

contact



● **Students' Pledge
for Non-Racial
Democracy**

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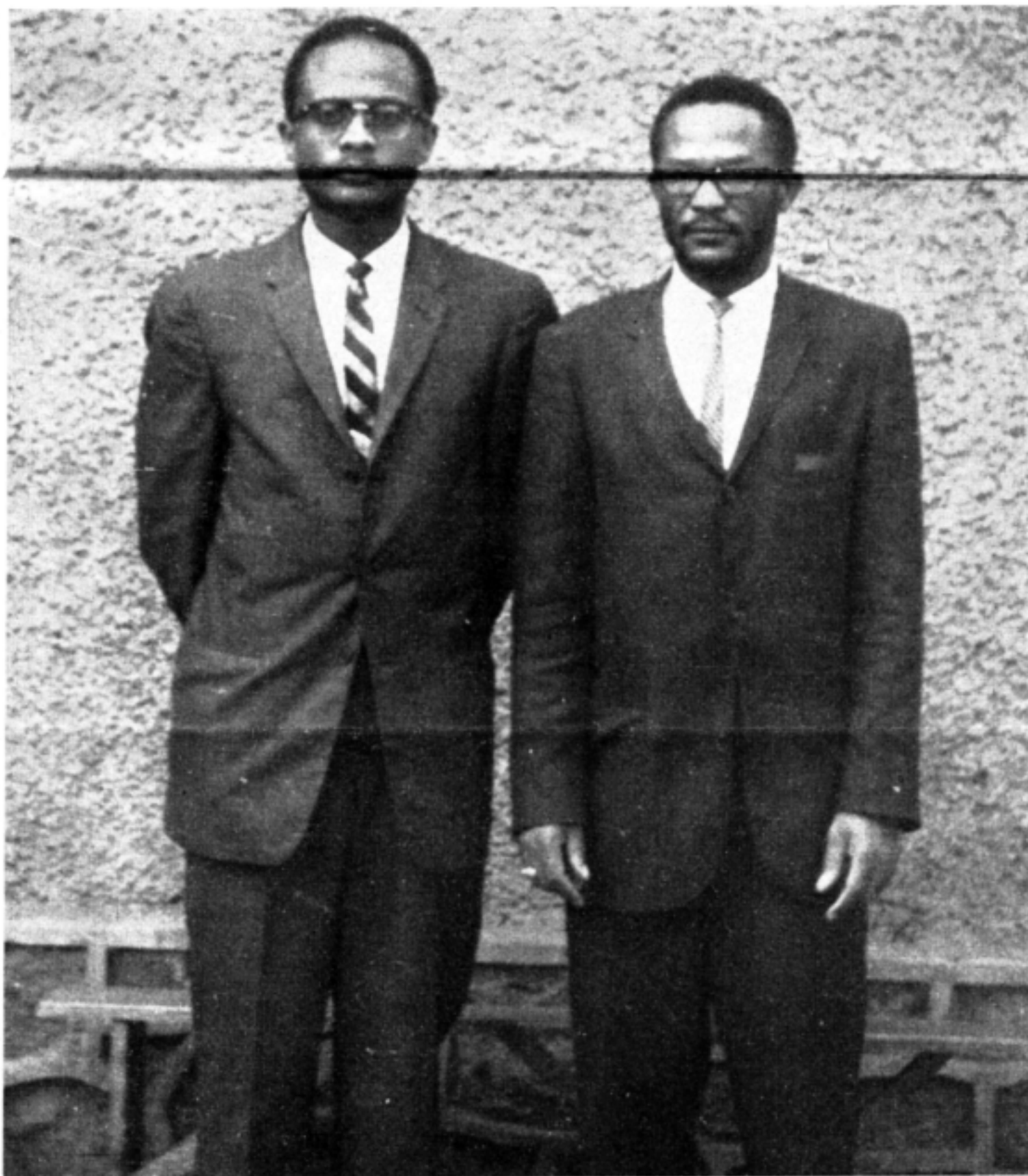
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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Angolan, South West African Freedom Movements to Collaborate



● A most significant development in the freedom movement in southern Africa is the agreement signed in Leopoldville on 17th July between Mr. Holden Roberto, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Angola (in exile), and Mr. Jacob Kuangua, Secretary General of the South West Africa People's Organization. The agreement concerns the co-ordination of efforts between the two movements in the struggle for freedom against both the Portuguese rulers of Angola and the South African rulers of South West Africa. The two countries share a common frontier for 600 miles in the north of South West Africa. Mr. Roberto heads the Angolan Nationalists in their war against the Portuguese, and Mr. Kuangua is a leader of South West Africa's largest political movement.

More details about the freedom movements in Angola and South West Africa appear on page 4.

Mr. HOLDEN ROBERTO (left) and Mr. JACOB KUHANGUA after signing the Leopoldville agreement.

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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

Freedom to the North, West, East and in the Centre

THE report on South West Africa by Mr. Victorio Carpio and Dr. Martinez de Alva who visited the territory this May on behalf of the United Nations Committee on South West Africa, states clearly that the territory should be handed over to the United Nations.

It has recommended that the mandate be revoked and that, if necessary, sanctions be applied against South Africa to bring South West Africa back under the control of the world organization, something which, the report says, is desired by the majority of the people in the territory.

If the report is adopted by the United Nations, the government of South Africa will be placed in a position where it can expect sooner or later, U.N. action and the loss of South West Africa.

The Nationalist M.P. for Omaruru, South West Africa, Mr. S. Frank, made haste on the day of the publication of the report, to tell South West Africa's Whites that they need not fear. These are his words:

"We have the assurance from the Prime Minister (Dr. H. F. Verwoerd) that the Republic will never let South West Africa go. The government realizes that if South West Africa fell, the Republic would be the next in turn." (*Cape Argus*, 1st August.)

The phrase *Achilles' heel* has often been applied to describe the peculiar position of South West Africa, but never before to our knowledge, has a leading Nationalist made so clear a statement of how much South West Africa means

in the survival of White supremacy in South Africa. If the United Nations can exert its will in the territory, the days of White domination there are ended, and South Africa will begin to feel the hot breath of freedom inspiring the oppressed and sapping the strength of the oppressors.

