

# **SABATA: VOICE OF FREEDOM**



# **IN TRANSKEI**

# **contact**

Vol. 5 No. 20

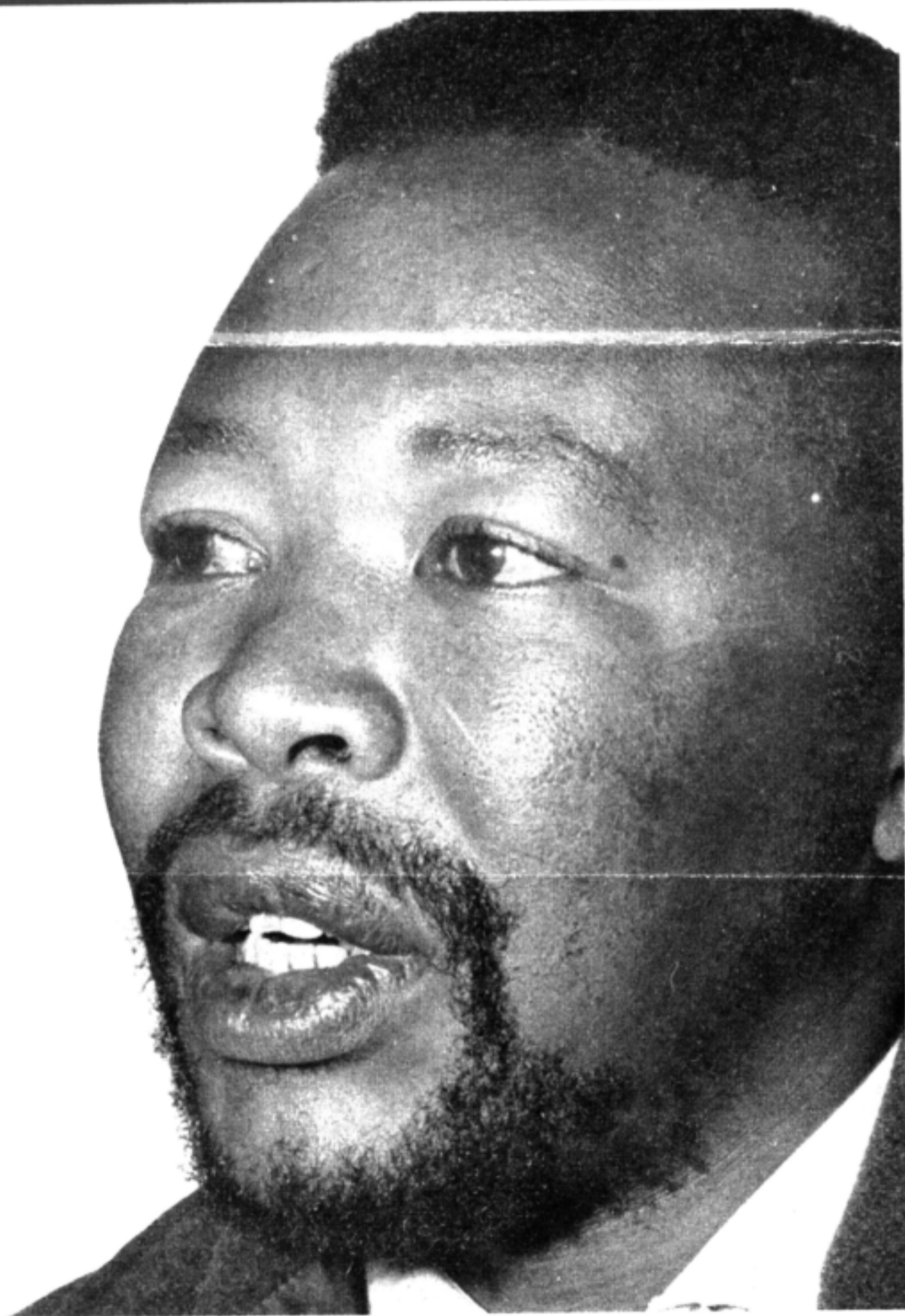
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**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**



**PARAMOUNT CHIEF**

**SABATA**

**DALINDYEBO**

(Story on Page 5)

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## COMMENT

# BUSINESS MUST RESIST REMOVALS

ACCORDING to Mr. H. W. Middelmann, President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the millions of people living in Orlando, Langa, Cato Manor and other townships in South Africa should be regarded as suburban dwellers. These millions, he said in a speech at an Advertising Convention banquet, have

become urban South Africans for ever more.

From Mr. Middelmann such comment is not surprising. He can hardly be described as a militant radical. But his is one of the few strong voices in the business community raised consistently to expose the nonsense of the government's apartheid policy. Unfortunately

not many of his associates, even in the organizations he heads, have the courage or the foresight to speak out against what they know to be morally wrong and economically ruinous.

Mr. Middelmann, a resident of Cape Town, was, no doubt, conscious as he spoke of the greatest government challenge yet to businessmen of the western Cape. For reasons perhaps different to most of those of the churches and radical political movements, the owners of factories, stores, hotels and other employers who have been served long and well by African workers are known to be strongly opposed to their removal from the Western Cape. But the government has insisted that it means to carry out these removals. No timetable has been set and no detailed plan has been revealed. Yet thousands of men and women have already had their homes broken up and have been sent out to exist elsewhere through the ruthless application of the Urban Areas Act.

This, however, has not really reduced the numbers of Africans in the area and it has become clear that more drastic measures will be applied. The question now is: will the government expose itself to all the dangers, internal and external, of the mass removal of thousands of people; or will it resort to some easier and quieter method?

One way might be an attempt to persuade employers in the Cape steadily to replace their African workers. The "wishes of the government" would be made known, and the displeasure of the government would be made obvious to those who did not take the hint. As men lost their jobs, so they would be sent away and the plan would proceed, with its inevitable toll of human misery and economic disruption.

We can only hope that businessmen and other employers in the Cape will not allow this to happen, and that leaders, such as Mr. Middelmann, will encourage their more timid colleagues to stand up for once and resist being used by the government for another of its reckless schemes to partition our country.

## THE "COMMUNIST BOGEY"

THERE can be little in South Africa to please Communists more than the government's constant reiteration of what it calls the "Communist threat" to what it calls "South Africa" (meaning the maintenance of White supremacy).

It is possible that the government's insistence that the gravest danger to continued White supremacy is Communism will lead increasing numbers of South Africans to believe that it is through Communism that their freedom will be won.

