

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

PRIME MINISTER BANDA

ON 1st February Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda was sworn in as Nyasaland's first Prime Minister, and as the first African Prime Minister in central Africa. His coming to power in Nyasaland, after more than sixty years of British rule, marks the latest step in the southward march of African liberation, and is the last stage before Nyasaland becomes independent — the nearest free state to White-dominated Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

As Dr. Banda took the oath of allegiance in the assembly chamber in Zomba, a jubilant crowd danced outside in torrential rain and sang triumphantly "Kamuzu ndi Nkango" (Kamuzu is a Lion).

Sworn in at the same time was Dr. Banda's first cabinet, which includes two Whites and Dr. Banda's former chief aide, Masauko Chipembere, who was released from gaol on the Governor's orders a fortnight ago — after serving two out of a three-year sentence for sedition.

After the Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, had left the chamber, Dr. Banda gave a general outline of his policies.

Dr. Banda said he abhorred South Africa's policies "not because I hate the Whites of South Africa but because I hate domination".

"If South Africa honestly and sincerely believes that I approve their policy they have a rude shock coming, because they are living in a fool's paradise."

Dr. Banda emphasized that although Nyasaland had its secession from Sir Roy Welensky's Federation assured and independence was just around the corner, this was not enough so long as Africans in neighbouring Northern and Southern Rhodesia were not free.

Dr. Banda said Whites prepared to work under an African majority government were not only welcome to stay but he wanted more of them.

"However, those who wanted to rule the country had better get out now."

He said that there was no truth in rumours that he intended getting rid of White civil servants.

"We are seceding, and our independence will start a chain of reaction in Africa," he declared.

(SEE PAGE 4)



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

COMMENT

GREATEST CHALLENGE TO NON-RACIALISM

THERE is one single factor that makes collaboration between Dr. Verwoerd and Chief Kaizer Matanzima possible, if as appears certain, Chief Matanzima is not simply a willing tool of Dr. Verwoerd. This factor is their belief in race, and in the paramountancy of the interests of their own community. This factor of racism marks these two men and their followers off from another important group struggling for a solution to South Africa's social problem, namely the non-racialists.

Thousands of politically aware men and women stand in between. To them Chief Kaizer's sins are his reputed harshness as a ruler, his vaulting ambition, his very willingness to implement any part of the apartheid policy, his acceptance of a local government in a small portion of South Africa as a substitute for freedom for all in the Republic. Yet a clever advocate could possibly explain away all these things and depict Chief Matanzima as the only potential liberator of the African people.

Still the non-racialists would maintain their implacable opposition to Matanzima, on the grounds that the liberation he is claiming to bring the African people is a perpetuation of racism in South Africa. It was racism that for hundreds of years blighted the people of our continent. It is racism which is the world's enemy, in all countries, today. It is in South Africa that the social problem is most bedevilled by racism, by the existence in our nation of so many communities with different physical characteristics and customs, and with a history of conflict and oppression. Here racism must be fought to the

death. Here men and women must decide in their hearts that the future of South Africa is as a country where all will live together in peace, where his "race" is a man's own business, and where peace and progress can only exist as racism retreats.

One must hope that many more people believe this than express it by joining a non-racial organization, for the only political organization which resolutely upholds and practices non-racialism is the Liberal Party of South Africa, and its numbers are small.

Chief Kaizer Matanzima and the racists led by Dr. Verwoerd make it clear that they discern the Liberal Party's non-racial position, by their constant attacks on the Liberals. To Matanzima and Verwoerd, the Liberal Party is advocating non-racialism as a cloak for racial domination — by Whites according to Matanzima, by Blacks according to Verwoerd. To Matanzima and Verwoerd the fellowship of Liberals as equals and colleagues across the colour line cannot exist. Neither is capable of seeing the relationship of Black Liberal A with White Liberal B other than as Black Liberal A taking orders from his master White Liberal B.

One must hope that in the other organizations there are non-racialists, even though those organizations themselves are conducted on racial lines and some of their members think racially, even as Matanzima and Verwoerd do. And one must hope that the people will see the sense of non-racialism, even if many of their leaders do not practise it. Because the ultimate opposition to Matanzima, to apartheid, to partition

of our country, and to race-domination in any form, can only come from non-racialism.