Although in a different category, Southern Rhodesia is also a worry to Nationalists. *Die Burger*, 1st August, discussing developments in that country, concludes that victory in the political battle must soon fall to Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Zimbabwe African People's Union and declares:

"For South Africa this presents the prospect of an unfriendly African government on the north bank of the Limpopo within the foreseeable future."

When we remember that the winning of freedom in Algeria only become possible when Morocco to the west and Tunisia to the east had become independent, we can appreciate how concerned White supremacists in South Africa must be at the thought of hostile neighbours on the north banks of the Orange and Limpopo rivers, and also in the High Commission territories (which are on the way to self-government and independence).

It is against the background of these fears that we should see the formation of movements co-ordinating political activity in southern Africa: the Pan African Solidarity Conference (which is meeting this month in Maseru) linking the African Nationalist movements in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, and which may come to

link all freedom movements in southern Africa: and the agreement to co-ordinate efforts signed on 17th July between the South West Africa People's Organization and the Provisional Government of the Republic of Angola (reports on other pages).

These developments reflect the growing determination of those in neighbouring lands who believe that freedom for them is meaningless unless it brings freedom for us, and opens the possibility, referred to by Mr. Jordan Ngubane in his speech reported in last fortnight's *Contact*, that sooner or later the people of Africa will act to topple White supremacy in the south of their continent.

Let White South Africa remember that it is more painful to be toppled by someone else than to abdicate gracefully of one's own accord. That is the choice now.

Shorts . . .

- Messages exchanged between Presidents Nkrumah of Ghana and Bourguiba of Tunisia plan closer contact between the two countries to prevent a split between Africa north and south of the Sahara. — *Jeune Afrique*, 29th July.
- The government of Sudan has promised to give all aid possible to the Angolan government in exile in its fight against the Portuguese. — *Courrier d'Afrique*, 16th July.
- The Union of the Peoples of Angola has established offices in England, Switzerland and the United States. Headquarters remain in Leopoldville. — *Courrier d'Afrique*, 16th July.
- The Portuguese authorities have refused to allow new American Methodist missionaries into Angola and Moçambique. Last year the Portuguese accused Methodist missionaries of being behind the revolt in Angola, and of trying to start a revolt in Moçambique. — *I.F.S.*
- President Sékou Touré of Guinea visits Tanganyika this month. Guinea has been instructed by the Casablanca powers to prepare an African summit meeting to heal the breach between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups and to bring about African unity. — *T.I.S.*
- The latest collection of the Congolese poet Tchicaya u Tam'si has been published in Tunis. Called *Épitomé*, it has a preface by Leopold Sedar Senghor, President of Senegal. — *Jeune Afrique*, 4th August.
- Africa in August 1962: 31 independent countries, 200,738,000 people; 4 countries approaching independence, 15,601,000 people; 8 countries under colonial rule, 13,000,000 people. One of the independent states is South Africa, 10,000,000 people under White domination.



Maseru PASCO Conference**UNITED FRONT FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA?**

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The third conference of the Pan African Solidarity Conference (PASCO) is being held in Maseru from 10th - 12th August at the Fraser's Hall. PASCO is a movement to co-ordinate the activities of the major liberatory movements in the three High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, and

is made up of the Basutoland Congress Party, the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party.

The August conference of PASCO is considered to be one of its most important, as it will decide whether other political movements in southern Africa may affiliate to it. Applications for affiliation will be considered from the following movements:

South West Africa People's Or-

ganization, South West Africa National Union, the banned African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress (both of South Africa) and the Union of the Peoples of Angola. The banned P.A.C. and A.N.C. will be represented by observers.

If these bodies come together, they would constitute the nucleus of a southern region of the All African Peoples' Congress.

Programme

The programme of the conference is divided into three main parts: Inter-territorial matters, Continental matters and International matters.

Under the first heading, the conference will discuss PASCO'S constitution, the establishment of external relations and of scholarship committees. Also up for discussion are problems in the establishment of inter-territorial Women's, Youth and Labour organizations.

Under the second heading, the conference will deal with resolutions of the All Africa People's Conference, the report of the conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa, the report on the Winneba (Freedom Fighter's) conference held in Ghana in June this year.

Under International matters, reports on the United Nations Organization will be given by Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle for Basutoland, Mr. P. Matante for Bechuanaland and Mr. J. J. Nquku for Swaziland.

Delegation to U.N.

At this conference a decision will be taken about who is to lead the next delegation to UNO for the September session of the world organization.

TWO BASUTOLAND PARTIES UNITE

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: After many months of negotiation, two Basutoland political movements, the Marema Tlou Party and the Basutoland Freedom Party, have united to form one body.

The agreement was reached after meetings of the executives of the two groups and of the Basutoland National Party which has not yet decided whether to join the other two in union and form one major conservative bloc.

A statement issued on the signing of the agreement explains:

"Agreement has been reached by all three Parties concerning the unification. However, there remained one or two minor items on which the leaders of the National Party wished to hold further consultation with its followers, and it was decided by mutual consent that the other two Parties should in the meantime go ahead with unity."

The statement suggests that the

policies of the new Party will differ from those of the former B.F.P. and Marema Tlou Party:

"To attain economic self-sufficiency," it declares, "we shall have to revise completely our whole approach to agriculture, land tenure, commerce, industry, education and all other facets of our national existence."

The basic principles of the new group are Unity, Freedom and Prosperity, and it is planned to hold a conference in December this year to decide on a name for the new Party and to work out its programme.

The agreement was signed on 28th July by Chief S. S. Matete for the Marema Tlou Party, and Mr. C. M. L. Chakela for the Basutoland Freedom Party.

The Leader of the Freedom Party is at present in Germany where he has joined the Paramount Chief Moshoeshe II who is negotiating with the West German government for aid to Basutoland.

trickiest borderline case in this instance was the South African government, for whom the Basuto nation, hosts at their monarch's wedding, do not exactly feel affection. The invitation went, however, and the Verwoerd government's representative will be one of the least, and least popular, of its Ministers, Mr. Jan Johnathan Serfontein, Minister of Social Welfare.