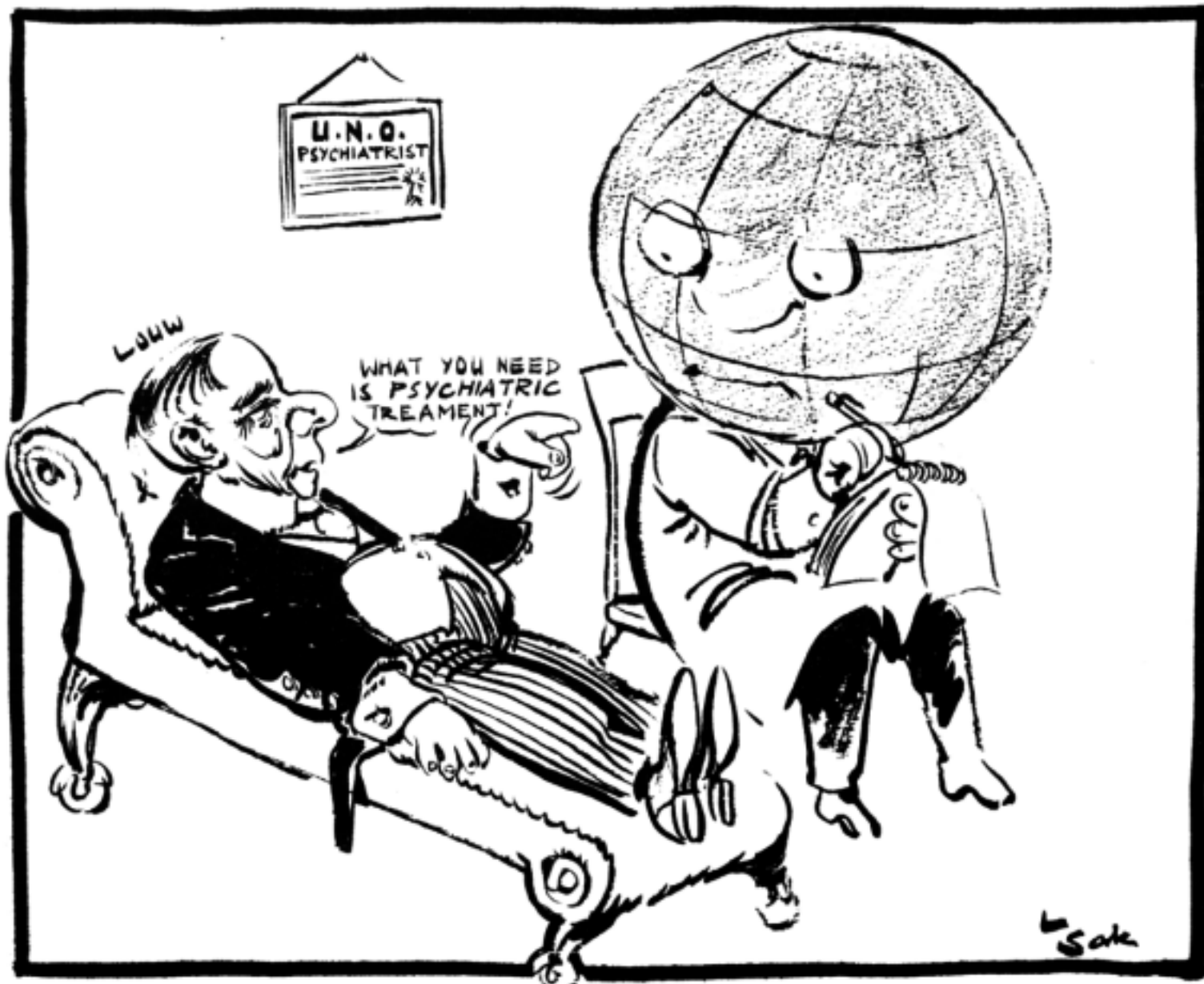
Communists and Communism played a considerable part in removing from Germany the power of the Nazis; and in the division of Germany when that removal had been accomplished, the Communists were given control of the eastern part of the country, now called the German Democratic Republic. That the Communists did not bring freedom to east Germany has been proved over the years by the flight of more than 3,000,000 people from Communist rule there, and as if to add proof to proof, by the need of the Communist regime to build a concrete wall through the middle of Berlin, to prevent the escape

of more. Communist police have not hesitated to shoot dead their fellow citizens, young and old, men and women, who have tried to clamber over that wall to freedom.

The Nationalist government of South Africa is using the Communist bogey in an attempt to discredit the freedom movement in our country, for it knows that given a free choice, the people of South Africa would opt not for Verwoerd nationalism, nor for Communism, but for non-racial democracy—for freedom.

We know that the Communists in South Africa are as unscrupulous as the Nationalists in presenting themselves as the true force for liberation in our country. It suits the ends of both that the people should be thus deceived. Both know that their greatest enemy is democracy.

Those in South Africa who accuse opponents of Communism of being the allies of the Nationalists and the enemies of freedom should look rather to the record of the Communist movement in various parts of the world and at various times.



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## Visit to African States, Yugoslavia

# SWAPO LEADER IS PROMISED HELP

THE National Secretary of the South West Africa People's Organization, Mr. Jacob Kuhangwa, recently completed a tour of states friendly to SWAPO. Mr. Kuhangwa, who escaped from South West Africa in 1960, is at present studying at Lincoln University in the United States of America.

He reports here on his tour: "It was on 31st May, 1962, that I started my journey to Europe and Africa. My first stop was made at Accra, Ghana. I attended the Freedom Fighter's Conference which, at the request of the President of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, was held at Winneba.

### Nkrumah's Proposals

"One of the principal matters on the conference agenda concerned the possibility of uniting divided political groups into cohesive bodies. The President's proposals were supported enthusiastically by many of us and we promised to discuss our personal differences and to make strong unity recommendations to our respective Executive Committees at our National Headquarters.

"We of South West Africa, leaders of the two political parties, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), met at Winneba and discussed the possibility of forming a United Front that would enable us to work forcefully and effectively against our common enemy. We promised to co-ordinate our efforts in matters of principle, but at the same time refrain from interfering in the domestic affairs of our respective Parties.

"The President of the Republic of Ghana stressed the importance of unity and the significant role it can play in our struggle for freedom and independence. He went further to state that

he will be reluctant to aid one Party so long as such assistance may be used against another Party.

"On 12th June, 1962, the President of SWAPO and myself left Accra, the capital city of Ghana, for Lagos, the capital city of Nigeria. At the airport we were met and warmly welcomed by Mr. Okaro Okarevu (African and Foreign Affairs Officer of the N.C.N.C.\* and Secretary to the Academic Board, N.C.N.C. Institute of Political and Social Studies). He received us on behalf of his government and the people of Nigeria.

"During our stay in Nigeria we were able to discuss at full length with government officials the catastrophic problems confronting South West Africa. We were promised assistance in our efforts to achieve freedom and independence. Scholarships were promised to our young people who are ready for higher education.

### Tunisia, Angola

"On 20th June, 1962, the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma and myself left Lagos for Tunisia. There we were met at the airport by His Excellency Mohamed Ali Housseini from the Political Bureau of President Habib Bourguiba. Besides our political activities one of the main purposes of going to Tunis was to meet with one of our Freedom Fighters, Mr. Ismail Fortune, who had requested the President of SWAPO to meet him at his earliest possible convenience for political reasons. We had a fruitful discussion with the Tunisian Government and we were promised moral and material support in all our undertakings.

"On 10th July, 1962, our party proceeded to Rome where we separated. The President went to Cairo and I to the Republic of the Congo. It was

\*National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

indeed an honour and privilege for me to be in the Congo and to meet with our brothers and sisters from Angola. During my short stay in the Republic of the Congo, I was happy to address the National Assembly of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Angola in Exile headed by Premier Holden Roberto, the National Liberation Army of Angola headed by José Kulundungo and the General League of Angolan Workers. I was very much impressed by the determination of all these groups to defeat the Portuguese colonialists, to end the exploitation of their people and to play a full role in the future development of their country.

### "Crush Salazar"

"It is also worth a comment that the National Liberation Army is well disciplined and I am convinced that in the near future it will crush the crumbling regime of Salazar.

"In view of the fact that we are facing a common problem, we the representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of South West Africa and the National Liberation Front of Angola (F.N.L.A.) agreed to sign a Joint Declaration which calls for strong collaboration against the Portuguese colonizers in Angola and the South African exploiters in South West Africa. Our Joint Declaration derives from the fact that we are conscious of our responsibilities to defend the human dignity of the people of our respective countries, and to assert our African personality. Furthermore, our understanding has been reached within the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

### Tanganyika

"On 18th July, 1962, I left the Congo and proceeded to Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, where I was warmly welcomed

## KERINA RESIGNS

DR. MBURUMBA KERINA, South West African now living in New York, has announced his resignation from the South West Africa People's Organization, of which he has been Chairman for several years.

A telegram from him to SWAPO's National Executive in Windhoek states: "I hereby announce to SWAPO Executive and all concerned my resignation as Chairman and membership of SWAPO in interest of complete national unity through one Pan Africanist Revolutionary Party in our country. Shall continue nationalist activities for freedom of our country as before the establishment of political organizations in South West Africa."

by our Freedom Fighters from South West Africa.

"The South West African workers now residing in Dar es Salaam asked me to assist them in forming a trade union. We successfully established the Union of South West Africa Workers (U.S.W.A.W.) in Exile with temporary headquarters in Dar es Salaam. This Union has already applied for membership to a number of international labour movements whose aims are to fight for the betterment of workers' living conditions.

"While I was in Dar es Salaam, I managed to tackle a few of the serious problems confronting our struggle. I also managed to arrange scholarships for a few of our students who are now studying in Africa and in Europe.