The choices are simple — partition based on race, the way of Verwoerd and Matanzima; domination based on race, the way of equally race-sick militants on both sides of the colour line; and non-racial unity, the way of the Liberals and of non-racialists still uncommitted, or in other movements. The advocate of race-domination can yet find a home with the race-partitionist, as they have their racism in common. But to the non-racialist, both are the enemy.

The collaboration of Verwoerd and Matanzima is a sign that the racists are beginning to join forces. It is vital that the non-racialists should do the same, if they are to win the long struggle that is yet to come.

Half a Million Unemployed

UNEMPLOYMENT is said by cabinet ministers to be virtually non-existent in South Africa. This is one of the government's propaganda boasts used repeatedly to show that ours is a stable country with a healthy economy.

But these boasts are no more than another of the government's attempts to deceive, and their falseness has been shown in the report of a government appointed commission — the so-called Froneman commission which has been examining the position of "foreign Africans" in South Africa. At one stage in the commission's recommendations the report says that "foreign Africans" will be comparatively easy to replace once they are removed from the labour force, because there are (figures for June, 1961) 505,000 unemployed Africans in South Africa, as well as considerable numbers of Coloured people and Indians (estimated at 20,000) without work.

These figures are so startling that in a democracy they would have caused a major government crisis (in Britain, with a population of more than 50,000,000, there are about 800,000 people out of work and it is regarded as an emergency), but here the matter is almost completely ignored, even though the figures demonstrate that about 10 per cent of the total South African labour force (5,666,000 according to the Froneman report) is workless. This means that probably a million and a half people in South Africa are destitute, with no work and little prospect of work in an economy which is not growing fast enough to keep pace with the birth rate.

One of the government's measures to ease the position in South Africa is to get rid of the hundreds of thousands of "foreign Africans" at present working in the country, but this will bring only temporary relief.

No solution will be found to problems such as these until apartheid is scrapped, democracy restored, and realistic policies of land reform, industrialization and development pursued by a government acting in the name of the people of South Africa as a whole, not in the interests of an exclusive and privileged minority.



The Third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference opened in Moshi, Tanganyika on 4th January.

PRETORIA LIBERAL WARNED OF HOUSE ARREST

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Mrs. Adelaine Hain, Secretary of the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party, was accompanied by her husband, Walter Hain, and an attorney when she went to be formally warned by the Chief Magistrate, Mr. S. J. Mostert, on 24th January.

Mr. Mostert said that he had been instructed by the Minister to call upon Mrs. Hain to cease engaging in activities "calculated to further the aims of communism", and formally to warn her that if she did not do so the Minister was empowered to take certain actions against her in accordance with the provisions of Section 10(1) of Act No. 44 of 1950 as amended—the "so-called House Arrest Act" Mr. Mostert called it.

He then handed her a typed foolscap sheet setting out the provisions of the Act. Mrs. Hain said, "Is that all", and when Mr. Mostert answered in the affirmative, asked him exactly what activities she was to cease.

Mr. Mostert replied that he did not know and that the Minister was not obliged to furnish any further information under the Act; he added that he would have thought that she would have known what she had been doing. Mrs. Hain repeated that she had no idea which of her activities the Minister considered to be furthering the aims of communism.

She pointed out that she was not a communist and that her activities were calculated to further the cause of liberalism. She said that there was no point in warning her if she was not to be told what she must stop doing.

Mr. Mostert again said that he could not help her and advised her to write to the Minister direct requesting the information.

In a statement, the National Chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Peter Brown said:

If anything were needed to show up the fraud of the Suppression of Communism Act, and the cynical manner in which Mr. Vorster uses it, this threat to Mrs. Hain should do it. Nobody

could be less of a communist than she is; nobody could be more positively opposed to violence in any form.

Why then does the Minister warn her?

