

contact



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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

Round Three in Katanga

DEFEAT OF TSHOMBE LIKELY SOON

By RUSSELL WARREN HOWE
(A Forum Service Article)

THE slow political and diplomatic build-up to a fresh testing time in Katanga seems to be nearing its climax. It is more than likely that the sorely-trying U.N. forces in the Congo will face once more the multi-national mercenaries and well-armed indigenous levies of the rebel leader, Moïse Tshombe.

The U.N. forces are better and almost as numerous as the rebel troops. But the international organization's dollar-a-day soldiers have the disadvantage of being pawns in international politics, restricted by special battle rules and the sudden whims of diplomacy. The Katangese have the natural advantage of defending fortified positions.

With two years of *de facto* separate nationhood behind the Moïse Tshombe régime, a number of questions still remain in the minds of many people as to the nature of Katangese "secessionism".

Tribalism

Katangese secession is as genuine as many other Congolese tribal movements. Its historic pretext is the old Mulanda copper-mining kingdom, one of Central Africa's first stable medieval nations, and its supporters today belong to the Balunda, a tribe having Rhodesian and Angolan ramifications. Tshombe is a merchant's son who was not successful at business but his fiery Minister of Interior, Godefroid Munongo, belongs to the royal clan.

Genuine local tribalism has been exploited by the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, the now predominantly British-owned mining company, in a bid to link Katanga with a possible "White bastion" in the Rhodesias. Secession has no support outside South Katanga (the richest mining part of the province) and is notably opposed by the province's



TSHOMBE

largest tribe, the Baluba, which holds the northern half of the territory and provides most of the medium and senior grade civil servants and mining cadres.

Tshombe's Conakat Party has a slight majority of seats in the local legislature, largely through electoral fraud, countenanced or abetted by the Belgians in the 1960 elections.

Myths and Realities

The belief that the Tshombe régime is pro-Western is mythical. Tshombe hates Belgians, has requested recognition from Moscow, sent a fund-seeking delegation to Prague, and last year proposed an alliance against Leopoldville to the Marxist leader Antoine Gizenga. Conakat legislators in the central parliament are allied to the most radical groups in the Opposition. Tshombe, however, is not especially pro-Left. He is fairly astute, a completely unscrupulous "operator" who would like to play West against East and live off their tensions.

Another myth is of a peaceful well-ordered Katanga. Elisabethville is relatively well-organized, though not as restored to normalcy as Leopoldville.

Outside the rebel capital, there is chaos. No other province has been so wracked with warfare and disorder since Congolese independence. Even without intervention from "outside", civil war has been raging in Katanga for the past two years.

Tshombe's troops have killed an estimated 90,000 Baluba in a gory, genocidal campaign of tribal repression, and have driven 60,000 more Baluba from the Elisabethville area into refugee camps in Kasai. This was a tribal-political move to get "Baluba" jobs for Balunda and others.

Tshombe-Adoula Differences

In Leopoldville Tshombe, who is still the legal provincial president of Katanga, did put forward concrete proposals for reaching a *modus vivendi* with his Prime Minister. The South Katanga rebel leader has asked that all Katanga province, including the half which is loyal to, and more or less administered by, the central government, be given what amounts to the status of a tax-paying dominion.

Tshombe says he wants independent control of the forces of law and order, administration, tax-raising machinery (and the right to decide what share should go to the central treasury) and technical assistance. Tshombe has accepted, in discussion, the principle of a single currency for the whole country; but he wants to levy taxes and give Leopoldville a share, not vice versa. He wants no federal administrative organs in Katanga.

Provincial powers, Adoula says, would be limited to local administration of provincial police, school education, tribal courts, real estate — including mining rights, a concession to Tshombe — and some other subjects. Adoula would like to see his own forces, those of the U.N. and Tshombe's gendarmerie combine to restore order in Katanga.

Despite detailed negotiations, and frequent approaches to agreement in principles and aims, almost no one trusts Tshombe, who is seen as a man
(Continued on page 8)



Mr. ROBERT GARDINER of Ghana (on steps), U.N. representative in the Congo. At the foot of the steps, greeting colleagues, is Mr. CYRILLE ADOULA, the Congolese Premier.

contact

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COMMENT

REMOVAL FROM THE WESTERN CAPE?

SPEAKING in East London on 29th August, the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, made his expected statement on the question of the removal of Africans from the western Cape.

The idea of such a removal has been discussed and propagated in the Cape Town Nationalist daily, *Die Burger*, with all the fervour of a crusade, inspired, there is no doubt, by purely ideological considerations. The argument runs thus: *apartheid means total separation between Black and White—the area with proportionately the fewest Blacks is the western Cape which will consequently be the area where it is easiest to achieve apartheid—if the western Cape is not cleared of Africans it will mean that apartheid cannot be achieved anywhere in South Africa—therefore Africans must be removed from the western Cape to show that it is possible to achieve apartheid.*

Practical men of affairs in the region are deeply disturbed by the implications of the carrying out of such an ideological scheme with no respect being paid to the disruption which would be caused in the delicate balance of the region's economy. Organized commerce, industry, and the farmers (predominantly Nationalist) of the intensively cultivated Boland have expressed the gravest misgivings as to the scheme's feasibility.

What then does Dr. Verwoerd have to say about it? In his East London speech he hardly said anything at all, his phrases were clouded in so fine a tissue of evasion.

He said, "The government is determined to proceed with the removal of the (Africans) from the western Cape, but would do so gradually and judiciously. The tempo would be adjusted so as to cause the minimum disruption in the area."

He went on to declare that, "In ten years we will look back and say that what was done then was well and properly done" and announced that he had appointed two committees, one ministerial, the other inter-departmental, to study the matter, and would appoint a third to represent "all the different groups whose interests are affected in the western Cape". This one would "work with the government to carry out the goal in the most sensible way".

These statements of Dr. Verwoerd indicate that he and the government are in no haste to carry out the scheme, but it will clearly be kept a live issue by Cape ideologists, and Verwoerd has said that he agrees with the ultimate goal even if he has hedged on the practical difficulties.

THE IDEA OF THE EISELEN LINE has been current since a few years after the Nationalists took office: it is a line drawn between somewhere near Port Elizabeth and somewhere near Upington: west of this line there should be no Africans—the territory is the "natural home of the Whites and Coloureds". But the number of Africans in the region has been increasing steadily as the region has become more industrialized: in spite of the enforcement of the most stringent influx control regulations, the African population of Cape Town, for example, has increased since the last census. It is probably this steady and seeming relentless increase which has given Nationalist ideologists the shock of realizing that the achievement of apartheid is growing more

remote with every day that passes and every new factory that opens. The agitation for removal from an area where apartheid should be possible of achievement could give the government the excuse it needs for the introduction of the so-called "Bantu in European Areas" legislation, legislation which would be needed before any large-scale removals from any of the urban areas could be affected. This legislation, which has already been drafted and shown to certain municipal councils, removes any right any African has to reside in any area outside the reserves.