Some feel that the attendance of a Nationalist cabinet minister is an unfortunate diplomatic necessity, others call it a scandal. Mr. Serfontein, who is 64, is the leader of the Nationalist Party in the Orange Free State, where the Basuto's African neighbours are held in bondage in a way that makes the name Free State such a misuse of words as to make the angels weep.

26TH JUNE 1962 PASSED off quietly in most parts of South Africa, only Durban commemorating the Congress Alliance's Freedom Day on any scale. The least likely major city to celebrate this Gold Mine strike and Defiance Campaign anniversary was Bloemfontein. Yet cars were seen driving up and down the location streets, containing White men holding ill-concealed rifles held at window level, according to my informant, who heard this from witnesses. Antagonistic anti-African attitudes are not Mr. Serfontein's Free State's worst offence, however. Even worse is the pitiful condition of the African farm labourers — ignorant, under-nourished and servile — in South Africa's most baas-ridden province.

STARVATION IN TRANSVAAL

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Starvation and malnutrition are on the rise in Johannesburg and all over the Transvaal, particularly in the northern part of the province. Members of the Red Cross have investigated the district of Potgietersrust and have found many children dying of hunger.

Many children suffering from kwashiorkor are now being treated at Baragwanath Hospital. The senior doctor at Baragwanath said that about 100 children died every year from kwashiorkor. He said that one of the main causes of this disease is poverty. It costs the taxpayer about R4 per day to treat a child in the hospital for kwashiorkor. For this sum, the doctor said, eighty children could be given skimmed milk each day and thus kept out of hospital.

At Potgietersrust the same thing is happening. A member of the Red Cross who had toured the district for ten days told me that there had been several deaths from malnutrition at the Groot Hoek mission hospital of the Dutch Reformed Church. He also said that about 1,000 African children in the area served by the hospital needed supplementary feeding.

Because of this widespread suffering, 43,000 African workers in Johannesburg have written an open letter to their White colleagues asking for higher wages so that they can pay rents and transport fares, clothe their children adequately, send them to school, and give them enough to eat. This is what the Johannesburg African workers say: We don't hate White workers and we don't want to take their jobs away; we just want enough money to buy food for our children.

pimps haunting the public lounge, but I was not accosted, when drinking a brandy there on a recent visit. The atmosphere in the inner lounge and Horseshoe Bar is friendly and convivial, though most parties are Black or White and less frequently mixed.

MR. MOSES TLEBERE, clerk to the Legislative Council, typifies one aspect of the South African-Basutoland contrast. In South Africa where, in better times, he took his degrees, Mr. Tlebere might be selling "soft goods" or insurance or running a taxi—at best. Or he might be a government official, servant of a state dedicated to decreeing without their consent the lives and fates of every one of its second-class citizens, of which he would inescapably be one. In Maseru he does a responsible and important job as an almost-free man.

That he and all Basuto are only almost-free and not free is illustrated by Mr. Tlebere's own recent experience. Being due some leave, he decided to go to Cape Town and applied, as he is obliged to do, to the Manager of Native Affairs, Cape Town, for a permit to visit his friends there. The permit was refused. In Basutoland, Mr. Tlebere is a man. In the Republic of South Africa he is a Bantu, which is not the same thing at all.

By Jacob Bam

Personal Files

WHEN the Paramount Chief of the Basuto nation, Moshoeshe II, marries Miss Masentle Mojela later this month in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Maseru, a distinguished company of guests will witness the ceremony, and thousands will gather on the adjoining Pitso ground for their share in the first stage of the festivities. The road to the Pitso ground is being improved with great speed, labour gangs working all through the week, Saturday and Sunday included, to finish the road in time.

Who to ask and who to leave out is always a problem at weddings. The

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Joint SWANU-SWAPO Mass Meeting

2,000 SHOW SUPPORT FOR ARRESTED LEADERS

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: More than 2,000 people gathered in the Windhoek Old Location for a meeting called on 22nd July to discuss the demonstration and arrests of leaders two days previously (see *Contact*, 26th July).

The meeting was held under the auspices of the South West Africa National Union, and was addressed by speakers from SWANU and from the South West Africa People's Organization.

About 50 armed and plain clothes police were present at the meeting, and notes of speeches were taken.

Referring to the presence of the police, Mr. Hitjevi Vei, of SWANU, remarked: "There is no doubt that we are living in a police state. In the normal course

of life one cannot even hold a meeting without the police being present."

Referring to the fact that those who had been arrested two days before had come out of prison on bail, Mr. Vei declared: "The only reason why we came out on bail from prison is to come and to carry on with our struggle—gaol cannot stop us from our determination."

"Not as Verwoerd sees it"

Another SWANU speaker, Mr. Jafta Tjatjita, said that he "speaks of the future of South West Africa" as he sees it, and not as Dr. Verwoerd sees it.

"Government in order to create a White man's paradise," he declared, "is protecting only one section at the expense of the other section."

This would inevitably lead to bloodshed, he said, as was the case in the

French revolution and the Sharpeville and Windhoek shootings.

In conclusion he quoted Abraham Lincoln's saying: "Those who deny freedom to others do not deserve it themselves."

The SWAPO speaker, Mr. Jason Mutumbulua, was loudly applauded when he said that apartheid was preached from the pulpits of some ministers of religion: "There is even apartheid between black and white corpses. Should one have a white skin in order to inherit the kingdom of heaven?"

Demonstrators Praised

The last speaker was Mr. Werner Mamugwe of SWANU who complimented the demonstrators for their vigilance, courage and discipline. He said that in spite of the short notice the people had reacted without hesitation and the procession was completely orderly. (He was referring to the procession two days before which was a protest against removals from Old Location to the apartheid township Katutura.) Even the women, he said, did not run away from the tear gas but had stood by gallantly although their leaders had been arrested.

He ended by declaring: "Long live the liberation struggle of the people of South West Africa! Long live unity among the people!"

Kuhangua Visits Angolan Workers' Executive

From "Contact" Correspondent

LEOPOLDVILLE: Mr. Jacob Kuhangua, Secretary-General of the South West Africa People's Organization, paid a visit on 16th July to the Executive Committee of the General League of Angolan Workers.

Mr. Kuhangua expressed the wish of the workers of South West Africa for the closest possible collaboration with their Angolan brothers in the struggle for the liberation of their respective countries.