The reason is that, in the Nationalist hot-bed of Pretoria, she and her fellow-Liberals have consistently and with great courage set out to expose apartheid as the shabby attempt to entrench White privilege at the expense of non-White rights which at the bottom it is. They have done this by opposing the loss of African freehold rights in Lady Selborne, by publicizing Pretoria's vicious Group Areas plans and in a hundred-and-one other ways.

Adelaine Hain's struggle against apartheid has been a magnificent example to all South Africa. Her fighting response to Mr. Vorster's warning is another. Democratic principles in South Africa would be quite safe in her hands.

They certainly are not in those of Minister Vorster, whose actions will only ensure that when his particular totalitarian system collapses, it will be succeeded by another at least as bad.



Mrs. ADELAINÉ HAIN, Secretary of the Pretoria Branch of the Liberal Party, warned to stop "furthering the aims of communism".

FAMILY FACING EVICTION

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: All members of the Sita family who live on the family premises (a shop and house) in Hercules, a White suburb of Pretoria, were charged on 10th December last year under the Group Areas Act. Nana Sita, the father, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment or a R100 fine. He chose imprisonment.

Nana Sita is a follower of Gandhi, whom he knew personally. He is determined to take a stand against such Acts as the Group Areas Act and has refused to co-operate in any way with the authorities in carrying out the Act. He says that, even if he uses his last penny, he will not give up.

The rest of the family—Mrs. Sita, three daughters, a son and a daughter-in-law—pleaded not guilty and their case has been remanded to 7th March. But all stand firmly behind Nana Sita

band's health (he suffers from chronic arthritis) and her concern for her daughter-in-law Kanta, who is expecting her first baby next month. Kanta herself, standing serenely behind her husband made no comment on the possible outcome of the case, but friends of the family hope that the new baby will be at least some months old before she need face a sentence.

The house is behind the shop on a half-acre corner plot.



Mrs. P. Sita (centre) and the Sita family.

Scholarships for S. Africans

THE National Union of South African Students has announced that a number of scholarships to universities outside South Africa have been made available to South African students.

In the belief that a free, compulsory and democratic education is one of the main bases of a healthy society, and that a university education which conforms to the principles of freedom of thought and expression, and academic freedom, is the right of every citizen with the intellectual qualifications for it, NUSAS has opposed and continues to oppose Bantu Education and all that goes with it, and the system of tribal colleges for each racial group in South Africa.

Its scholarship programme is one expression of this belief. The following scholarships have recently been offered to South African students who have been prevented, in one way or another, from obtaining a university education in the proper sense of the word:

● **A scholarship to St. Andrew's University, Scotland.** St. Andrew's is one of the oldest and most famous of the universities in Great Britain. The Students' Representative Council there has raised a certain amount of money, which has been supplemented by a South African source, for a South African student to study at the university, in the faculty of his choice. The scholarship, which is valued at R2900, is renewable annually for three years. It covers travel to Scotland and full tuition and living expenses there. All other things being equal, preference will be given to a candidate who has been denied a university education in South Africa, for political reasons. Applications or enquiries from prospective applicants, should be sent in as soon as possible to the address given below. It is hoped that the successful candidate will be able to start his studies towards the end of this year.

● **Louvain University, Leopoldville.** NUSAS has been offered 50 scholarships for South African Africans at this well-established and flourishing university in the Congo. NUSAS is very keen to get as many good applications as possible, in order to take the fullest possible advantage of this outstanding offer. The scholarships cover tuition, living expenses at the university and an annual return air trip from the student's nearest airport to Leopoldville. They are renewable annually. It must be noted, however, that one-third of the value of the scholarship awarded in each case, is to be repaid once the student has graduated and is earning. Louvain University, which has up-to-date facilities and equipment, is undoubtedly one of the best and most flourishing universities in Africa today. Although the medium of instruction is French, a preliminary course in French is offered to all foreign students.

● **Queen's University, Ontario, Canada.** A post-graduate scholarship valued at just over R1000 is offered to a South African student who holds a bachelor's or an honours degree. It has been offered by the World University Service of Canada, which is also negotiating for more money, to pay for travel to Canada and living expenses at the university. Applications should be in by the middle of March from students who wish to be considered: the successful applicant would begin his studies in September this year.