This could be seen as a further stage in the creation of a purely migratory labour force in the so-called White areas, the great bulk of the African population being "at home" in the reserves. The government will clearly insist on this system for the Orange River project, a great part of which lies west of the Eiselen line.

If we ask why the Nationalists, and particularly those in the Cape who are so concerned to create what they like to call a "Bantu-free area", we can perhaps find a further reason to those which have already been suggested: the desire on their part to create "a defensible part of the country", safe from outside attack, and from inside revolt. The idea of the "defensible part" was raised by *Die Burger* in March this year, some months before that newspaper began its campaign for the removal of Africans to east of the Eiselen line. It is difficult not to see some connection between the two ideas.

GOVT. TO TAKE OVER INDIAN EDUCATION?

A HINT has been dropped at the Nationalist Party Congress in Pietermaritzburg that the government may take over Hospital Services and Indian Education from the Natal Provincial Administration, in order to relieve the Province of some of the financial burden it now carries.

The recent dismissal of Dr. Costa Gazidis, a medical officer on the staff of King Edward Hospital, on the recommendation of the Special Branch, makes one wonder if the Natal Provincial Administration has the strength of mind to resist any pressure from any source whatsoever.

Nevertheless it is the hope of the Liberal Party that the Administration will oppose the transfer of Indian Education as vigorously as it would be expected to oppose the transfer of "White" Education.

The Indian people of Natal pay taxes as anyone else does. Apart from this they have relieved the province of a burden it should rightly have borne by financing a large part of their education out of their own pockets.

It is to be hoped that Natal will now have the courage to stand by them in the face of this new threat from a government from which the Indian people have experienced nothing but insult and persecution.

PETER BROWN,
National Chairman,
Liberal Party of
South Africa.



DR. VERWOERD (speaking at Dundee, 11th August): "In comparison with Britain and America, South Africa enjoys stability, calm and peace."

Northern Rhodesia Election

WELENSKY'S DILEMMA WORSENS



WELENSKY

TWO men who would avoid the forthcoming general election in Northern Rhodesia if they could are Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, and Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the minority African nationalist party in the territory, the African National Congress.

The forthcoming elections, which are expected in October, have put Sir Roy in a worsening dilemma. Last April, he expressed the hope that he would be able to persuade the British government to reopen the Federal Review talks—suspended in December 1960—before both Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia were engaged in territorial elections. This wish has now faded. Since then, the British government have made it clear to Sir Roy that there is no question of Federal Review talks reopening before the new constitution in Northern Rhodesia has been implemented.

Two Ways Open

Sir Roy has been anxious that a decision on the future of Federation should be taken before it is prejudiced by the results of the Northern Rhodesia elections. Sir Roy fears that the African vote and a substantial White vote will be against Federation.

Since he has failed to force a Federal Review conference, two ways are open to Sir Roy. Either he takes extreme action or he faces political destruction, which will also bring about the end of Federation.

Unfortunately for Sir Roy, the territorial branch of his Party, the United Federal Party, has had little to complain about with regard to the behaviour of the rival and powerful African nationalist party, the United National Independence Party, led by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. Conscious that Sir Roy may take the flimsiest excuse to declare

Northern Rhodesia "a disturbed area" and call in troops—an event which may easily lead to the postponement of the elections till after the rains next April—Kaunda has been at pains to ensure that none of his followers gets out of hand.

Recently, Kaunda intervened when the 30,000-strong African Mineworkers' Union called for a strike to back their demand for more pay and better working conditions. He got them to call off the strike and working behind the scenes persuaded them to agree to a much smaller wage offer "as a temporary measure". Kaunda's fear was that a strike at that time could lead to disturbances on the Copperbelt which would directly provoke the situation that Sir Roy would need to declare a state of emergency.

From
TITUS MUKUPO
in
LUSAKA

Another man not feeling too happy about the forthcoming elections is Mr. Nkumbula, the A.N.C. leader. Since this year, the African National Congress has been propped up by funds from mysterious sources. It is known that the A.N.C. has received no less than £60,000 lately. Some of this money has come from the Katanga leader, Mr. Moise Tshombe, with whom Mr. Nkumbula has warm relations. Another and bigger source which has been often mentioned is the British South Africa Company combine.

Unhappy Nkumbula

Despite this financial buttress, however, the A.N.C. enjoys but small

African support in the territory. As a result, the Party's chances in the forthcoming elections have been a source of constant worry for the A.N.C. leader.

Observers of political opinion here, believe that it is the Party's chances at the elections that are really behind the announcement recently by Mr. Nkumbula that his Party may boycott the elections. Mr. Nkumbula gave as his reasons for the proposed boycott that the delimitation commission was merely a rubber stamp to endorse decisions already arrived at by government. The decisions, Mr. Nkumbula alleged, favoured a victory by the United National Independence Party.

A boycott of the elections by the A.N.C. would almost seal the future of the Federation and consequently that of Sir Roy Welensky. It would bewilder the U.F.P. who are strongly rumoured to be banking on a U.F.P.-A.N.C. election pact for victory although they have refused to admit it.

(The constitution provides for a complicated system of cross-voting for one-third of the total 45 seats between African and White voters. For a candidate to win any of these 15 national seats, it is imperative for him to gain at least one-tenth of the votes cast by voters of the other race. The U.F.P., which has failed to make headway with enrolment of African membership, has apparently been hoping that only a pact between the two parties can bring them victory. The U.F.P. and A.N.C. have common friends in the B.S.A. Company and the Katanga leader, Moise Tshombe.)

On the other hand, U.N.I.P. would be happy because her victory would be more or less assured in view of the fact that it would almost certainly win all the 15 lower roll seats and increase that with any national seats it might win. The U.F.P. are likely to lose two or three seats to their Liberal opponents, which would give them a bad start.

POLICE USE VIOLENCE TO DISPERSE PEACEFUL SHOPPERS

From "Contact" Correspondent

SPRINGS: The largest contingent of White and African policemen seen in Springs for some time, resorted to strong-arm methods to clear the corner of Third Street and First Avenue on the morning of Wednesday, 29th of August. Crowds of bargain seekers, mainly women, had gathered outside an Indian store where all goods were being sold for 25 cents apiece.

The White police, under the command of high-ranking officers, had a field day with their fists and feet. Combined body charges into the crowd, regardless of whether women and small children were in the front ranks, was repeated over and over again by uniformed men and plainclothes C.I.D. officers.

There Early

From early in the morning two separate queues of White and African bargain hunters began to form outside the store. Whites queued along Third Street while the African queue stretched from Third Street into Second Street.

Police cars were stationed around the perimeter of the crowd and scores of policemen controlled what was at all times an orderly throng of patient, eager people. Until the store opened its doors no incidents occurred save for one or two individual pushing bouts between over-zealous police and passers-by.

Many Not Shoppers

Crowds of amused onlookers stood on the pavements opposite the huge queues and here again the majority were women and children.