### Cairo, Yugoslavia

"I left Dar es Salaam for Cairo on 6th August, 1962, where I stayed as a guest of the U.A.R. Government until 15th August. While I was in Cairo, I had a good opportunity to exchange views with our Freedom Fighters and our students who are residing in that country. I was also privileged to confer with government officials concerning the problems of our country. These

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

## Personal Files

THE ESTABLISHMENT of an inter-denominational theological college near Alice has saved the situation for the Bantu Education Department and the B.A.D. boys. According to "government policy" Fort Hare University College should have been moved into the Transkei, first to locate it in the major Xhosa homeland, and secondly because it is at present in a "White" area. Rumours of the move so agitated the White staff members that a way out was sought, and it has now been found that the new seminary has unintentionally saved the day. It is to be on what was White mission land, which will become a non-White Group Area, linking Fort Hare with the poverty-stricken "Native location" of Alice, thus making quite a substantial "Bantu area" outside the municipal area of Alice. Messrs. Nel and Marce seem less concerned about the fact that Fort Hare is outside the Transkei. The latest propaganda booklet on the Transkei says that Fort Hare is "not far from the borders of the Transkei". It adds in quaint B.A.D.-English that Xhosa-speaking students may "qualify themselves in a number of directions". Rector J. J. Ross's figures given in the latest

SABRA journal make Fort Hare seem even less the great Xhosa university of government boasts. In 1959, before the Nat. take-over there were 490 students, 188 of them Xhosa-speaking. In 1962 there are a mere 242 students, and the number of Xhosa-speakers has dropped to 167.

THE AFRICAN SERVICE of the British Broadcasting Corporation broadcasts some programmes of electrifying interest, which shows up nine-tenths of the S.A.B.C.'s offerings for their dimness and sterility. This is inevitable where a government broadcasting service produces "culture" which is strictly in accordance with that most fatal of all blights to both art and life, Nationalist "government policy". A recent delight on the B.B.C. was *The Creation*, first in the Wakefield cycle of medieval Mystery Plays, produced by a South West African, Chawande Kutse, with an African cast which included Bloke Modisane and other South Africans, as well as African actors from all over the continent. The play had been adapted to African conditions, with mangoes, guavas and bananas in the Garden of Eden instead of apples and pears, and many touches that took the timeless story into the atmosphere of Africa. The universality of the 15th century English play, and the universality of the dramatic art with which it was conveyed to African listeners, are breathing, living proofs of cultural health, which would brutally expose the anaemia of our official racist culture, as disseminated over Radio Bantu,

Protea Club (for "Coloureds") and the rest.

Two other Wakefield Mysteries, produced by Mr. Kutse are being broadcast too: *The Crucifixion* on 28th September, and *The Resurrection* on 5th October at 8.30 p.m. Originally heard on the B.B.C.'s African Service, the General Overseas Service is now re-broadcasting them for the world. The B.B.C. is using a special frequency for Africa at night, in the 31 metre band.

SOUTH AFRICA's contribution to the intellectual top layer of numerous African countries is typified by the roll of candidates in Northern Rhodesia's elections, to be held on 30th October. The first twelve of the United National Independence Party's team of thirty candidates featured in the *Central African Mail* (18th September) contain six educated in South Africa (at Fort Hare, Natal University, Tiger Kloof, and Trafalgar High School, Cape Town, at Flagstaff College, Transkei, and in a White Durban school).

Though only two of these six were, apparently born in South Africa, all are South Africa's loss, since they might have stayed here had we offered the prospect of freedom.

The youngest in the group is 26-year-old Henry Thornicroft, whom his teachers at Zonnebloem College, Cape Town, where he passed the Junior Certi-



THORNICROFT

ificate, and "Traf" where he matriculated, remember as a serious-minded and highly intelligent boy. Like many Northern Rhodesians at that time, he was sent to school in South Africa at N.R. government expense, travelling from his home in the Fort Jameson district to Cape Town for a year at a time, to cut down a repetition of the ten-day-return rail journey. The only woman in the group is Mukwae (Princess) Nakatindi, a mother of three and daughter of the former Paramount Chief of Barotseland. She runs a business at Mongu, having been educated at Tiger Kloof, the old London Missionary Society institution near Vryburg in the northern Cape Province. Would Princess Nakatindi have profited from the industrial training at Tiger Kloof if, as is the case in 1962, she had to interrupt her chosen courses with compulsory spells of "gardening" as a school subject? Such "gardening" study is, of course, part of the intellectual maiming of young African people in South Africa, officially known as "developing along their own lines". By contrast, these UNIP candidates — men like Dr. Mashekwa Nalumango (Natal University) and Elijah Mudenda, B.Sc. (Fort Hare) M.A. (Cantab.) have developed along their own lines to distinction and leadership in the modern world, rather than on lines laid down by obscurantist, "sick" race-obsessed Afrikaner psychologists.

By Jacob Bam

# Cape Town Tembus Reject Delegates From Matanzima

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: The visit here of the seven-man Emigrant Tembu delegation ended with its biggest failure of all. The one and only meeting at which the delegation, sent by Chief Kaizer Matanzima who is chairman of the Emigrant Tembuland Regional Authority (the districts of St. Marks and Xalanga), was to "discuss" Transkei Self-government with Emigrant Tembu in Cape Town, lasted ten minutes — after the delegation had spent a week in the city.

The meeting, in the Langa Civic Hall, on Sunday, 30th September, was opened by Mr. Tembeka Tshunungwa, in the chair, and attended by the delegation, strengthened by Chief George Matanzima, who had joined them at the last moment, plus Special Branch policemen.

## End of Meeting

MR. HAMMINGTON MAJIIJA (prominent Cape Town Tembu and Liberal Party Provincial Committee member): On a point of order, Mr. Chairman —

MR. TSHUNUNGWA: Sit down! Sit down!

CHIEF GEORGE MATANZIMA (to Chairman, in a whisper): Let him speak.

MR. MAJIIJA: Have you come here for the Emigrant Tembu or the Tembu?

MR. TSHUNUNGWA: Only for the Emigrant Tembu.

MR. MAJIIJA: Why did you put in the paper that you had come for the Tembu?

MR. TSHUNUNGWA: We are here to talk only to those Tembu who fall under Chief Kaizer Matanzima.

MR. MAJIIJA: As a Tembu, I fall under Chief Sabata Dalindyebo. I am leaving the meeting.

As Mr. Majija walked out of the hall,

the entire crowd of 200 rose up, and amid uproar, followed him, including those Emigrant Tembu present. One of the latter shouted at the chair: "We are all Tembus. Why this discrimination about Emigrant Tembu?"

As the crowd walked in procession past the Langa administrative offices, they sang the popular political song, substituting the name Matanzima for the customary Verwoerd:

"Matanzima won't do anything to us. We are stronger than he is."

## "Earlier Disasters"

Leading up to the final flop were earlier disasters. After delegation member Mr. Ben Myataza, Bantu Education teacher and farmer, had told the press: "All the Tembus we have seen have been extremely grateful to Chief Kaizer Matanzima for sending us here," and a newly-appointed chief, Mr. M. Siralalala, had said: "The people we have seen have been happy to see us and to learn about the new developments", there were several "incidents":

- A petrol bomb was thrown into the house in Moshesh Avenue, Langa, where the delegates were staying, on the night of 27th September.

- A brick was thrown through a window in the Nyanga home of Mr. Shadrach Magwa, Cape Town representative of Chief Kaizer Matanzima, with a note: "Break with Matanzima."

- Mr. Magwa, known to have strongly opposed the visit of the delegation, notified the members that he would not attend its meetings.

- A proposed meeting at Nyanga East was cancelled.

NOTE: Mr. Majija is seen in the photograph on the right hand side of this page, interpreting at a Liberal Party meeting.



Mr. TERENCE BEARD addressing the Liberal Party's Grand Parade meeting on 27th September. The interpreter is Mr. H. MAJIIJA, and the banner is supported by Messrs. H. BROOKES (left) and P. RODDA (both visiting from Grahamstown).

# LIBERALS MEET ON GRAND PARADE

By a Reporter

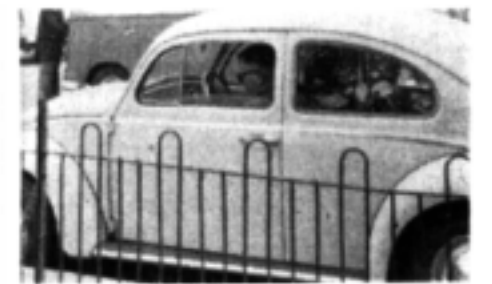
CAPE TOWN: The Minister of Justice declared in parliament during the debate on the General Law Amendment Act, that one of the purposes of the new law was to ban meetings on the Grand Parade, the former military parade ground near the centre of the city which has for generations been a public meeting place. The Minister has already fulfilled another of his threats by banning meetings on the Johannesburg City Hall steps.