Trade Union League

Mr. Kuhangua also announced that a South West Africa Trade Union League would soon be formed in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, which would group South West African workers in Bechuanaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika.

Mr. Kuhangua stated that the League would maintain a secret workers' organization in South West Africa.

Support

Mr. Kuhangua asked for the support of the Angolan workers for the workers in his country in forming a trade union organization. The Executive of the Angolan Workers' League suggested an eventual trade union federation for South West Africa which would become a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and of the African Trade Union Confederation.

U.P.A. and M.P.L.A.

ANGOLAN LEADER EXPLAINS FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

THE Secretary-General of the Union of the Peoples of Angola, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, at the conclusion of a tour of visits to Ghana, Senegal, Dahomey, Nigeria, India and Yugoslavia, declared that Angolan nationalism suffered in foreign countries on account of its

internal divisions, unfortunately exposed to public view.

"It was for this reason," said Mr. Savimbi, "that we formed a provisional Angolan government. That was the only way to focus attention on ourselves and to neutralize Portuguese propaganda which seeks to present the M.P.L.A. (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, chief rival to the U.P.A.), as an organization inspired by the communist countries."

Attempts to Unite Movements

Mr. Savimbi confirmed that many attempts had been made to bring the U.P.A. and the M.P.L.A. together in a united front in which the two Parties would have kept their individual freedom of action, a condition which the M.P.L.A. had consistently refused to accept.

According to Mr. Savimbi, the M.P.L.A. suffers from a major handicap: that of working together with Whites, and especially with certain Portuguese opposition groups which have never declared unequivocally their position regarding the future of Portuguese territories overseas.

Co-operation with White Angolans

Mr. Savimbi said that he personally believed that the best chance for Angola lay in the collapse of the Salazar government in Portugal. Mr. Savimbi said he was convinced that it would be possible to co-operate with the Portuguese of good will living in Angola, who would not hesitate, given the opportunity, to take out Angolan nationality.

—*Jeune Afrique*, 27th July.

Exiled Workers Form Trade Union



ON 4th JUNE WORKERS IN EXILE from Portuguese Guinea created a trade union organization which will be known as the Union of Workers of Guinea with headquarters in Dakar, Senegal. The Union will be a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the African Trade Union Confederation. Photographed at the meeting at which the Union was formed are (left to right): Messrs. Carlos Baticam Ferreira (Administrative Secretary), Baldé Yaya (Deputy Secretary), Eloi Gomes (Treasurer), J. Pina Araujo (Deputy Secretary), Carlos Kassel (Technical Adviser to the League of Angolan Workers), and Bartolomeu de Carvalho (Secretary General). Mr. Kassel was commissioned by Mr. Ahmed Tlili of Tunisia, President of the African Trade Union Confederation to give technical assistance to the workers from Portuguese Guinea in the creation of their headquarters. The photograph over the table is of the late Ferhat Hached, founder of the Tunisian General Workers' Union.

THIS won't stop Freedom

"A wire fence is apparently to be built between Swaziland and the Republic. It will probably be guarded.

"Police posts and customs offices will possibly be erected at the border to put a stop to casual crossings of the frontier.

"A senior Natal police officer told 'Die Nataller' that it is planned to exercise control over all the borders of the protectorates. There is talk of the erection of border posts along the Swaziland border, but the question is still being investigated.

"It is reported from Golela (on the Swaziland border) that large supplies of fencing material have been piling up in the town. The material is valued at more than R30,000."—*"Die Burger"*, 4th Aug.

(See our leading article, page 2.)

NUSAS Congress:

Students to Fight for Non-Racial Democracy

By a Reporter

THE main decision taken at the July Congress of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was to accept that it was one of the obligations of NUSAS to play its part, as a student organization, in the democratic movement of South Africa, aimed at establishing a democratic state, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in which a non-racial educational system could develop.

The resolution on the obligations of NUSAS read that

"We do also consider it our duty to speak and act against those measures of government not necessarily concerned with education but which . . . seek to destroy the democratic right of opposition, and which by entrenching the status quo and furthering discrimination and injustice therefore make the realization and achievement of our goal of a non-racial education in a democratic South Africa more distant."

It was adopted unanimously.

This resolution summed up the general feeling of the nearly 200 delegates from the 20 institutions of higher learning affiliated to NUSAS.

Dr. Brookes

The mood of the congress was set by the opening addresses delivered by the Hon. E. H. Brookes and the President of NUSAS, Mr. Adrian Leftwich.

Dr. Brookes, in his opening address, stressed the need "to rekindle the lights of freedom and hope" in South Africa, which the government was doing its best to put out. The President of

NUSAS stressed that students must have personal commitment to the cause of freedom and must be prepared to make personal sacrifices to help achieve that end.

Resolutions

Major resolutions adopted at the congress by the 70-member Student Assembly, which represents the S.R.C.'s of the 20 affiliated centres, concerned the armed forces, the recognition of South African degrees overseas, the Afrikaans students, and segregation in student sport.

NUSAS viewed with alarm the recent defence vote of R120 million and state that it believed that individuals have the moral right to refuse "to use arms against fellow citizens in defence of apartheid". NUSAS also instructs its Executive to canvass support from eminent South Africans who are prepared to sign a document which defends the right of South Africans not to allow themselves to be used to further the protection of apartheid.

NUSAS resolved that it believed that the standards of South African degrees must inevitably fall because of, *inter alia*, the departure of many eminent academicians from South Africa, the General Law Amendment Act, the proposed press censorship and university apartheid. It asked its executive to enquire from overseas university bodies on their attitudes to the recognition of South African degrees overseas.

Sport Segregation

NUSAS instructed its Executive to do everything in its power to organize non-racial sporting events for students, and

"to press for the immediate introduction of non-racial criteria in the selection of national student sport teams which represent South Africa overseas."

Afrikaner Studentebond

NUSAS resolved that it would have no further contact or attempts at co-operation with the Afrikaner Studentebond, since it is a racialist organization which aimed at making racialism permanent. Individual centres were asked to continue to make efforts to meet Afrikaans students, but the Executive is no longer empowered to co-operate with the A.S.B.

Over 400 resolutions were taken at the Congress, and a detailed plan of continued activity by NUSAS was planned by the Student Assembly and the Commissions.