When the store finally opened its doors there was a mad rush, as is expected at any bargain sale, by both Whites and Africans. A troop of police had difficulty in closing the doors after each batch of about 100 or so shoppers was allowed inside. That was the beginning of the fracas.

Within minutes the goods inside the store had been claimed and sold. But many of the shoppers who had been waiting for hours found that they were unable to get in as the doors were closed and police stood guard.

These unfortunates still kept their

places in the queue and when ordered by the police to disperse they did not.

Commissioned officers called for the pavements to be cleared and C.I.D. men immediately charged the front of the queue. This began the scrimmages between all ranks and the public who were chased, kicked, pushed and struck by fists and officers' canes all over the streets surrounding the area.

Traffic patrolmen also joined in the "clearance by force" game adopted by their police counterparts.

Unnecessary Force

Blatant acts of unnecessary force was used on anyone, except Whites standing around obviously enjoying what was going on.

With great relish the police continued exercising their limbs on innocent Africans until the commanding officers, perhaps fearful that the men under their command were getting out of hand, called a halt to the clearance squads and within minutes the majority of the police contingent, plus the hard-hitting C.I.D. men, had moved off leaving in their wake a small crowd of bewildered people.

Newspapermen and Politics

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Where do a newspaperman's duties end? This is the question posed by the behaviour of Mr. Gehri Strauss, crime reporter of the *Daily News*, the Argus Company paper in Natal.

Mr. Strauss is known to be sympathetic to the government. And during a poster demonstration in West Street—organized by individuals of all political persuasions—on a Saturday morning some time ago, Mr. Strauss's sympathies took a vocal form. While he was watching the demonstration Mr. Strauss shouted insults at some of the pickets.

Appalled by the incident another Durban newspaperman, Mr. Roy Rudden wrote to the *Daily News* drawing attention to it. He did not name Mr. Strauss, who—it is learned from sources outside the newspaper—wrote to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, about the letter. But his behaviour is common knowledge in newspaper circles.

So far no action has been taken against Mr. Strauss, as far as is known. Yet some years ago a *Daily News* reporter was severely reprimanded for writing—in his spare time—for *Contact*.

It has been an unwritten rule of newspapers in South Africa that journalists should keep their political views and their professions separate. It is unclear whether Mr. Strauss was on duty that day and the incident has caused some speculation among newsmen who feel that the question needs redefinition.

AFRICAN CIVIL SERVANTS "QUIZZED" BY S.B.

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Before being promoted, African civil servants complain that they are first being quizzed by the Special Branch to find out if they are "politically minded".

Recently I overheard a conversation between two thirtyish men in a train from town to Atteridgeville. They said they were civil servants. They were discussing, in a disillusioned manner, comparative pay scales for Africans and Whites.

PASCO Conference Failure

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The third conference of the Pan African Solidarity Conference which was to have been held in Maseru from 10th-12th August (see *Contact*, 9th August) has been postponed indefinitely. The reason for the postponement is the disunity existing in two of the movements of which PASCO is made up—the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party. The former is split by a dispute between supporters of Mr. Motsamai Mpho and supporters of Mr. Philip Matante (see page 6). The Swaziland Progressive Party has been split since early this year between supporters of Mr. J. J. Nquku and Dr. A. P. Zwane. This split now seems to be resolving itself (see page 8).

SOUTH AFRICA ON RADIO TANGANYIKA

RADIO TANGANYIKA has been broadcasting daily news bulletins to Central Africa for the past few months. These broadcasts are received clearly in Cape Town, and one of the most interesting features of them is news concerning South Africa, heard several times a week.

For example, the opening of the Liberal Party's national congress in Johannesburg was reported in a news broadcast on 1st September and a summary given of the speech of Mr. Alan Paton, National President of the Party. On Sunday 2nd August, another speech of Mr. Paton's at the congress was reported. It was also mentioned that police had interfered with the distribution of leaflets advertising the public meeting with which the congress was opened.

Other South African news:

- The arrest of Mr. Nelson Mandela was reported, and subsequent developments have been followed
- Statements by Mr. Oliver Tambo on efforts to organize overseas pressure on South Africa have been given full coverage
- Statements by South African leaders living in exile are frequently broadcast
- News is given of freedom developments in the countries adjoining South Africa

The main purpose of these news broadcasts is to give the fullest possible coverage to events in Africa, and the regular listener will be kept in touch with significant developments on the continent.

- Radio Tanganyika is on the air daily at 9 p.m. on 59.4 metres.

One of the two men in the train was unhappy, he said, because the Special Branch had paid him a surprise visit at home. Because he's due for promotion, a questionnaire based on the following was asked:

- Do you have any knowledge of explosives?
- Where did you work before joining the civil service? Who were your employers and what type of work did you do? Did you use chemicals? (The particular African said he had done science at school only.)
- Do you have friends who understand explosives? Or do you know anyone who does? Name them if you do.
- Do you support any political group? Ever been a member of, or do you

support morally, financially or did you participate in the activities of F.A.C., A.N.C. or the Liberal Party? Have you friends who are politically inclined? What do you read? (The African showed them a pile of local English dailies and some vernacular "Bantu" papers.)

- Do you know certain politicians? (Here names of well known African leaders are mentioned.) The complainant said that he knew them only from press reports and that goes for their doings as well.

After excusing myself, I joined these men who eyed me very suspiciously. When I mentioned *Contact* they refused to give their names for understandable reasons. They changed the conversation.

Peace Corps in Africa

THE Peace Corps, made up of volunteer Americans who serve, paid for by the United States government, in under-developed countries on such projects as rural development, industrial education, teaching, nursing, farm education, are helping several African states in the battle against poverty, ignorance and disease.

There are 26 Peace Corps-men and women in Ghana, teaching in secondary schools; 107 in Nigeria (teaching in secondary schools and university); 35 in Tanganyika (surveying and geological mapping); 360 in four French-language states (Tunisia, Gabon, Ivory Coast and Togo).



A group of 81 American teachers, volunteers for service in the Peace Corps, before leaving New York for Liberia where they will teach in the country's elementary and secondary schools. With them (centre) is Mr. J. Charles Hansford, representing the Liberian government. — A.F.P. photo.

RADICALS ON STUDENTS' COUNCILS

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The students at the University of Cape Town have chosen a non-White girl, Miss Elizabeth Thaele to be their Head Woman Student.

This is a direct slap in the face for Dr. Duminy, Principal of the University, who has ruled that non-Whites may not attend the social functions organized by White students. Miss Thaele will automatically represent the women students of U.C.T. at all functions, social and academic.

Merit Alone

Most students feel that Miss Thaele deserves the post on merit alone. She has been active in the Kolbe Society (the Catholic Students' Society), and has been on the National Executive of the Federation of Catholic Students. She is a B.A. student in her fourth year at University.

Miss Thaele's appointment follows the election of a radical Students' Representative Council at U.C.T. The 15-man S.R.C. elected by the 5,500 students at U.C.T. represents the students in all ways, including politically.