In order to show Cape Town that the Minister's threats are not law, and that it will not be intimidated by them, the Liberal Party has been holding a series of lunch-hour meetings on the Parade, using the steps around the King Edward VII statue as a platform.

The latest meeting, on 27th September, was attended despite intermittent rain by about 300 people who heard the Party's speakers discuss the issues of the day.

The first speaker was Mr. Timothy Holmes, who outlined the government's proposals for the removal of Africans from the western Cape. He condemned the scheme, saying that it was a symptom of the fear for the future on the part of the Nationalists and their supporters. The Liberal Party, he declared, was pledged to fight the removals.

Mr. Terence Beard, recently elected Cape Deputy Chairman of the Party, and Senior Lecturer in Politics at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, dis-



One of seven Security Branch policemen who attended the meeting takes notes of the speeches.

cussed the implications of government policy in the Transkei.

He pointed out that in terms of government policy it was impossible for the Transkei ever to be independent. The establishment of "border" industries outside the Transkei, and the prohibition of White capital investment inside the Transkei, meant that the Transkei would never be in control of its own industry, and consequently of its own economic development.

Mr. Beard said that the government's Bantustan schemes were nothing more than an attempt to create a new colonial empire.

Other speakers were Messrs. Cromwell Nododile, E. J. Daniels and Neville Rubin, who discussed Liberal Party policy. The meeting ended at 1.45, in time for people to get back to work punctually. Further meetings will be held at the same place during future lunch hours.



Part of the audience.

# "IMVO" Taken Over By Nats.

THE swallowing up of *Imvo Zabantsundu*, that famous old Xhosa and English weekly newspaper, by the Nat-controlled Afrikaanse Pers Beperk completes a trio of tragic sequels to the major public contributions made during his lifetime by a great South African, Mr. John Tengo Jabavu.

First, he was the driving force behind the founding in 1916 of Fort Hare University College, where he died on 10th September, 1921, in his 63rd year, in the knowledge that his dream of a modern university for all South Africa and all churches had come true. Today, after being ruined by Bantu Education, it is a despised "tribal college", its numbers, standards and status reduced to a pitiful level.

Secondly, Mr. Jabavu was one of four Africans who were the first to serve on a South African government commission, the Cape Provincial Commission on Native Education, in 1919-1921. The Commission was a conservative one which made some improvements but whose findings, says Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd's *Love-dale*, 1841-1941, with unconscious prophecy, "advanced the cause of Bantu education in South Africa" by its emphasis on different syllabuses

for African children. And now we have Bantu Education.

The third tragic sequel is the loss of *Imvo*, "the opinions of the brown people" to the apartheid camp.

Founded in 1884 by John Tengo Jabavu, *Imvo* was truly independent for many years, but eventually came into the "Bantu Press" group, backed by powerful mining interests in Johannesburg. Its young editor, Mr. M. T. Vuso, and his colleague, Mr. Gordon Qumza, moved with the paper when it was acquired by Mr. Ginsberg of King William's Town and brought back to its original home at "King". Mr. Qumza left last year as the A.P.B. take-over was approaching, and Mr. Vuso has since been replaced by one Mr. Qawu, A.P.B.'s appointment to the editorial chair. In 1959, Mr. Vuso produced a special 75th anniversary number of *Imvo*, which contained a message from, among others, Mr. Ben Tzamashe, the veteran composer. He ended: "Go it, lads. Achieve your heart's destination, and that of the founder the late J. T. Jabavu and his son Dr. D. D. T. Jabavu. We are certain Mr. Ginsberg and company will be able to hold the falling wall until the Bantu return. *Ncincilili!*" The destination is one of shame, and the wall has fallen. . .

**SABATA DALINDYEBO****Strong Voice For Freedom  
In Transkei**

ON 26th April, 1961, a vigorous well-built young man of medium height, his head held high, his expressive hands illustrating one telling point after another, held spell-bound the packed debating chamber and galleries of the Umtata Bunga, as he called for "Inkululeko" (Freedom) for his people, and decried the motion asking for partial self-government for the Transkei only. The young man was Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Tembu nation in the Transkei.

Chief Sabata, who has taken his place in the South African political struggle, has caused the attention of South Africa and the world to be shifted from the unctuous propaganda with which the latest apartheid camouflage — Bantu Self-Government — is brought forth by the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and of Information. It is due as much to Chief Sabata as to any single other person that so much attention is today focused on the Transkei opposition and on the Tembu people in particular.

The tragedy of the situation is that the draconic Proclamation R400 of 1960, introduced at the time of the anti-government East Pondoland risings, is being retained to silence the opponents of apartheid, who seek to defeat the government's aim of forcing "self-government" on the Transkei while making it look as if the Transkei, led by Chief Kaizer Matanzima, has not only accepted "self-government" but has asked for it and even drawn up its own constitution.

**Fearless**

Yet some are fearless and continue to voice the demands for freedom for all South Africa that express the true wishes of the Transkei majority. They too are helping to close the gap between White and Black in South Africa and to focus attention on the truth of African aspirations rather than on the falsehoods dictated by "government policy". And they are inspired more by Chief Sabata than by any political organization or leader. For Sabata represents not only courage and leadership, but power as well — power in the devotion of three-quarters of a million Tembus, whose natural allegiance to the head of their tribe is immensely fortified by their pride in that same courage and leadership.

Sabata is today no longer only a king of the Tembus; his appeal reaches far beyond Tembuland and the Transkei, wherever government-backed "stooge" chiefs sit in authority. The people respond to a great hereditary chief who has taken his stand on the side of African freedom, and has not feared to let it be known.

Since 1961, that is, before, Chief Sabata followed the custom of the other Paramount Chiefs and of his predecessors in upholding his dual role — mouthpiece, instrument of the Tembus on the one hand, and paid government servant on the other, with a government servant's political neutrality. As recently as January 1961, anonymous Communist-inspired leaflets were distributed attacking Chief Sabata along with the Pondoland chiefs, Botha Sigcawu and Victor Poto, and Kaizer Matanzima. The year before, on a visit to Port Elizabeth, Chief Sabata was

booed and insulted when visiting Tembu tribesmen. But if the public had not come to learn of Sabata's true attitude, the government had more than sufficient reason to suspect it.

**Early Years**

It is necessary to trace the story of Sabata back to its beginning to find the seeds of Sabata's opposition to apartheid and the causes of their growth. Sabata Dalindyebo Mtikrakra (the final patronymic he has since dropped) was born on 25th November 1928 at Tyalara farm, Umtata District, to Novothi, daughter of a Khonjwayo chief of West Pondoland, and the Paramount Chief of the Tembu, Sampu Jongilizwe Mtikrakra. Sabata's father, Paramount Chief Jongilizwe, died of enteric fever at only 26 years of age on 6th July of the same year. He had not yet married his "great wife" but the Tembus nominated Novothi to that status after Jongilizwe's death, so that her unborn child, would succeed if a male, and if not, the son of Jongilizwe's first wife, Nxeko, then a child of five. Sabata was thus born into the Paramount Chieftainship of the Tembu but grew up as a normal Tembu child while two of his uncles, in succession, acted as regents.

**Education**

It has been said that Jongilizwe left instructions that the unborn child should be raised by his cousin-brother, Chief Mgudlwa, for the Khonjwayos who customarily would have raised the child, he judged too backward. So as a small child he played at the Kraal of Mgudlwa at Qumanco, the same kraal at which lived a much older cousin from a junior branch of the royal house — a confident, intelligent young man called Kaizer Matanzima.

Young Sabata went to Clarkebury, the missionary institution which his ancestor, Ngubencuka, had granted to the Methodists in 1830, forty-five years before a later Paramount Chief, Ngangelizwe, handed Tembuland over to British protection. Sabata lived in a White clergyman's household at Clarkebury, where he possibly acquired his excellent English. He went on to Healdtown where contemporaries remember that he was again marked out for his royal status. When asked to eat at a special table by himself, Sabata declined and led the life of an ordinary Healdtown schoolboy. He left early, without taking the Junior Certificate and returned to the Transkei, finally acceding to the Paramount Chieftainship in 1954, assisted at the Great Place, Bumbane, by his half-brother Nxeko and a private secretary, Mr. Jackson Nkosiyané.

