nations as an act of aggression violating the United Nations Charter.

Before the decision was taken by the U.N. Committee, Mr. Matante figured prominently in the Committee's deliberations. In fact, Mr. Matante whom the Soviet delegate described as the "peoples' leader" was the key figure in the discussion.



KOLISANG

*Contact* asked the Secretary of PASCO, Mr. G. M. Kolisang, whether PASCO had done anything to heal the breach between the former President of the Swaziland Progressive Party, Mr. J. J. Nquku and his successor Dr. A. P. Zwane. Mr. Kolisang said: "The reconciliation of Mr. Nquku and Dr. Zwane is a matter for the S.P.P., and PASCO could not interfere as it is outside its jurisdiction."

## B.C.B.U. Holds Emergency Conference

From "Contact" Correspondent

**MASERU:** As a result of the confusion created by the committee that expelled Mr. Nkhereanye and seven others, which cost the B.C.B.U. R4000 in notice salaries and the cost of litigation, an emergency conference was held on 19th and 20th June.

The conference suspended the old committee which was headed by Mr. J. T. Mokotso (now studying Co-operation in Canada) and a new committee was elected. Its members are: Messrs. Ntsu Mokhehle (President), M. Raliboke (Vice-President), S. Marake, D. Maphathe, R. Motikoe, B. Khotso, G. M. Kolisang, E. Lesenyeho.

Seven members of the new committee are members of the Basutoland Congress Party, the strongest Party in the country. This new committee will act as a caretaker until 18th July when the next conference will be held.