President of the S.R.C. is Mr. Roger Jowell, who was last year the Vice-President for International Relations of the National Union of S.A. Students (NUSAS). Vice-President is Mr. Peter Horwitz, at present director of Travel on the NUSAS Executive.



MISS THAELE



DENNIS BRUTUS

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Mr. Dennis Brutus, prominent in the non-racial South African Sports Association, has been elected to the Students' Representative Council at the University of the Witwatersrand. He polled the third highest number of votes.

Because he is one of the "banned" on Minister Vorster's recently-published list he was barred from putting his views before the student voters. So other students did it for him.

Mr. Brutus is a B.A. graduate of the Fort Hare University College. He worked as a teacher—until the government banned him from this as well as from meetings.

Now he is studying law at Witwatersrand University.

Student activities are not new to him: while at Fort Hare he was President of

the dramatic and debating societies, editor of the college magazine and a NUSAS executive member.

Circulars issued on his behalf among students said: "Because he is a gagged man he cannot issue a manifesto. . . . He has been banned from gatherings for five years, has been banned from holding a teaching position and has been blacklisted by the Minister of Justice so that nothing he says or writes can be quoted and printed."

"Under the provisions of the Sabotage Act, Mr. Brutus is denied this right for he has been 'gagged' by the Minister of Justice. This is perhaps the first instance of the influence of this repressive Act on the campus, and another indication that interference in student affairs by the authorities is no myth created by the so-called 'Liberalists' on the campus, but a regrettable fact."

SASA STOPS WHITES-ONLY TOUR

The South African Sports Association is able to reveal from an exclusive private source that the proposed tour of South Africa by a Universities swimming team from the United States of America has been cancelled.

This tour would have been conducted in December on a basis of racialism and SASA made representations to the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States on the matter and lodged a protest.

We shall continue to do everything in our power to ensure that no racial sporting tours in South Africa are undertaken.

G. K. RANGASAMY,
President,

South African Sports Association.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

NEW MOOD OF ACTION

Rehoboth wants Independence

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The political struggle in South West Africa is entering a new phase as more and more people become aware that the struggle for South West Africa, in the final analysis, depends on their own efforts and that any effort being made outside for their cause is only supplementary to their own.

Until recently, it was generally believed by some that the United Nations would ultimately succeed in removing the territory from the South African Administration without any active combat against the Administration by the people themselves. In opposition to this belief, a strong appeal is being made by the South West Africa National Union in leaflets circulated all over the territory "to replace reformism in struggle with the militant and revolutionary method and carry the struggle beyond petitioning for concessions and mere 'improvement of conditions'."

This spirit of initiative has culminated in a strong anti-apartheid move by the people of Rehoboth and in moves to unite the major political organizations in the territory.

Rehoboth Meeting

In Rehoboth, a mass meeting was convened to discuss the constitutional development of the Rehoboth Gebiet on the basis of their Patriarchal Laws, as opposed to the government's proposed Transkei-type constitution for the Gebiet. Not only was the desire of the people to get rid of the South African Administration stated strongly, but unity with the people in the rest of the territory was expressed. The immediate programme is to evacuate all White officials from Rehoboth including the magistrate (called "Captein" in Rehoboth), the vacancies to be filled by Rehobothers. All the rights of legis-

lation and administration should be vested in the Basterraad. For speedy development of the country, technical assistance could be secured from United Nations through its specialized agencies.

Political leaders in Rehoboth are convinced that Rehoboth has every right to secede from the rest of the territory and have its own sovereignty. Their conviction is based on history: Rehoboth had a written constitution under which the people lived as a sovereign nation.

They have never been conquered but only asked for German protection and they can qualify under International Law to form a state for they have all requirements such as a common boundary, the population, unity and organization.

This move is motivated by the present political situation created by the apartheid South African Administration: in an independent and democratic South West Africa they will not disassociate themselves from their fellow countrymen.

BASUTOLAND POLICE AT WORK WITH VERWOERD'S S.B.



AS IF TO CONFIRM the report in "Contact" (27th July) that Basutoland police collaborated with the South African Security Branch, this picture shows a member of the Basutoland Security Branch walking towards his Maseru office accompanied by two members of the South African Security Branch from Bloemfontein. They had come to Basutoland for information about South African political refugees living there. They are (from left to right): Det. Sgt. Klaas, Det. Sgt. Motaung (both of Bloemfontein) and Inspector Lephoto of the Basutoland police.

NKOSIYANE FREED FROM BANISHMENT

By a Reporter

MR. JACKSON B. NKOSIYANE, a former Native Affairs Department clerk who became Private Secretary to Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembu, until his banishment by the government in 1958, was released after nearly four years' banishment on 11th August. Having escaped to Basutoland from his place of banishment in the Northern Transvaal, Mr. Nkosiyane was living at Qacha's Nek when he was informed that his application for release from banishment had been granted by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

Mr. Nkosiyane at first refused to believe the policemen who brought the news, but eventually accepted safe-conduct to Matatiele, from where he has returned to Tembuland.

No Reasons Given

Mr. Nkosiyane was deported in 1958 with Messrs. Bangelizwe and Twalimfeni Joyi and Mgolombane, after they had allegedly agitated against the adoption of Bantu Authorities by the Tembu. The Minister refused even to give reasons for their banishment when a Supreme Court application was made on behalf of the men in 1960.

The coincidence of the release of Mr. Nkosiyane with the great tribal meeting to consider the Matanzima constitution at the Tembu Great Place on 11th August did not pass unnoticed, and it is felt that Mr. Nkosiyane's release may be used to try and persuade Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo to withdraw his people's opposition to the government's Transkei Bantustan move.

Personal Files

THE University College at Ibadan, Nigeria, has an Irish Catholic priest, Fr. O'Connell, as its lecturer in politics. Fr. O'Connell, a Corkonian who has just paid his first visit to the Republic, studied at Louvanium University at Leopoldville on coming to Africa and is visiting his African *alma mater* on his return journey to Ibadan. This burly, sweated tourist in his thirties, impressed all he met with the depth of his understanding of apartheid and its corrosive wickedness. But for the Irish brogue and rimless spectacles, Fr. O'Connell was not the typical Catholic father of the White parishes and Whites-only schools, admirable men though many such may be.

Of the school of Archbishop Denis Hurlley of Durban, and Fr. Colin B. Collins of Pretoria, Fr. O'Connell is a lover of Africa and a crusader for change and progress. He and his type are not latecomers trying to freshen up their church in keeping with the demands of the "wind of change". The latter cliché he analysed — insisting this

was an old chestnut — as "too much wind and too little change".