Sabata was soaked in the history of his people and had thoroughly learned the duties of his position. A seemingly small point of the administration of the five districts of Tembuland concerned the chieftainship of the Emigrant Tembu in the Xalanga and St. Marks districts, to which Sabata's grandfather had appointed Chief Mhlobo Matanzima as a temporary measure many years before. Shortly after his accession Sabata visited Rode where Kaizer Matanzima, Mhlobo's son, was now reigning as chief, and told his "younger brother", the proud Fort Hare graduate, ten years his senior in age, that he was considering making a permanent appointment to the chieftainship of Emigrant Tembuland.

And so the clash came. As Sabata

grew in stature and in the respect of his people, so did he question the wisdom and goodness of the government's treatment of his people, and this found its counterpart in Matanzima's drawing ever closer to the Nationalist government. The Tembu had originally invited White missionaries and traders to come to Tembuland as teachers and, never a warlike people (according to Soga), had sought peace and progress under voluntary annexation. They had not been conquered by the British or the Boers and they could not understand how the government was beginning to treat them as subject people. Sabata reflected the mood of his people and assented to Bantu Education, Bantu Authorities and other measures with extreme reluctance. The latter, introduced by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1953, he scarcely implemented at all, leaving the whole structure that replaced the preferred District Councils system to the control of Ephraim Mayeza Sangoni, now known to the Tembus as a stooge, and no longer welcome at tribal meetings at the Great Place.

**Experience of Apartheid**

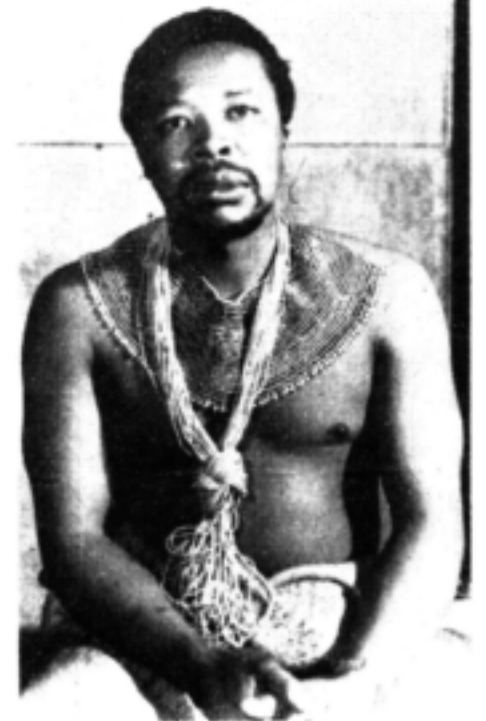
Personal experience outside the Transkei bred in Sabata the deep conviction that the government's new talk of "separate development" did not alter the fact that his people would still have to work outside what the government chose to define as "Bantu areas", and could scarcely call themselves free in the Transkei if they were subject to passes and colour bars.

Sabata saw too that outside the Transkei, even he was not more than a "kaffir". With the passing years, the grievances of the Tembus, who were being prevented from working where they pleased in the cities, and were being more and more repressed by apartheid legislation, affected Sabata deeply and he found it more and more difficult to work with the magistrates and Bantu Affairs Commissioners.

Chief Kaizer Matanzima meanwhile had enthusiastically accepted the policies of the Nationalist government. The unanimous response of his councillors when Bantu Authorities was first put to them was to rise to the feet and leave the room, shouting "Asifuna!" ("We don't want it"); and yet Matanzima persevered, played off rivals, cajoled and bullied and turned Emigrant Tembuland into a model of subservience to the government. Kaizer's motive was not only a reaction against Chief Sabata's opposition to the new dispensation. He probably saw in Bantu Authorities his own golden opportunity of acquiring power that would make good the great disparity in rank between him and his "elder brother" Sabata Dalindyebo, as Prime Minister of a "self-governing" Transkei.

**Supporters Banished**

The story of slights and counter-measures, of unforgivable breaches of Tembu custom perpetrated by Matanzima to weaken Sabata is a long and unhappy one. Sabata was greatly weakened in 1958 by the banishment of four of his ablest supporters: his secretary, Mr. Nkosiyané, two senior members of the noble Joyi family, and Mr. Mgolombane, a Tembu tribesman, on probable grounds of their having worked against the government. For this Matanzima is blamed by people near Sabata.



SABATA in traditional dress.

The outlook was depressing for Sabata. To his growing unpopularity with the government, coupled with the desertion by many of his kinsmen who went over to Matanzima's side, had been added the problem of the incomprehension of the bulk of his people as to his real attitude to the policies that they were coming to resent so bitterly.

The reassurance of his warm bond with his uncle, Nelson Mandela, A.N.C. leader and member of a junior branch of the royal house and with Patrick Duncan and other individuals, who, like Mandela, could visit him but rarely, was immensely strengthened by the events of 1960, "Africa Year", when, with the events succeeding Sharpeville and Langa, the East Pondoland risings, and a number of serious incidents involving attacks on government-supporting headmen in Tembuland, support rallied to Sabata, and he came quickly to symbolize the new mood of Tembuland and beyond.

**Bunga Speech**

The 1961 Bunga speech, which rang round the country, was just the beginning of what may well be Chief Sabata's period of real greatness. We are still in the very early stage of that beginning. His difficulties are immense — Police State rule in the Transkei, the ignorance and poverty of so many of his people, the hatred of him by senior officials, to whom he appears as the only real obstacle to the smooth introduction of the Transkei Bantustan.

Then there is his inexperience of metropolitan politics, which lack he is rapidly making good. The coming session of the Territorial Authority in Umtata will no doubt see a shrewder tactician in operation than the Sabata of the first 1962 session.

And in the coming years, who knows? Certainly with Sabotage laws and Proclamation 400's to terrorize freedom-lovers from raising their voices it is a source of deepest gratification that this difficult period has brought into the front rank a man of integrity, courage and patriotism, Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.  
A! Jonguhlanga!

**GERHARD COHN**  
Photographer

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## Freedom For Uganda

# “AN EXAMPLE FOR AFRICA”

By CLYDE SANGER

(A Forum Service Article)

SOME people say that Uganda, which on 9th October becomes the next British dependency in Africa to reach full independence, is like nowhere else in the world. Others say that it contains within its small borders all the problems and varieties that Africa presents anywhere. The two groups are not necessarily contradicting each other. In fact, they are looking at the truth from two different viewpoints.

This makes it all the more interesting to watch how Uganda's six million people will face the problems which independence brings, and to see which way the shrewd young Premier, Milton Obote, who only took office at the end of April, tries to lead them.

### Problems and Opportunities

The great Lake Victoria, round which Uganda lies, and the White Nile, which, flowing north from the lake bisects the country, have attracted all these different peoples that present Uganda with such a variety of problems—and also opportunities. Bantu tribes have settled the fertile south, but Nilotic groups have come down from the north, and Obote comes from one of these, the Lango people. In the semi-desert of the north-eastern plains the Karamojong (with origins possibly in Arabia) still lead a wild cattle-raiding life, in great contrast to the smart and sophisticated ways of the million Baganda.

### Religious Quarrels

Wars of a century or more ago have underlined the differences even among the Bantu tribes. The Baganda, under a line of some 30 Kabakas, have been in the end the most powerful, and through joining with the first British troops in the task of “pacification” succeeded in extending their borders considerably. But the three smaller kingdoms of the west—Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole—have guarded their historical claims and titles and customs.

The foreigners drawn up towards the lake from the Indian Ocean 70 years ago added even more variety, and more problems. Religious quarrels began which persist to this day between Muslim, Catholic and Anglican. The Kabakas have all been Anglicans, although it is said the



majority of Baganda are now Catholic. And Indians, setting up as small traders, have provided yet another problem of an unintegrated minority.

### Unity Above All

This lengthy general introduction was necessary to explain why all Obote's campaigning, both at election time and elsewhere, has centred on Unity. In the slogan of his Uganda People's Congress, Unity is given priority over Independence.

In contrast, Uganda's first Premier, Benedicto Kiwanuka, and his Democratic Party had concentrated its appeal on Catholic voters. It won the 1961 elections by something of a freak, because all Buganda except for a few Catholics boycotted them. Its year in government only served to increase disunity.

Milton Obote has wide enough vision to see these differences in a positive light. In the U.P.C. manifesto written for the April, 1962, elections, he wrote: “The U.P.C. happily accepts the fact that Uganda is a country whose people are of different racial origins”. And he pledges his Party “to be the guardian of African personality in upholding the dignity, status and prestige of the four African monarchs...”