Executive

At the end of the Congress, the new executive was elected. It is composed as follows:—

President, Basil Moore; Vice-President, Jonty Driver; Vice-President for International Relations, Derek Bostok; Press and Publicity, Gavin Stewart; Director of Relief, Penny Thornhill; Director of Welfare, Maeder Osler; Director of Travel and Study Opportunity, Peter Horwitz; Director of Training College Affairs, Hassen Jooma; Director of Studies, Andrew Murray; Regional Secretary Western Cape, Libby Robb; Regional Secretary Eastern Cape, Lorna Symington; Regional Secretary Transvaal, Phil Gordon; Regional Secretary Natal, Roger Ragaven.

DRAMA CLUB KEEPS HOPE ALIVE

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: An interesting play was staged here by the newly formed Atteridgeville Drama Club on the 21st July. *Sello sa Basadi (Cry of the Women)* a non-political play, portrays life in a Pretoria municipal "Bantu location" as experienced daily by Africans, and shows how frustrated and unpleasant their lives are.

The story is about a 36-year-old mother of two sons in their early twenties and two late teen-age daughters. The younger three members of the family are still at school. The father of the family fled from his responsibilities after experiencing frustration himself. The mother has to feed, clothe and maintain the family through severe hardship. There's virtually no food and furniture in the home, and all the money from the mother's "salary" as a washer woman is spent on municipal rent arrears and water accounts (having been threatened with ejection if rent is not paid by a certain date).

Mother is against crime, but when her son brought stolen money home, the family had their first and only good meal in years!

Despite government and South African Foundation "all is well with the Bantu" preaching, this is the type of life that location Africans experience.

Mr. Bristo Mojapelo, the author-director of the play, stressed that his group is non-political and non-profit making. It wishes to promote talent amongst the African youth and make them not lose hope in the sweetness of life.

It is interesting to see how many young Africans scramble for seats at such shows.

NYASALAND SYMPOSIUM:

World Experts Discuss Economic Development of Africa

From "Contact" Correspondent

BLANTYRE: Experts from all over the world finished on 28th July a ten-day conference here on economic development in Africa.

The conference, called an "International Economic Symposium" was headed by Mr. Dunduza K. Chisiza, Parliamentary Secretary to the Nyasaland Ministry of Finance.

Discussions were constructive, educational and interesting. Here are some of the points made by the main speakers.

Education

Recommending greater emphasis on adult education, Professor P. G. H. Hopkins of Fircroft College, said that African Nationalist fervour could be used for good results in improving education.

"The African contribution to developments will be effort rather than cash," he said.

Professor Crichton, of the University College of Sierra Leone, said: "A poor country often has to decide between adult education and a university. Such a country should support adult educa-

tion rather than an expensive university."

A Nyasaland teacher who recently returned from Cambridge University, Mr. David Rubadiri, spoke of the need to make universities in Africa more suited to African conditions.

Cambridge's Professor L. Kaldor said that literacy campaigns should receive high priority, but other speakers on this subject said that literacy should be regarded only as a means to an end. They consider that technical education might be more important.

One Party System

Dr. V. K. Rao of India, said that in a newly emergent state there was always tremendous initial enthusiasm. The people originally tended to blame all economic ills on foreign rule, but eventually elected governments face more criticism than the old governments.

"People expect more from their own leaders than from foreign rulers," he said.

Dr. Kimble of the University of East Africa, said that while strong, tough governments were needed in new African states, the principles of democracy

should be kept. A one-party system leader should surround himself with people who said freely what they thought, instead of stooges who only said what the leader wanted to hear.

Nyasaland's Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, Mr. Orton Chirwa, said that the people of his country wanted one Party and one leader because they were in a sense at war and had to be led by one general.

"This fight does not end with independence," he said. "That is when you get more problems."

An emerging state needs a symbol, just as other nations of the world do. Nyasaland's symbol was its Party and its leader. "This," he said, "is our greatest asset. It would not be right to advocate an opposition for opposition's sake."

Industrialization

Professor Ben Lewis of Oberlin College, U.S.A., said that a developing country should not industrialize just because other countries were doing so.

He also remarked that an underdeveloped country should not regret the

profit made by foreign investors. "This profit is the price you have to pay for something you want."

Kenya's Dr. J. G. Kiano said that foreign investment in Africa should benefit the ordinary man and not leave him as he was before, as had happened in some countries.

Africanization

Governments of underdeveloped countries should insist that large foreign firms should train their African staff in management, said Dr. Kiano.

Nyasaland's Minister of Works and Transport, Mr. Colin Cameron, said that small entrepreneurs were essential to implement government policy. "Entrepreneurs do not grow on trees," he said. "They should be sought out and trained."

Dr. Kaldor of Cambridge condemned Africanization for its own sake. "The principle of equal pay for equal work must be applied but Africanization must be pursued with care, and not too fast. A country's future could be jeopardized by replacing efficient men with inefficient men."

Dr. Kaldor said that Nyasaland could

(Continued on page 8, col. 4)

Tunisia's Freedom Helped Algeria to Victory

● Two years after the start of the Algerian war of independence, neighbouring Tunisia became independent after fighting its own war against the French colonizers. As soon as it achieved freedom, Tunisia did all in its power to help Algeria to defeat the French, and contributed greatly to the final victory of the Algerian nationalists.

In this article a Tunisian leader discusses his country's achievement of freedom and what it plans for the future.

TUNISIA was the first African territory to start a struggle for national independence. In January 1952 when we committed ourselves to the armed fight against French colonialism, our means were restricted and our support from outside was virtually nil. But we possessed one effective source of strength: the Neo-Destour, or New Party, which had been formed in 1934.

The independence which Tunisia enjoys today is the achievement of the Neo-Destour. Many elements of our struggle have found their counterparts in Algeria. Both the Neo-Destour and the F.L.N. were subject to oppression, deportations, and killings, which seriously depleted their ranks. We had our fighters for a French Tunisia: these formed the "Red Hand", which is repeated today in Algeria in the form of the O.A.S. Our struggle was bloody and many patriots lost their lives, but Tunisia's independence was finally proclaimed on 20th March, 1956.