GOOD-NATURED COMMENTATORS (including acquaintances of Chief Kaizer Matanzima's student days), and one or two shrewd journalists, have built up a theory that the probable Prime Minister of the Transkei Bantustan is a "misguided African nationalist" seeking a way out for his people from the oppressive yoke of White *baasskap*, by collaborating with apartheid. The truth, however, is less comforting. Chief Kaizer Matanzima began his career of power as chief of a mere three locations in Emigrant Tembuland. He is of a minor house of the Tembu royal family, but in Emigrant Tembuland is a chief from the royal family and the Hala tribe, among people of lesser tribes like the Jumba and Ndungwana, giving him more status than would be his in Tembuland proper. He was built up partly by his own people, who sent him to Fort Hare for his law studies, seeing the need for modern men to lead the Emigrant Tembu in the hard days that came with the Cape's "selling out" to the Transvaal after Union. More recently, he has been built up by the Nationalist government, whose officials early convinced him that his personal power would be assured in the Transkei Bantustan they were creating for him. The B.A.D.'s Chief Information Officer of those days, Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, played the three witches to Kaizer Matanzima's Macbeth in first planting

in him the seeds of ambition. The people who know him best say these seeds have now grown up to hedge him off from all appeals to reason or justice. He may still turn back before his own particular Birnam Wood comes to Qamatapoort, if the Macbeth-analogy is true.

CHIEF KAIZER MATANZIMA'S kinsman, Mr. Nelson Mandela, an uncle of the Paramount Chief of the Tembu, has had a press ovation in England, where he is being considered more and more as the active leader of our freedom struggle. Nelson Mandela's education and law studies were also paid for by the Tembu nation, and he has sometimes been criticized for neglecting the Transkei in his political career in the wider South African political field.

Yet he has helped to show the people of the Transkei that they are one with the South African nation and that their local struggle is inseparable from the freedom struggle as a whole. The man who appreciates this most clearly of all is Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, to whom Nelson Mandela tells friends that he is "very devoted". Not that Mandela has created in Chief Sabata his determination that freedom must be for all South Africa: Chief Sabata's own personal experiences when travelling as a private citizen outside the Transkei played a major part.

These overseas press ovations can be deceiving, especially in the unreal world

of exile-politics. Even *Time* wrote up and pictured Mr. Mandela — and "even" is because Mr. Mandela's left-wing affiliations would have made this seem impossible. Perhaps the insane Johannesburg *Sunday Times* story that Mr. Mandela was trapped by a Communist frame-up put him in *Time's* good books. Which is an illustration of the deceptions in overseas press build-ups: they too often reflect moves in overseas power-struggles, too seldom genuine appreciation of the individual or group seen against the background of his homeland.

THE INTERNATIONAL WRITERS' Conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland, at the end of August held a session on "commitment" at which a letter from Alan Paton, unable to attend because of the confiscation of his passport, was read. He said of some South Africans, "mostly White ones": "They don't want freedom any more. They want only security. And by security I mean nothing spiritual, just plain short-term military security." At the end Angus Wilson, who visited South Africa in 1961, spoke movingly of Alan Paton, whom he described as a "private man forced to make a public stand", whose moral courage contrasted with some other White South African "nullities" whom Mr. Wilson had met in South Africa.

By Jacob Bam



MPHO

BECHUANALAND TENSION

- **Matante — Mpho Split in B.P.P.**
- **Demonstrations follow Arrests**
- **Meetings Banned in Francistown**



MATANTE

FRANCISTOWN: Political tension rose sharply in the Bechuanaland Protectorate during the past few weeks, beginning with a march on the High Court at Lobatsi on 18th August and reaching a climax with a clash between demonstrators and police 333 miles away in Francistown on 22nd August and mass dawn arrests for alleged public violence on 23rd August, followed by demonstrations and the banning of public meetings in the Francistown area.

In the clash police had to use tear-gas to disperse a small but restive crowd outside the Francistown Magistrate's Court where they demanded the release of seven men who were being tried for intimidation. Later the crowd swelled to 2,000 protesters on a public square.

Next day — the final day of the trial — 3,000 marchers were stopped outside the court premises by a big force of

From R. MOTHAPU

police who had been reinforced overnight by security police from other districts. The crowd was orderly and no further incidents occurred.

In the incident of 22nd August,

according to the police, tear-gas bombs were used against the crowd. The demonstrators intercepted some of the tins and threw them back at the police.

On both days the demonstrators were



Part of the crowd which attended the rally called by Messrs. MOTSETE and MATANTE in Lobatsi. Speaking is Mr. T. W. MOTLHAGODI, one of Bechuanaland's few university graduates.

SWAPO holds first Meeting in B.P.

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: The first public meeting to be held under the auspices of the South West Africa People's Organization in the Bechuanaland Protectorate was attended by more than 250 people here on Sunday, 19th August.

Opening the meeting Mr. Maxton Joseph, SWAPO envoy in Bechuanaland and Organizing Secretary in the Tati area, expressed gratitude to the British government and the Bechuanaland Administration for granting permission to SWAPO to do political work among and regroup the hundreds of South West African expatriates in Bechuanaland.

There are, for example, nearly 2,000 such expatriates in the Maun area alone. There are many others, especially those of Herero extraction, in other parts of the territory.

In pleading with the British authorities for such facilities early this year, Dr. Mburumba Kerina, National Chairman and Permanent Representative of SWAPO at the United Nations, recalled the "historical relationship" between the people of Bechuanaland and South West Africa.



MAXTON JOSEPH: Originally from South West Africa he was active in politics in Cape Town before moving to Bechuanaland to be SWAPO's representative there.

In a letter read at the meeting, Mr. P. G. Matante, Vice-President of the Bechuanaland People's Party, reaffirmed the solidarity of ties existing between SWAPO and the B.P.P. He said that SWAPO's vital role in the struggle for the freedom of Africa as a whole was in no doubt.

Speaking at the gathering Mr. Joseph said that their greatest desire was that not only the expatriates but also their hosts in Bechuanaland should be well informed about developments in the struggle back home. "Today we are being called refugees in our own motherland," he said.

"We want the independence of South West Africa by 1963, and say down with White supremacy. SWAPO's immediate demand is a general election based on the principle of one man one vote."

led by the Bechuanaland People's Party, winding up on each occasion with an evening mass rally addressed by Mr. P. G. Matante, the Party's Vice-President. Each time the crowds of from 3,000 to 4,000 gave Mr. Matante a rousing send-off to the United Nations in September to press for a new constitution for the territory.

A four-mile march on the High Court of Bechuanaland at Lobatsi took place on 18th August. About 800 demonstrators led by the B.P.P. President, Mr. T. K. Motsete, demanded suspension of the Legislative Council and the scrapping of the present Bechuanaland Constitution.

The big event of the week-end took place on the 19th August, when demonstrators from 22 branches to the north, east, west and south converged on Lobatsi for a rally. The long programme included speeches by heads of delegations as well as both the President and the Vice-President on the burning constitutional and land questions.

This assembly resolved —

- To demand the immediate and unconditional abrogation of the present Bechuanaland Constitution and not a mere review and/or amendment thereof;

- To call upon the British government immediately to convene a Constitutional Conference for Bechuanaland;

- To demand that the so-called Tati concession (a part of the north of Bechuanaland leased to a private company) should be restored to the African people as their rightful heritage.