This is an interpretation of “the African personality” somewhat different from that propounded by President Nkrumah, but Obote is not a man to accept other men's views without question.

### East African Federation

He is well placed by birth and upbringing to tackle this task of unification. He was born in 1926 in a part of the north province which had suffered from the Baganda in old wars, but had no set tribal system like the Western Kingdoms which might have made his thinking too rigid.

He began his schooling only at the age of 12, when a spearwound ended his days as the family goatherd. He swiftly caught up, and trained as a teacher at Uganda's Makerere College. When petty officials stopped him taking up offers to study law in America or

economics in Britain, he wandered off to Kenya and became a building gang labourer.

Obote was in Kenya during the Mau Mau Emergency, but has balanced views about that country's issues, and has condemned any plan to evict all White farmers. He helped found the first political party allowed in Nairobi after the Emergency, and has never wavered from his hope of bringing about an East African Federation of the 23 million people in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

### Buganda Won Over

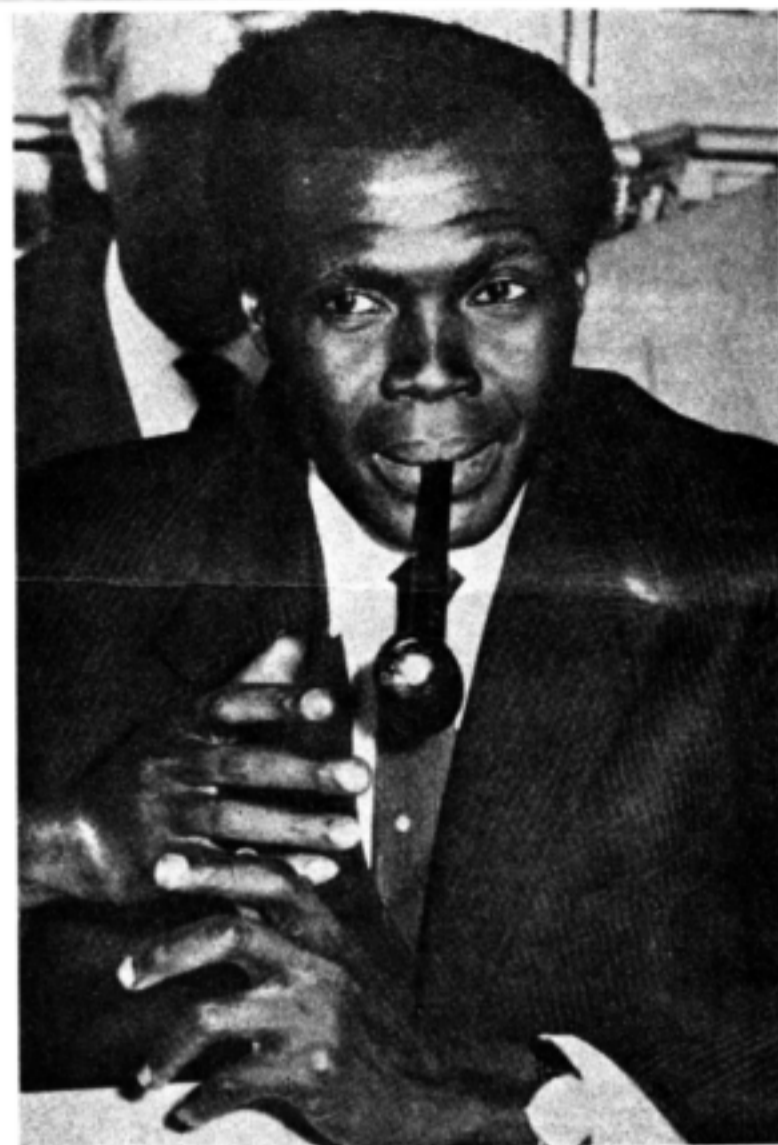
He returned to Lango district, for his baptism into Uganda politics, only six years ago. But he made swift headway, by opposing the government's plans to give farmers individual title, and was elected to the Legislative Council within a year.

His most difficult political task, he recalls, was to form the U.P.C. out of fragments left when the Uganda National Congress broke up in 1959. But undoubtedly his most spectacular achievement has been to make a solid agreement with the political leaders of Buganda and draw them into national affairs from the isolation they had chosen for ten years.

Buganda had reacted fiercely to the suggestion in 1953 that Britain might go ahead with a federation of East Africa in the pattern of the one it had imposed in the Rhodesias. The trouble culminated in the deportation of the Kabaka, but even after he was restored two years later Buganda traditionalist leaders kept the kingdom from playing any national role. On New Year's Day, 1961, they even declared Buganda independent of all Uganda, and were somewhat peeved that the British governor took no notice.

Kiwanuka, when Prime Minister, held the view that Uganda could carry on well enough without Buganda's cooperation. Obote, on the other hand, saw there was no chance of coming to independence in a stable state if this central part of the country was at odds with the rest. Before constitutional talks opened in London last October, he had won the Buganda leaders over. He would back their claims for federal status and for the right of their own Lukiko (parliament) to co-opt representatives to the National Assembly. In return they dropped all mention of secession and agreed to take part in national elections.

It was only a step to a formal alliance, when elections came, between the U.P.C. and the Buganda politicians who formed the Kabaka Yekka movement (the “Kabaka Alone”



OBOTE

group), an organization with no published policy except a determination to see the dignity of their Kabaka preserved. Despite the D.P. (Democratic Party) attacks on this “unholy alliance” between nationalists and traditionalists, the combination won handsomely in April, and has formed a joint government.

Obote's main task, and the test of his political skill, is now to bring Buganda's leaders into the habit of thinking nationally. He has had to make concessions to their strength already, giving the Kabaka Yekka leader the Ministry of Finance and postponing any decision of the “Lost Counties” land dispute issue between the Kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda for at least two years.

### Good at Compromise

Three Privy Councillors had recommended that before independence Britain should supervise the handing back of two counties to Bunyoro which Buganda had received as a reward for helping the British 70 years ago. Buganda adamantly refused, and Obote avoided a quarrel at the final constitutional talks in June by getting Britain to accept that he would conduct a referendum after two more years.

This settlement is typical of his keenness to find compromises, in the belief that time will soften the edges of hostility. In another postponement of a difficult issue, his government has agreed to Queen Elizabeth remaining Queen of Uganda after independence, rather than face the issue of who among Ugandans should become Head of State.

Obote is no procrastinator by nature, he simply believes haste could destroy what patience is building. His Party has “socialist leanings”, according to its Secretary-General,

and its manifesto speaks of “a massive revolt against poverty”. But it disclaims any intention to nationalize the coffee, tea or cotton plantations which are Uganda's primary resource. It lays emphasis on increasing individual savings and suggests “a gentle revolution” to set up an African stock exchange.

### Gentle Revolutionary

Perhaps that phrase—“a gentle revolutionary”—suits Obote best. He has the fire of African nationalism, without doubt, but it is controlled since he has to administer inflammable regions. Slightly built (his health causes his friends anxiety), he carries an ebony cane and uses a lawyer's form of oratory and gentle humour in his speeches. Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika and Milton Obote have much in common.

His Cabinet is full of young and pragmatic men of the same sort. With them there seems little danger of a bout of racialism, such as Tanganyika has gone through. Perhaps the inoculation came earlier, with the Buganda boycott of Asian traders three years ago. But Makerere has spread sophistication, and coffee has spread prosperity, to an extent not experienced elsewhere in East Africa.

The U.P.C. has as its emblem an open hand, to suggest the power of the people. It also symbolises hard work and peacefulness. Obote and his ministers, with a £55 million development plan ahead of them, happily accept the implications of the open hand. It may soon become clear that Uganda, that microcosm of Africa, is determined to become an example (though probably a modest example) to her troubled neighbours and to the whole continent.

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

## Basutoland — S.A. Police Collaboration Denied

SIR.—A mistaken impression is given in your news item "Basutoland Police work for Verwoerd" (*Contact*, 26th July). It is possible that your reporter did not understand Captain Williams correctly.

The Basutoland Mounted Police do not work for the government of the Republic of South Africa.

There is certainly no political collaboration between the Basutoland Mounted Police and the South African Police either with regard to refugees or anyone else.

Contact between the two Forces is limited to the co-operation existing between the Police Forces of neighbouring States in the interests of public order, and for the prevention of crime.