Help for Algeria

It is said sometimes that we should have refused this independence and joined forces with Algeria which was still in arms and fighting. We felt, however, that an independent Tunisia could better assist Algeria in her struggle to throw off French colonialism. And, indeed, once no longer at war with France, we were able to put more resources at the disposal of our Algerian brothers.

The years after 1956 were devoted to what can be called the realization of our independence, to giving a form to our nationhood and to bringing to our people the benefits, responsibilities, and meaning of the new liberty. We have been guided in this by a twofold dedication: on the one hand, to our

future, and, on the other, to those thousands of people, both living and dead who took a stand against the oppression by the French. The Algerian war at our border has impeded our progress and has absorbed much of our energies, albeit these were gladly volunteered.

Party Cadres

A helpful feature of this period has been the political maturity of the Neo-Destour cadres, who were educated in the independence movement. In many cases where the colonists have left a country they had ruled, a vacuum has been left behind and all those functions depending upon authority and administration have come to a halt. Chaos has

By
AHMED CHTOUROU,
Foreign Secretary of
Tunisia's Neo-Destour
Party.

often been the result. In our case, the educated cadres filled the vacuum and activities of the state went on uninterrupted.

Two Handicaps

Our inheritance from colonialism left us two severe handicaps. One was the ability of France to pressurize the country, especially through financial means. To avoid this pressure and to eliminate the need to follow France each time she depreciated her franc, we reorganized our entire banking structure. We formed our own monetary system and established exclusively Tunisian credit organizations, specialized banks, agricultural banks, and a bank for medium and short-term credits. This new banking system has been an indispensable part of our progress.



1956: Mr. Habib Bourguiba (right), first Prime Minister of the newly independent state of Tunisia and now President, inspects the army. He is leader of the Neo-Destour Party.

A second inherited handicap was our severe economic underdevelopment. This was characterized by extreme inequality in the distribution of wealth; the working classes were impoverished by the high profits taken by the exploiting class. Underdevelopment is seen in the human beings themselves and in their tremendous social as well as material needs.

Develop Our Own Potentialities

It is in this area that the coming phase of our independence will concentrate its efforts. Before turning abroad for help, we must develop our own potentialities. The masses must become aware of these potentialities, and we must help the people to throw off their superstitions and prejudices and all the complexes which have been impressed upon them by colonialism and by the false interpretation of religious dictums. In our struggle against underdevelopment, we must establish new structural patterns, especially in the social area.

Economic planning is both effective and necessary in the construction of our new society. This has called for basic research and extensive preparatory work. Furthermore, we have had to wait until our independence was fully established and all traces of colonialism wiped out. But in February 1962 we were able to

launch our ten-year programme of economic development.

The primary goal of our plans is to raise the standard of living and to secure a better life for the majority of Tunisians. Recent studies show that more than 60 per cent of our working population earns about R75.00 per year and that 31 per cent earns only about R30.00. The ten-year plan encompasses the establishment of Neo-Destour socialism, whose primary intent is to raise the living standard and achieve a just (I would not say "equal") distribution of wealth.

No Force

To realize our socialist system, we want to save money; we want the financially stronger circles to avoid spending large sums on luxury articles; and we want these wealthy to aid in the country's industrialization and the creation of a new Tunisian society. We have no intention of employing force or coercive measures to accomplish these ends, but this does not mean that those people with large financial assets should be to use them exactly as they wish.

We believe that property must fulfil a social function and we want all property owners to be conscious of this fact and to allow others to benefit from the correct functioning of property.

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International Feature Service.

JUST BECAUSE I'M BLACK by Peter Motsoane

*A TIME, there was, I remember
When, to think I was black of colour,
A symbol of selfdom and cheap labour,
Through which life's no sweet but sour and all painful,
And ALL my best days to be in sorrowful
Plight and worry, I shuddered.
All just because I'm black.*

*AS I GREW up, I got to know my country.
I admired the Asiatics and the Coloureds
Who seemed a little better off than myself
For they enjoyed certain comforts and wealth.
I saw the Whites live in riches and comfort
Their lives sparkling with gaiety and leisure
And not regulated by a signature;
All just because they're NOT black.*

*BEING A LITTLE light complexioned, I tried for Coloured
Hoping for leisure and gaiety and comfort!
My name changed, my hair tortured,
My African people I avoided and scorned.
"Kaffirs!" I called my mother and father
All love and respect for them just dead.
Then in my false nationhood, I found less peace
As still oppressed were Coloureds and Asiatics
Although some, who think superior, still scorn my folks
All just because we're black.*

*I SEARCHED my heart and said:
"Why should I live in a world where
A stranger and unhappy I'll always be,*

*Than be myself in my own Africa, where
A patriot and a human being I must always be?
Is Africa not my Eret Israel? Where,
If I strive for freedom, the world my name will know?
Why? All just because I'm black?"*

*I SAW THE LIGHT, and back to my people I came
To take my place among their ranks;
To strive for the wellbeing of my folks,
To build a society in which ALL men of ALL colours,
Shall know comfort and harmony and love and peace;
Where all my people shall each have great pride
In the colour of his or her skin
Which, today, a symbol of thralldom,
Soon MUST be a symbol of freedom.
Not just because we're black!*

*WHO SAID WE ever had apologized
For being black? To be despised!
To be humiliated! And scorned and tortured!
All just because we're black?
Instead of wishing I were Coloured
Or Asiatic or White, which I never can be!
Where my destiny won't be shaped by a signature;
And life'll be all gaiety and leisure;
Where a stranger and unhappy I'll always be.
I choose the struggle of my people!
To strive for freedom, dignity, love and Christ!
Not just because I'm black!*

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

Apartheid is theft

SIR.—Most people associate theft with the taking of tangible commodities or money from a person, company or nation without his or their knowledge. But very few consider that taking land from a nation or nations is also thieving. Taking land or territory from a nation or nations against their free will, by resorting to force and intimidation, such as military strength and imprisonment is blatant stealing.

Here in South Africa, the Afrikaner nation has stolen land and territory from the indigenous people of this country and have shamelessly kept it by using military strength and imprisonment on those who have revolted against this kind of thieving here in South Africa. Apartheid has been adopted by them, so that their theft of South Africa can be permanently theirs.