Apart from delegates representing practically the whole of Bechuanaland where B.P.P. branches exist (17 in the territory and five from Johannesburg), about 1,500 supporters assembled to give a fresh mandate for the B.P.P. fight at UNO for a new Bechuanaland Constitution.

Rival Gathering

By contrast an open conference held nearby by another group to show support for Mr. Motsamai Mpho (the expelled Secretary General of the B.P.P.)

was a failure. It was attended by about 60 delegates representing Palapye (Mpho's branch) and splinter groups in three other branches, namely Shosheng, Serowe and Naledi (Johannesburg).

This conference was remarkable not only for its unrepresentative nature but for the very nature of its business.

The purpose of this conference was to elect new leadership for the B.P.P. A list of names of the office-bearers was circulating in Lobatsi before the conference was held.

The elected "leaders" are: President, Mr. Motsamai Mpho; Vice-President, Mr. Tlale; Secretary General, Mr. Bishop Macheng; and Treasurer General, Mr. Lesetedi.

There are now two B.P.P.'s, one led by Mr. Motsete, the other by Mr. Mpho.

On 20th August, placard-carrying demonstrators besieged the premises of the Lobatsi Magistrate's Court in support of Mr. Matante who was appearing on two charges arising from his political activities. The placards read, "The masses are behind Matante", and "We stand by our leaders"

Francistown Arrests

From there the scene shifted to Francistown, where seven men on trial were alleged to have threatened to "kill a man and to burn his house". They were given suspended sentences on 23rd August. They were charged again the same day for having attempted to obstruct the police on duty by refusing to give their names when they were first arrested. They were each fined R5 or seven days' imprisonment.

The seven convicted men are George Moseki, Oliver John, Odumetse Tshopelo, Philip Steady, Alexandre Antony, Lehako Modise and Jotha Bango.

As a sequel to the demonstrations at their trial mass arrests were made in a dawn police swoop on Francistown locations on 24th August. At the time of writing, the total number of arrests could not be ascertained. It was believed that more than 40 men and women would be charged with public violence.

Ban on Meetings

Following these arrests all gatherings of 12 or more people were banned within a radius of ten miles from the centre of Francistown for ten days as from the 25th August.

The ban was imposed under the Riotous Assemblies Proclamation by the District Commissioner, Mr. P. L. Steenkamp, whose banning notice said that there was "reason to apprehend that the public peace would be endangered" by such gatherings.

The ban was the climax of a week of tension in the area and was imposed on the eve of what was expected to be a mammoth protest meeting planned by the Bechuanaland People's Party in connection with the arrests.

Awaiting trial in custody are 26 women and 14 men. Some of the women were removed from their homes with babies strapped to their backs, and at least one in an advanced stage of pregnancy.

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READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

"Not Part of the Universe"

SIR.—Separate development of Whites and non-Whites will create parallelism in thought, speech, deeds, in attitudes toward one another and in almost all respects.

I think the South African government, which is the greatest colonial power in Africa, is attempting too hard a nut to crack by isolating us educationally, politically and socially. Bantu Education, withdrawal from the Commonwealth, and the Group Areas Act are the razor-sharp weapons that cut universal ties and keep us as if we had dropped accidentally from an unknown satellite and were not part of the universe.

Will this government turn a deaf ear to the facts and hang on obstinately until the forthcoming punishments are fulfilled? Why not study how Pharaoh's power was broken! Up everybody, let's cross the Red Sea.

TLALA MOHAPI,
Rustenburg, Tvl.

Violence or Non-Violence?

SIR.—Allow me a few lines in answer to the letter "Violence or non-violence" (*Contact*, 8th August).

Sure there will be violence and bloodshed. Let it come from the other side. The toll of lives will be high but very much less than when both sides use violence.

The non-violent resister harbours no anger but suffers the anger of the opponent. For this reason alone is non-violence creative. Non-violent resistance has a way of weakening the morale of the adversary and assails his conscience.

There is the stubborn fact that the end, a new society, is contained within the means used to attain that society. Straight is the gate and narrow the way to freedom and life.

Lastly: the police, military, and courts of justice, are props to sustain the government and chosen by the electorate with strong segregation dreams to retain what they have got. The possessions could be obtained by force, the ideas and dreams can only be changed through non-violent means.

T. KLOPPENBURG,
Durban.

Exiles Return

SIR.—We are two sons of South West Africa who were exiled out of the territory last year by the government because of our political activities.

Now we are in Windhoek again, having returned to the land of our birth. On our arrival here we went to see the so-called Chief Native Commissioner, Mr. Bruwer Blignaut, to ask him under what law we had been deported.

Mr. Blignaut denied that this had happened: "You were not deported by my government," he said, "you just went out of the country of your own free will." He denied it because he and his government act in an underhand way towards the people of South West Africa, and when this is exposed, he and his government start to deny it.

Then Mr. Blignaut told us to leave Windhoek for Ovamboland, where we were born. He told us that we were not South West Africans but Ovambos. We told him that we were not prepared to leave Windhoek because we were South West Africans and the country was our home. He said that if we did not leave he would put us in gaol and have us escorted to Ovamboland. We told him to do as he liked to us. So we are being deported.

We warn Mr. Blignaut and the government to stop these deportations.

Greetings to all readers!

ELIANDER E. MUATALE,
LUCAS H. POHAMBIA.

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.
- A prize — "Contact" free for a year — is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

Spirit of Brotherhood

SIR.—May I be permitted to say how much I appreciated the second last paragraph of Mr. H. S. Majija's letter (*Contact*, 26th July) when he stated that we must not give up. It inflames my durable spirit of African humanity and nationality as I am dedicated in the struggle for human liberation. I occasionally despair of the success of our striving, but then I assure myself that it will be a long time for us to emancipate the African nation from colonialism, imperialism and racialism.

I beseech the African masses and encourage them to arise and assume a more dynamic ideology and speed the change: assume the spirit of brotherhood towards our brothers who are suffering oppression and exploitation in the Republic of South Africa and Mozambique.

Unity is strength!

B. X. SBWU,
Tatitown, B.P.

"Happier and More Contented"

SIR.—The reference made by Mr. R. J. Kalane (*Contact*, 23rd August), to the Republic of South Africa as "that brutal house of bondage" is most unfortunate. This sort of language will not help to engender goodwill and understanding between Whites and non-Whites in this country.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and shows how exaggerated Mr. Kalane's language is. If our borders were thrown open, hundreds of thousands of foreign Africans would flock into this "brutal house of bondage", and they would stay here as long as they could. Many thousands of foreign Africans are here now, and they will not leave unless the government forces them to leave. The truth is, that with a few politically conscious exceptions, the Africans of this country are probably happier and more contented than the working class people of most other countries today. This does not mean, of course, that there is not room for improvement, but Mr. Kalane, and others who may think like him, should remember that the White people are now thinking hard as to how needed improvements can be effected. Let us all moderate our language in racial matters and thus help in creating an atmosphere in which such improvements will be expedited.