The photograph published in your latest issue (*Contact*, 6th September) showing an officer of the Basutoland Mounted Police accompanying officers of the South African Police does not alter the truth of my statement. I repeat once again, there is no political collaboration between the Basutoland Mounted Police and the South African Police.

I should be most grateful if you would publish these facts.

U. B. TRISTRAM,  
Information Officer,  
The Secretariat, Maseru.

## Communism and Us

SIR.—I refer to the letter of Mr. J. N. S. Mcapazeli in *Contact*, 11th January, 1962. In his attack on racial domination he mentioned Communism as well. What has Communism to do with our battle? Are we oppressed by Communists or is this gentleman just out of step with the rest of Africa?

I challenge this so-called son of Africa to deny that Communist states have helped the African states financially and materially; to deny that so-called African nationalism is nothing but another form of racial discrimination; to deny that Russia has several times offered its friendly hand to our comrades in Africa.

M. NTABA,  
3315 Sakkiesdorp, Nyanga, Cape.  
[See Editorial, page 2—EDITOR.]

## Poor Conditions For Basuto Road Workers

SIR.—Kindly allow me to express my opinion on the subject of Public Works in Basutoland.

One can go by the roads of the country at any time of the year and one will notice iron houses and tents along the roads. They house the thin and wiry Basuto casual labourers of the Department of Public Works.

Get inside on a winter night and see shame. These workers sleep in shabby blankets, on the hard ground, there are no heaters or queen stoves, the iron and ground reflect the cold that no white man can stand. Early in the cold morning (they have the longest working hours in the country) poor people are on board trailers without shock absorbers, which you can only be on for two minutes and ask the driver to stop and you alight on account of the rocking and stumping.

Know that they are paid just a couple of shillings per day, living from hand to mouth, without even having any

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- We like short letters on any topic
- A prize — "Contact" free for a year — is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

## Is the Dictionary Wrong?

SIR.—We are taught in schools that the original inhabitants of a country or continent are called by the name of that country or continent, e.g., America, American.

But when one comes to South Africa, one gets a different thing and some of these English words seem to have different meanings, applicable only here in South Africa. A word like African here means a black man; European means a White person whether he is born in Europe or not.

But when you approach one of these Europeans, he will tell you that South Africa is his fatherland!

Could my fellow readers of *Contact* help me in explaining words like African, European, and Sabotage: up to now I blame my dictionary, because it explains them in a way different from the way they are explained by White South Africans.

CAPTAIN SEJOJO,  
Springs, Tvl.

## HELP IN GRAAFF-REINET

SIR.—With reference to the letter signed "Agent—Graaff-Reinet", which appeared in *Contact* (6th September), if the writer would care to get in touch with the Non-European Welfare Liaison Committee, who are making a survey of conditions of unemployment in Graaff-Reinet, we might be able to help him.

He should telephone the Chairman (Bethesda 322) or Mrs. G. Charlton (Graaff-Reinet 917).

E. M. KINGWILL,  
Chairman, Non-European Welfare  
Liaison Committee, Graaff-Reinet.

security in their employment. They can be dismissed by a foreman on the spot if he feels like doing so, no matter whether one has worked there for well over ten years. They contract rheumatic colds and dust-caused diseases at work but get no compensation when so disabled. They are thrown away as the burden of the relatives. They get no allowances nor are they paid for the days when they are sick. When they complain or join Workers' Unions their bosses threaten and usually expel them.

Sirs, it is so exasperating that these foundation stones of the country are such slaves under the British officers with their instruments of oppression, the so-called General Orders and Colonial Regulations.

It is important for our Legislative Council to change these Orders and Regulations in pace with the Africanization of offices to avoid sharp class distinction.

"COBRA",  
Teyateyaneng.

## Mr. Leshoai

SIR.—May I appeal to you not to waste space which could be used for more valuable purposes, on the sort of pointless nonsense which appeared above the name of Mr. Bob Leshoai on 20th September.

On 23rd August you published an eminently reasonable letter by Mr. K. Moonsamy, of the S.A. Indian Congress, in which he pointed out that Mr. Leshoai had, by his criticism of British Equity's anti-apartheid stand, given the impression that non-Whites are in fact happy with the racial segregation of theatre audiences. He asked Mr. Leshoai to convey to the public where he stood, should this be an incorrect deduction.

Mr. Leshoai has not even attempted to answer this very valid criticism; he has chosen, instead, the coward's weapon of irrelevant vituperation. I am acquainted with Mr. Leshoai and know that this sort of gutter-polemic is unworthy of him. It is unworthy of *Contact*; your responsibility extends only to the publishing of all points of view, not to the printing of pure abuse.

MARITZ VAN DEN BERG,  
P.O. Box 2321, Pretoria.

[Mr. Leshoai's letter was sent as a reply to Mr. Moonsamy. If Mr. Leshoai did not want to use "gutter-polemic", he surely would not have done so. EDITOR.]

## Indirect Oppression

SIR.—Swaziland is overcast with black clouds. It is not with pleasure that we see that the only victims of the government are Africans. It is said that Africans are free in Swaziland but that is only theoretical, since we understand quite clearly that everything bad or evil has been allocated for the indigent people of the country.

The Whites have made Africans their mouthpieces, and government acts to protect Whites, and the newspapers here have been introduced to defend the government.

Complaints against the government are not published, whereas bad deeds by Africans soon appear in print.

S. N. D. MABASO,  
Manzini.

## B.P.P. Disunity

SIR.—Mr. Mpho and his supporters such as Messrs. Moses Monakwe, F. Keitseng and Sebalaoa have shown they can't lead the people to be free: they have already broken the unity of the B.P.P. They have divided the Party in two.

Why is Mr. Mpho allowed to divide the B.P.P. into two Parties? This is dangerous for us people of Bechuanaland. The B.P.P. must build the people's unity, and not allow divisions.

Batswana, I call for unity in our country.

ANDREW G. M. KEEAIKITSE,  
Lohatsi, B.P.

## Shallow Mindedness

SIR.—The allegations against Mr. Motsete and Mr. Matante display the shallow-mindedness of their opponents. People like Mr. Tladi (*Contact*, 6th September) are not correct in saying that Mr. Mpho's conference was attended by all branches. I wish they would get their facts straight. There is nothing they can do for the nation. Wherever they are, they act against the President and the Vice-President of our Bechuanaland People's Party, because they want the leadership of the Party.

They have taken pains to blacken the President and the Vice-President, saying that they have failed to establish branches at Mochudi and Mahalapye. They have in fact established a branch here at Mochudi and it is doing well.

MINA MOKGOTHU,  
Mochudi, B.P.

## PRIZE LETTER

### ARE WE READY FOR FREEDOM?

SIR.—Freedom may not be as far off as some of us think. When it comes, are we going to be ready for it? No single section of our nation will be able to cope, on its own, with the work that lies ahead, and every single one of us will be needed.

Education, for instance, is, and always will be, of primary importance. When it is compulsory we shall need an army, not only of teachers, but of architects to design the schools, builders to build them, scholars to write the books, artists to illustrate them, printers to print them and so on and so on.

How many Africans shall we be able to call on? Are those who have left the country making full use of the scholarships available overseas? Would it not be possible for more women to train, either here or overseas, so that our own people can fill the many, many posts that will be crying out to be filled.

We haven't the time to sit in the sun and wonder what is going to happen next, and where and when it is going to happen. It might happen tomorrow, and what then?

FREEDOM,  
Fish Hoek.

## Mother Africa Calls

SIR.—This is mother South Africa in her present dress, decorated with such articles as segregation, apartheid, injustice and dishonesty. See her being dispossessed in front of the eyes of the world. See her children thrown into sorrow and bathed in poverty and worry.

Who will help the South African children out of this dam of oppression, and when? Behold and hear through the mist of apartheid the voice calling on South African children to unite, for in unity lies salvation. This is the voice of Mother Africa commanding her southern children to unite their souls and fight as one to lead a better life in future.