E. P. L. KIM SING,
Kimberley.

Continental apartheid?

SIR, Mr. L. T. C. Nyirongo (*Contact*, 26th July), seems to be advocating continental apartheid—Africa for the Blacks and Europe for the Whites. This is reactionary thinking of the worst kind, for it is racism pure and simple. There are White Africans just as there are Black Europeans and Americans. Certainly the three million Whites in this country should be regarded as White Africans, not as foreigners.

The races of the world must learn to live together, and where providence has placed different races together to form one nation, as in South Africa, they must co-operate with each other in the common cause of building up a common fatherland. This, clearly, is the will of God, otherwise He would not have brought the various races together in

PRIZE LETTER

WHAT THE WHITES MUST DO

SIR.—The White settler of South Africa has so oppressed us and sapped us that whatever he does has become irksome, annoying and troublesome. Our patience has turned to impatience, our love for the imperialist has turned to apathy. But for his own sake he has to pursue a path and has to decide whether:

- to adapt himself to conditions of repentance for his treatment of his dark-skinned brother to whom he has refused rights for three centuries,
- to pack his bag and flee the country.

I have to say in brief that we are not prepared to tolerate any bluff of colour or race discrimination.

If the imperialist is in Africa to stay, then he must abandon apartheid, baasskap, exploitation and oppression. The White man must learn to understand our aspirations. For we resent, abhor and deplore racial discrimination in any form.

The imperialist must refrain from his regularly reiterated propaganda that we South African Blacks are not yet mature and ready for self-government. We were mature some decades ago and we are mature for true democracy.

A. MZIYABO NKOSI,
Mbabane, Swaziland.

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

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- Write on any subject you like but
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this country and made them so interdependent. But in many parts of Africa, and more especially in South Africa, the White man, with his thousand or more years of Christian civilization behind him, has become the developer, organizer and leader, and millions of Black Africans have benefited accordingly. Let prejudice or jealousy never allow Black Africans to lose sight of this salient fact. We must proceed cautiously, relying on a conservative policy of stability and ordered government in spite of the pressure for liberal experimentation. It is much better to be over-cautious and conservative than to risk Congo chaos by the precipitate introduction of political liberalism.

V. G. DAVIES,
"Vivlea", Willesden Road,
Camps Bay.

I support Mr. Khaketla

SIR.—Having read the views of the leaders of the four Basutoland Parties in *Contact*, 12th July, one is forced to ask himself the question: Is independence for Basutoland realistic?

As Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle says, it is the desire of every African to see Basutoland get its independence immediately. But, one should ask the meaning of the word "independence". Webster's Dictionary defines "independence" this way: "... freedom from dependence, exemption from reliance on or control by others; ... direction of one's own affairs without interference".

Could Basutoland fit this definition? Since geographically Basutoland is surrounded by the Republic, it will be very difficult for it to stand alone. Before a country can be truly independent it must be able to fight its enemies on its own, as well as run its own railways and harbours, posts and telegraphs, and industries.

The best thing now is for Basutoland to have self-government under British protection until Basutoland has grown up from boyhood and is able to fight its enemies.

I therefore support the views of Mr. B. M. Khaketla and I warn the Basuto leaders not to use the independence cry as a way of getting votes, since the rank and file of the people are not thinking of the difficulties that might follow independence.

E. G. SIHELE,
Thaba Nchu, O.F.S.

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Schoolboy forced away from home

SIR.—I am a schoolboy and the government offices at Vryburg told me last week that I am not entitled to stay at Vryburg as I have attended school for three years in Stilfontein so I must go back there.

There are some boys and girls of Vryburg who have settled down south, and they are continually forced to go back to where they come from. I am one of these people who was born in Vryburg where my father and mother are, and I am forced to go back to Stilfontein where there is nobody whom I know.

Schoolchildren are told to go where they were born, to leave their parents for other territories. 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 where they came from,

"SPURS TO DRIVE PEOPLE"

SIR.—Although our being tongued by our oppressors and colonial powers hinders our progress towards freedom, on the other hand it is also an advantage to us because our oppressors never know which way our thoughts are inclined.

With papers like "Contact" as spurs to drive people to political maturity, right and good neighbourliness disregarding colour or creed, I feel that justice will eat up injustice until one day injustice falls dramatically dead.

Remember Nero's tyranny and downfall! Surely history repeats itself.

TLALA MOHAPI,
Rustenburg.

although we are with our parents in South Africa our own land.

I am sure there will be no good treatment in South Africa unless there are new rules. I now call myself a child who has got no parents. O God have mercy on us Africans and send us good luck.

J. S.,
Stilfontein.

FREEDOM MUST COME IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

SIR.—We want independence this year for we have been under the apartheid government for long years and we do not like it. We are tired of seeing government by the Republic of South Africa in South West Africa and we would like to see the United Nations expel it.

The time has passed for the South African government to deal with the indigenous people of South West Africa, for who if any are the Africans who support the policy of apartheid?

We say to the U.N., Do not let this year go past without giving us freedom.

Z. P.,
Oranjemund, S.W.A.

SIR.—The South West Africa People's Organization denounces slavery in all its forms, particularly as it exists in the form of South West Africa's contract labour system.

The South African administration must understand that Africans will not be misled by empty promises, like the promises Chief Native Commissioner Blignaut makes in Ovamboland about how he will raise wages and build up our country according to the desires of its peoples.

How long will Africans carry the heavy bags of slavery on their shoulders? How long will we work hard for only 17½ cents per day? How long will we be treated like animals—are we not men made by God?

My brothers, let us fight for our unity and freedom. Our SWAPO will continue to say the truth, and to inform and organize us to work together as brother and sister for freedom from White oppression.

South West Africa!

J. M.,
Oranjemund, S.W.A.

SNAP THE CHAINS OF OPPRESSION

SIR.—How are we in this southern corner of the continent to spark a light for our people, especially the educated group? Are we still mentally enslaved by the professions of quasi-democracy which we are told of? Comparatively speaking, we, in South Africa who oppose the government are greater in number than the few whom Castro led, but he paved the way through thick and thin with doctors, lecturers and other educated people behind him.

How many of our educated people are prepared to follow the example of the Cubans, for the idea of African nationalism is rocking the whole continent from all cardinal points?