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

[There is an almost total lack of social justice in South Africa. Anyone who, like Mr. Davies, seeks to deny it, does no more than reveal his ignorance of conditions in this country.—EDITOR.]

B.P.P. CONTROVERSY CONTINUES

SIR.—Mr. Motsamai K. Mpho is the President of the Bechuanaland People's Party now. He was chosen at the conference held in Lobatsi on 19th August called by all branches of the B.P.P. for electing new leaders. The conference was attended by delegates from all over the territory. The representation was very high—only seven branches did not send delegates, among them Cape Town.

Unreliable former President Mr. Motsete and Vice-President Mr. P. G. Matante who promised to lead the Bechuanaland to freedom, did not attend. They were not shameless enough to come. Instead they called their own meeting, which however few people attended, mostly schoolboys whom Motsete is now teaching.

S. R. TLADI,
Mochudi, B.P.

SIR.—It is embarrassing to discover that Mr. P. G. Matante, a man who hopes to be Prime Minister of Bechuanaland has been making untruthful allegations in order to restore the confidence of the masses in him.

Contact, 26th July, reveals that Mr. Motsamai Mpho was suspended as Secretary-General of the Bechuanaland People's Party on suspicion that he is using the organization as a "springboard" to form a Communist Party here. The fact that Africa is exploited by the English, French, Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish dispels the allegation that communism really exists in Africa.

The question is why six other members of the National Executive were kicked out at the same time when they wanted to know more facts in the complicated dispute involving one person wanting to know about the R18,000. When Mr. Motsete left for Ghana,

my committee called a farewell meeting for him, but he never turned up. How on earth would a welcome meeting be called after that?

Mr. Motsete has also failed to apply himself to establishing new branches of the Party, notably at Mochudi and Mahalapye—then he comes to Lobatsi and proceeds to dismantle the progressive branch there.

At the moment the suspended Lobatsi committee is still waiting for the committee of enquiry appointed by Messrs. Motsete and Matante. It was in this point that it did not function, because it was a disguised future Bechuanaland Pan Africanist Party National Executive, with a salute sign and yellow membership cards bearing the portrait of Mr. Motsete as Life President. That is why the B.P.P. constitutional National Executive members have petitioned the Secretary General to call up the general conference to elect a new leadership of the B.P.P.

I shudder to learn of a Refugee Fund Committee and the erection of offices of the Communist Party in Palapye. The only material we know of is what Mr. Mpho collected before the birth of the B.P.P.

Mr. Matante, all that is needed from you is to stop avoiding facts and making a lot of irrelevant excuses, but just to tell us what you have done with the R18,000 before carrying on with your future extremist Bechuanaland Pan Africanist Party.

MOSES J. MONAKWE,
Lobatsi, B.P.

[Many other points raised by Mr. Monakwe are sub judice in view of the court action being brought by Mr. Mpho against Mr. Matante concerning the R18,000, and have consequently not been published.—EDITOR.]

PRIZE LETTER

NO WORK BUT PROVOCATION

SIR.—The world must tell us what we must do now seeing that conditions are becoming stiffer and stiffer daily. Graaff-Reinet is unknown politically, but it will not be long before something springs up here. The Whites are provoking us in every possible way. There is no work in Graaff-Reinet for a black man. When an employer gives a job, he writes out everything, but when he comes to race, he just feels like dying when you tell him that you are a Xhosa. Three-quarters of the black people of Graaff-Reinet do not work.

Some three weeks back about twenty of us approached the magistrates. Both said that they would kick us. („Ek sal jou onder jou gat skop! Jy kom al weer van Fort Hare af!“—“I will kick your backside! You have come from Fort Hare again!“) We achieved nothing save being provoked to violence.

Three-quarters of the aboriginal people of Graaff-Reinet do not work! The world must tell us what to do because we are starving. Section 10 (of the Urban Areas Act) does not allow us to move an inch in search of food. We cannot even further our studies. Nobody will believe that Mangaliso Sobukwe was the first and last black graduate from Graaff-Reinet.

This is a little South West Africa!

This is one of the most backward of Karroo dorps with not a single recreational facility for a black man.

AGENT,
Graaff-Reinet.

SIR.—We of the Bechuanaland People's Party branch in Cape Town deny the report made by the suspended Secretary General of the Party, Mr. Motsamai Mpho, in *New Age*, that all branches support him in calling a general conference to elect new leaders. What we know is that Mr. Mpho has been suspended from office for an indefinite period and we are still waiting for the results of the investigation which will lead us to the truth of the dispute. It is our intention in Cape Town to back the constitution of the Party.

Mr. Matante, the Vice-President of the Party, has emphasized in *Contact* that Mr. Mpho encouraged some committee members not to welcome the President to a meeting at Lobatsi; instead Mr. Mpho organized his supporters and they drove one of the Party's Land Rovers to the township and told the people not to have confidence in the President.

Mr. Matante went on to say that Mr. Mpho was dissatisfied because Mr. Matante had been chosen to represent the Party at the United Nations. If this is the case, we find it unfortunate that Mr. Mpho did not co-operate with other leaders of the Party. We believe that Mr. Matante was elected by the masses to lead the delegation to U.N.O. If that is true then we blame the Executive Committee for not doing its work. We learn from the newspapers that some of the committee members do not know what has been done with the donation of R18,000 from some of the African states. In this respect it seems that there has been no financial report.

We appeal to all members of the B.P.P. to solve these problems and unite in the struggle for freedom.

J. NAKEDI,
Cape Town.

Swaziland

S.P.P. WANTS U.N. COMMISSION TO DRAW UP CONSTITUTION

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: Reports that the Swaziland has adopted the draft constitution for the territory, thus accepting equal representation in a legislative council for the 10,000 Whites and 250,000 Africans, have been sharply criticized by the Swaziland Progressive Party. The Party has called for an impartial United Nations Commission to draw up a constitution for the territory.

A statement issued by the Party says that the reports are "misleading and far from the truth"—because the decision was taken by the Swazi National Council and does not reflect the opinion of the "man in the street".

The Party says that, at present, there is "serious intimidation and free public opinion is suppressed in Swaziland. Dictatorial powers are used and the aim is to silence opposition. Political parties are threatened and members are arrested, persecuted and prosecuted".

"Threats and Pressure"

It points out that the constitutional proposals were "totally rejected" by the nation at the regional centres (tinkundla). Before the National Council met, its executive—the liqoqo—met the regional representatives behind closed doors. Liqoqo members who were members of the Progressive Party were excluded. The statement adds: "The present sitting of the National Council was under strong pressure from African government servants, stooges and sell-outs. Those who presided and dominated at the meetings were members of the Constitutional Committee who had drafted the proposals and who couldn't tolerate any other viewpoint contrary to theirs."

The representatives, who had a mandate from their people to reject the proposals, yielded against their convictions "due to threats and great pressure".