D. K. W. MASIGO,  
Tatitown, B.P.

## New Party Needed?

SIR.—At the moment there is not one really suitable Party left in South Africa. The Nationalists are only interested in about one-third of the country. The United Party are only slightly interested in the other two-thirds. According to the Progressive Party only about 2% of the non-Whites in the country would be entitled to receive the vote. If the Liberals came into power some of the non-Whites who were given their freedom would not know how to use it. But it seems to me that if the Liberals altered their policy slightly they would be an ideal Party. Here is one suggestion for a change in their voting policy: compile a simple I.Q. test with a fairly easy pass mark, which could be taken by anyone with a view to being on the voters' roll. The test could be taken when a person leaves school or when he turns 18. If one passed the test they would be entitled to vote. There would, of course, be compulsory free education for all. All forms of the "apartheid-demon" would be abolished. To overcome the poverty in the country a semi-socialist policy would need to be adopted by which all the larger businesses would be state-controlled. A national health service, as in Britain, would have to be started and taxes would be levied according to income.

DAVID ALBINO,  
Sea Point, Cape.

## Basutoland

# Trade Union Activity Increases

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: During the last three months three significant moves have taken place which point towards rapid trade union activity in the territory—

- Mr. Shakhane Mokhehle, Secretary of the Basutoland Federation of Labour has resigned from his position on the Basutoland Co-operative Industries, to become full-time trade union chief of the Federation of Labour (the Federation has five affiliates).
- Mr. Caswell Mokeki, Secretary of the Basutoland Workers Union has packed his bags in Mafeteng and moved to Maseru where he is organizing trade unions on behalf of the Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions, a federation of trade unions with only the Workers Unions as an affiliate.
- The I.C.F.T.U.\* representative in Basutoland, Mr. K. T. T. Maripe, is stepping up his plans to bring the leaders of the B.F.L. and B.C.T.U. together as part of his mission to establish a single "national trade union centre" for Basutoland.

### "International Control"

Behind these moves, however, there is manoeuvring and intrigue for the international control of Basutoland trade unionism. It has been known for some time now that the Communist Party of Lesotho wants to organize trade unions in the territory as part of its programme to "educate the workers and the peasants". They are utilising the B.C.T.U. platform to achieve this.

Meanwhile the I.C.F.T.U. has set itself the task of crushing this communist objective. These moves, observers believe, may have serious repercussions in policies on African trade unionism in Brussels and Moscow, both of which want to assert their influence on the Pan African trade union movement.

The role of the Basutoland Federation of Labour on the other hand is to keep Basutoland trade unions neutral of Western or Eastern influences. The Federation would rather join the independent African trade union body—the All African Trade Union Federation.

But whatever differences of policy may exist between the B.F.L. and the B.C.T.U. there is an urgent need in Basutoland for the evolution of a

\*International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with headquarters in Brussels.

## Swapo Leader's Tour

(continued from page 3)

officials impressed me with their enthusiasm for our cause.

"I left Cairo on 15th August for the People's Republic of Yugoslavia, where I was a guest of the Central Committee of the government Party. I was welcomed by Mr. H. Lazarevic who generously received and hosted me on behalf of his government and the people of Yugoslavia. I also had an opportunity to meet with our students studying in Zagreb. These three students are studying in three different fields (Mr. Andreas Shipanga, Political Science; Mr. Eliosel Gawaxab, Medicine; and Mr. Leonard Lidker, Economics). The three young men are working hard and well.

"After brief stopovers in several other European capitals, I arrived back in New York on 25th August, 1962."

national labour movement which is to meet the requirements of the changing circumstances from a primitive economy to the modern conditions of new economic planning.

### Government Labour Policy

The government's labour policy is still backward; the labour laws for example do not meet the needs for the new working conditions in the capital where there are already several factories in operation. The government must evolve a new labour policy which will guarantee special benefits for the workers who are not getting a fair deal at the moment. And there is nothing they can do about the unfavourable conditions under which they work until the new labour laws are enacted.

Meanwhile a spokesman of the laundry and dry-cleaning workers (who have no trade union of their own), told me that the workers in this industry were to convene a meeting soon to launch

a union to demand better working conditions, higher wages and shorter hours.

In the whole struggle of the Basuto workers for better working and living conditions, Mr. K. T. T. Maripe said his mission here was to assist the trade unions in their day to day tasks and to encourage the smooth growth of a legitimate, free and independent trade union movement.

He added: "Since my arrival here, I've done a great deal in achieving the first phase of my mission, which is to attempt to end the present division among the ranks of the labour movement, which are doing nobody any good".

It is hoped that the Basutoland Legislative Council at its next session will amend the labour policy of the Basutoland government to allow for the consideration of the larger interests of the community as a whole, and also the question of the implementation of new plans for the realization of economic and social changes in the territory.

## SWAZI MINERS' UNION FORMED

From "Contact" Correspondent

EMLEMBE: A Swaziland Mining Workers' Union has been formed at the Havelock Mine, near here. Formed last August, it now has a membership of over a thousand.

The aims of the Union, as laid out in its constitution, are as follows:

- To fight for the abolition of all forms of oppression, exploitation, discrimination and economic injustice
- To negotiate for better African wages and the recognition of the principle of equal pay for equal work
- To secure for the people and workers of Swaziland the most equitable distribution of the wealth of the country.

### Political Struggle

The Swaziland Mining Workers' Union is non-political, but this does not mean that it has closed its eyes to the present political struggle. The Union is aware that there can be no victory on

the economic front if there is no victory on the political front. Political victory comes first.

In a memorandum to the authorities at the Havelock Mine, signed by the Union's Secretary-General, Mr. G. Shongwe, and President, Mr. B. M. Vilakati, attention is drawn to bad conditions at the mine. The Union calls for the payment of adequate wages to all miners, and suggests a monthly rate of R36 for rough-work miners and R50 for skilled African workers.

### "Ruthless Policy"

The Union condemns the mine for its "ruthless" policy of dismissing without notice African workers who commit minor offences. The mine is also condemned for practising apartheid, and in view of the fact that racial discrimination was banned by the government in August 1961, calls on the mine to take immediate steps to bring about better race relations at the mine.

## B.P.P. IN ACTION



ADVERTISING A MEETING: The Bechuanaland People's Party Francistown branch leads a procession through the centre of the town.

## MATANTE VINDICATED IN COURT

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: The first major blow at the campaign which is being carried out by *New Age* and the Motsamai Mpho group against Mr. P. G. Matante, Vice-President of the Bechuanaland People's Party, has been delivered in the Lobatsi Magistrate's Court.

That, at any rate, is the reaction of informed political opinion here to the verdict in the case in which Mr. Matante was charged on two counts following allegations that he had forcibly removed South African refugee Maxwell Mlonyene from Bechuanaland to the South African border post.

The second count alleged that Mr. Matante had detained Mr. Phineas Sebolao, searched and tied him by the ankles and wrists, with intent to "infringe, hinder or disturb" him "in the peaceful enjoyment of his personal rights of dignity, liberty and reputation".

Mr. Matante was acquitted on both counts. The magistrate refused to believe the story told to the court by the two complainants.

### Wild Allegations

Regarding the incident involving Messrs. Mlonyene and Sebolao wild allegations have been made through the press and otherwise in a calculated campaign against Mr. Matante.

One Mr. R. J. Kalane, writing in *Contact* (23rd August) stated: "The most cruel and barbaric thing of all that Mr. Matante did was this: He took two South African political refugees, Mr. Mlonyene and Mr. Sebolao, tied their hands and legs, threw them in a Land Rover and took them over the border into that brutal house of bondage, the Republic of South Africa."

The magistrate dismissed this evidence and found Mr. Matante not guilty on both counts.

Giving evidence himself, Mr. Matante outlined the intrigue in the B.P.P. against the leadership, including himself and Mr. Motsete. Messrs. Mlonyene and Sebolao had been involved in this intrigue, and were expelled from the B.P.P.

### Further Court Case

Mr. Matante still faces the other court action brought against him by a former colleague in the B.P.P., Mr. Mpho. The case, in which Mr. Matante is being called upon to account for the sum of R18,000 which he is alleged to have expropriated from the B.P.P., will be heard later this year or early in 1963.

### Warning to "New Age"

Meanwhile Mr. Matante has warned *New Age*, the leftist Cape Town weekly, that he will take action against it if it continues its "smear campaign" against him. In a statement Mr. Matante declares:

"Regarding its continued smear campaign against me, I know that I can easily have a charge brought against 'New Age' for contempt of court and also take civil action for defamation of character. I may be forced to do this against my wishes. Let 'New Age' be warned."

*New Age* has consistently supported the Mpho group, and gave prominence to the Mlonyene-Sebolao incident (which has since been shown in court to be untrue).



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