Do our educated people choose to be government stooges as some are already (something not expected from an enlightened person)? Instead of selling the nation out I would suggest that such people remain neutral so as not to be obstacles in the way of awakening the giant which is snapping the chains of oppression apart and

girding itself for a final onslaught on the last bastion of White domination.

Now, our fellow Africans, it is in unity that rests our salvation. Unity will win us all the luxurious and virtuous things we wish to have. Let us remember that it is through the national consciousness and unity of a people that an ideal state can be achieved in which those captive aspirations and the liberties which the African yearns for will sparkle like a gem in the Africa we envisage

IZWE LETHU,
Rustenburg.

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rates

New Constitution for Bechuanaland

B.P.P. PLANS "GREAT MARCH" ON LOBATSIS

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: A "great march" on Lobatsi by demonstrators demanding suspension of the Legislative Council and the scrapping of the present Bechuanaland Constitution is being planned for 20th August by the Bechuanaland People's Party, biggest political Party in the protectorate.

It will be a seven-mile march from Ootsi where demonstrators from all parts of the protectorate will be camping for several days before the pro-

cession to Lobatsi. This is believed to be the first and biggest mass demonstration of its kind in the territory.

It coincides with the announcement in the Legislative Council last week by the Resident Commissioner, Mr. Peter Fawcus, that instead of the original plan for a constitutional review in 1968 such a review would take place next year—a switch attributed in some circles to "the wind of change".

The B.P.P., however, demands the calling of a constitutional conference of all Parties to work out a completely new constitution for Bechuanaland. For

this the Party is also exerting pressure through the United Nations Committee on Colonialism, before which Mr. P. G. Matante, the Party's Vice-President, is due to appear again next month.

Addressing a public meeting in Francistown last Sunday Mr. Matante noted that although the Administration might pretend otherwise, the recent Legco debate on racial discrimination in the protectorate was an obvious reaction to the petition he had presented to the U.N.O. committee in April this year.

This had been the first Legco session since the U.N. committee had turned the focus of world opinion on the British protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. In spite of themselves, the Administration had realized that U.N.O. had "teeth" after all, Mr. Matante said.

Select Committee

The debate in the Legislative Council was on a government motion, unanimously approved, that a Select Committee be appointed

(a) To examine the laws of the Bechuanaland Protectorate with a view to determining which of the laws are racially discriminatory;

(b) to make recommendations as to whether such laws should be amended or repealed;

(c) to examine all practices which distinguish between persons according to race, and

(d) to consider whether all schools maintained from public funds should (be) open to children of all races subject to certain conditions.



Mr. Matante addressing the Francistown meeting.

Basutoland Constitutional Commission

MOKHEHLE RETURNS AFTER WALK-OUT

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: At the first full meeting of the Basutoland Constitutional Commission on 1st August, a clash occurred between a repre-

sentative of the Basutoland Congress Party and the chairman, resulting in a walk-out by the B.C.P. The representatives of the B.C.P. returned later to the discussions when both points at issue had been decided in their favour.

What happened was that a meeting of the Commission was called for the 25th May. When members gathered it was found that there was no quorum. Instead of adjourning proceedings the chairman, Colonel Walter Stanford (one-time Liberal Party African representative in the South African Parliament, and now a member of the Progressive Party), continued the meeting and minutes of this meeting were duplicated and distributed to members of the Commission. They are entitled "Minutes of an informal meeting . . ."

One of the points at issue concerned the appointment of additional advisers. In the minutes occurred the words: "The Commission considered the names of experts who could be asked to advise . . . in addition to Prof. Cowen".

Mokhehle Returns

In a strongly worded statement protesting against this procedure, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the B.C.P., who led the walk-out, said of the decision to invite other experts that it "completely undermined the decision of the Commission to use Prof. Cowen as our adviser . . ."

Later when an undertaking was given that the minutes of the informal meeting would be deleted from the record and that the proceedings would be totally deleted, Mr. Mokhehle led his delegation back.

Memoranda

The other point was a difference of opinion on how the 1,140 memoranda submitted by approximately 6,580 people should be handled. In view of the great mass of material, the informal meeting had decided that Mr. J. T. Mohapeloa and a secretariat should go through all memoranda carefully and place before the Commission an analysis. This was done, but out of 1,140 memoranda only 24 were placed by the chairman before the Commission.

Mr. Mokhehle and the B.C.P. felt that the secretariat and Mr. Mohapeloa had taken too much upon themselves; that it was the duty of the Commission to go through the memoranda and that memoranda might only be discarded by a decision of the Commission. This point, too, has now been conceded, and for the moment the B.C.P. is back in the Commission.

As analysed by Mr. Mohapeloa, the memoranda show a tremendous majority in favour of simple democratic solutions under British protection. For instance, 6,823 persons want the Paramount Chief to be a Head of State, as in England (i.e., a Constitutional Monarch without executive power) while only 28 wish him to retain his present powers.

DEPORTED SWAPO LEADER



MR. ERASTUS MBUMBA, Secretary of the Luderitz branch of the South West Africa People's Organization, who was deported to Ovambo-land on 12th July (see "Contact", 26th July).

NYASALAND:

(Continued from page 5)

pay another million and a half pounds in tax. He suggested a land tax based on potential production. "The taxation of agriculture has a critical role to play in the acceleration of economic development," he said. But he warned that higher tax should be imposed gradually, not suddenly.

He was supported in this view by Dr. D. Walker of Ireland who suggested that developing countries should make use of a simple graduated tax like that imposed in Uganda for the last five years.

Prestige

Most of the delegates, and the foreign newsmen and observers present, seemed to agree that the conference was a great success. Many visitors from other countries were impressed at the seriousness with which Nyasaland was considering the tasks which lay before it. It was the first time that so many views on economic development in Africa had been heard from such a variety of expert economists. The conference will undoubtedly do much to increase the attention paid to Nyasaland in academic and financial circles in Europe and America.

Another effect of the conference has been to raise the prestige outside of Central Africa of the conference organizer, Mr. Chisiza, who will undoubtedly be one of the key men in Nyasaland's future.

JAZZ! JAZZ!

Chris McGregor's Quartet
Tony Schilder's Trio
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