"Political parties were denied the right to have a say in the deliberations of the National Council and therefore it is false to say the Swazi nation accepted the proposals."

U.N. Commission

The statement declares in conclusion: "The S.P.P. representing the masses vouches to go down fighting constitutionally against anything which is a

violation of the integrity, sovereignty and independence of the Swazi nation. The S.P.P. having lost confidence in the British demand the appointment of an impartial Commission under the auspices of the United Nations. The Swazi nation is being sold out and all people of good will must be alerted to and grasp this fact. We make an appeal to all sympathizers to act swiftly in order to save the nation from ruin."

BASUTOLAND UNEMPLOYMENT

B.N.P. Writes to Colonial Secretary

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Since the demonstration of unemployed led by Chief Leabua Jonathan of the Basutoland National Party on 19th July (see *Contact*, 26th July), about 200 jobless men have been given work on government projects.

The B.N.P., however, is not satisfied with the position as there remain many thousands of Basuto without work and the government is doing little or nothing to help them.

Convict labour is still being used on jobs the B.N.P. feels should be given to the unemployed: jobs such as loading and off-loading trains at Maseru station.

The B.N.P. has consequently written to the British Colonial Secretary asking him to investigate the matter and give assistance to Basutoland. The letter also asks for the matter to be placed before the House of Commons.

In the letter the B.N.P. says that the unemployment situation in Basuto-

land is reaching grave proportions: thousands of men are in search of work. Many have to seek work in South Africa where their position is difficult on account of South African laws: thousands do work on the mines, but their number is controlled by a quota. In Basutoland itself the "official machine" uses prison labour for public works and working the railway.

No Reply to Earlier Letter

The B.N.P. declares that no reply has been received to a letter sent to the British government protesting against the use of prison labour in public works, nor to requests for the establishment of an unemployment relief fund.

The letter asks that these matters be placed before the House of Commons for consideration, and suggests as means of alleviating the position, the establishment of an unemployment relief fund and the calling in of the International Labour Organization to investigate the situation and help to improve it.

KATANGA

(Continued from page 1)

"bought and paid for" by the mining interests in Katanga, and merely seeking to purchase time by equivocation. At the same time he seems to be genuinely trying to negotiate the best terms for Katanga in an agreement which he does not intend to honour—in case further resistance should be militarily defeated. There seems no doubt that although the negotiations have had a bearing on the terms which the future states will get in the new constitution, the actual re-integration of South Katanga will only be effected with guns. Tshombe, for his part, does not trust Adoula. He believes he would be offered the central Ministry of Finance if he agreed to surrender without fighting; but he is realistic enough to know that his ownership of this portfolio could hardly be written into the constitution or the statute book. He believes, probably rightly, that after a honeymoon of about six months to consolidate Katanga's re-integration, he would be purged. (If this happened, he has told intimates, he would make a bid for the premiership of the whole Congo. Observers believe that, in this, he has an outside chance.)

The United Nations is committed to maintaining the territorial integrity of

the Congo, which Adoula's government represents. Adoula has been closely advised by both U.N. experts and the American ambassador in his negotiations. They have urged on him the necessity of negotiating reasonably, of putting himself above criticism. Both the U.N. and the U.S. are prepared to back the considered use of force if necessary.

Economic Sanctions

Britain's policy seems to be dictated by the mining interest. British holdings in Union Minière now outstrip those of any other country, and the three factors apparently deciding Britain's Congolese policy are: (1) the approximately R66 million tax bill which the Union Minière will face after re-integration; (2) the reduction in available funds for dividends from 45 per cent to 20 per cent of exchange earned; (3) the threat of nationalization—possibly pure expropriation—of the mines.

Before force is resorted to, certain economic stratagems will be tried. The Congolese government has already closed the airfield in Elisabethville to aircraft not stopping for customs formalities at Leopoldville. The next move will presumably be close—with U.N. military

aid—the two export railroads: one leads through Angola to Lobito, the other through Rhodesia and Mozambique to Beira. This will probably be delayed until the rebuilding of the Lubilash bridge is completed later this year. This bridge is part of the railroad from the copperfields to Port-Franqui, whence the ore can be brought to Leopoldville by barge and on, by train, to the port of Matadi. If these two steps are not sufficient, Adoula is considering breaking diplomatic relations with countries that buy ore from Katanga and thus subsidizing the régime. All these measures will harass the Tshombist area, but there is only a slim chance that they alone will bring about surrender. When fighting resumes in Katanga one effect will be that the mercenaries will to all intents and purposes resume control. Judging by last December's events, this will make resistance more dogged and "last ditch" in character. But it is clear that U.N. Secretary-General U Thant, and his Special Representative in the Congo, Robert Gardiner, are now determined to ensure that the U.N. does not waste its military superiority. The "third round" in Katanga may be the last.

Move towards S.P.P. Unity

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE.—Moves are afoot to end the nine-month long conflict within the Swaziland Progressive Party.

Since the start of the year, the Party has been divided into two factions: those supporting the deposed President, Mr. J. J. Nquku, and those supporting his successor, Dr. A. P. Zwane.

Recently, there have been reports of a further split within Mr. Nquku's ranks.

Now there is a growing awareness on all sides that the conflicts have seriously detracted from the strength of the Party's voice at a vital period in Swaziland's history when the constitution is being discussed.

Quiet approaches have been made at various times between the different factions but the splits could never be resolved. But with their increased awareness of the need for unity, the leaders are at present making a determined and concerted effort to sink their differences for the good of the Party and the country.

It is likely that a re-united Progressive Party will emerge soon.

● Previously, the Party, with its non-racial, democratic policies, was the leading political organization in the territory.

Mandela Head of Indian Youth Congress

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Mr. Nelson Mandela, former Transvaal President of the banned African National Congress who is now facing a charge of incitement, was unanimously elected honorary President of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress at the annual conference held here on 26th August.

This is the first time that a non-Indian has been elected to this post.

Before the election took place, a constitutional amendment was passed creating the position of honorary Vice-President. Immediately after Mr. Mandela's election as President—he was unopposed—Dr. Yusuf Dadoo was elected, also unopposed, as Vice-President. Dr. Dadoo had been President for several years past.

The conference was opened by Mrs. Winnie Mandela. She wore a lemon-coloured sari and was greeted with a garland of flowers—yellow carnations—when she rose to speak.

She called for unity.

During the conference, attended by about 220 youth and others (the largest crowd at a T.I.Y.C. conference for years), there were frequent references to Mr. Mandela. He was described as "our beloved leader".

The conference unanimously stated its "whole-hearted support" for general disarmament and world peace, and condemned "in the strongest possible terms" Colonial and Imperial rule in the Portuguese colonies and President Tshombe of Katanga for his "connivance with the imperialist powers".

The conference called on all international sportsmen and artistes to boycott South Africa and "to support the world-wide campaign to isolate South Africa in these spheres".

The meeting rejected an amendment calling on local artistes to refuse to play before segregated audiences.



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