In addition to the scholarships above, NUSAS is negotiating for a scholarship in Switzerland, and others in the Netherlands, America and the rest of Europe. Applications for these will be invited when full information becomes available.

All enquiries should be addressed to: The Secretary for Scholarships, NUSAS, 148 St. George's Street, Cape Town. Phone 2-7831.



The Sita store.

and they say that they do not intend to move from their home.

When I visited the Sita home last week I found the whole family in good heart. Mrs. Sita and her son carry on business in the shop and are managing very well although they miss Nana Sita's help. The old lady is cheerful in spite of her constant worry over her hus-

DR. HASTINGS BANDA

THE MAN WHO BEAT THE FEDERATION

By TITUS MUKUPO

ONE man stands head and shoulders above all others in Nyasaland and that is Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda. But literally Dr. Banda, now Prime Minister of Nyasaland, is a small man—much smaller than, say, one of his chief opponents, Mr. Wellington Manoah Chirwa, a one-time Federal member of parliament, whose "folly" in becoming member of the Federal parliament at the beginning of Federation in 1953 was directly responsible for deciding Dr. Banda to come back to Nyasaland to fight against Federation and to bring about self-government for Nyasaland.

Nicknames

Because of his great determination to get Federation abolished by the British government and to bring about independence for Nyasaland Dr. Banda has earned himself several nicknames from his admirers in Nyasaland. The names reflect Dr. Banda's own character. "Kamuzu", as he is intimately called, has become more of a nickname than a real name. The doctor's second name means "small root" which is taken to portray Dr. Banda as a sign of stability for the emergent Malawi nation. Very often Dr. Banda is referred to as "The Messiah" or "The Redeemer" because he has done more than any other Nyasaland politician to bring about Nyasaland's independence—which now is round the corner.

The more conservative of his followers prefer to call him by a more conservative title—the meaningful "Ngwazi". Ngwazi means hero and must remind that class of his admirers of their own youthful days when they returned complete with plumed shield and assegai from tribal wars chanting songs of victory. In place of the plume Dr. Banda now carries his famous homburg hat and in one hand a fly-switch where the assegai is attached. The rest of his attire is typical of a Londoner, which is a strong reminder of his life-long association with Britain.

Early Travels

Born in 1902 Dr. Banda has spent greater part of his life in Britain and in America than in Nyasaland. Dr. Banda was born at Kasungu and received his early education at Livingstonia Mission; a serious urge for more education made him walk his way with labourers who went to work on the gold mines on the Rand. On the way young Banda stopped to work as a medical orderly at a small hospital at Hartley in Southern Rhodesia. While he was there he got to love medical work and he also learnt at first hand of the colour discrimination in Southern Rhodesia. In Johannesburg he found work as a clerk on the gold mines and he saved up his little pay to assist him in his bid for further education. After several years in South Africa where he spent some of his time at Lovedale College in the Cape Province, young Banda decided to cross the sea and go to the United States to attend a college there.

He attended the Wilberforce Academy in Ohio and left it to take history and

political science at a college in Chicago. After studying history and political science he did his medical training at Nashville Medical College in Tennessee, graduating in 1937. But since he could not practise medicine in a British territory he had to go and attend a medical college in Britain, which he did. Dr. Banda obtained diplomas from both Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities.

He was thus fully qualified now to practise in the United States and in British territories. Unfortunately by this time he could not return to Nyasaland because of the outbreak of war. He stayed in England working at a small hospital for seamen at Tyneside.

African Politics

Dr. Banda began to take an interest in African politics when after the war he moved to London and set up private practice there. It was in London he met people such as Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and Jomo Kenyatta, with whom he discussed the independence of Africa from colonial rule. The subject of independence started to become more immediate to Dr. Banda when here in central Africa talks started for closer association of the three territories into some form of Federation. In 1949 the Victoria Falls conference was held to discuss Federation. Dr. Banda and other African leaders and students in Britain met and discussed the consequences of Federation.

Opposition to Federation

With Harry Nkumbula in 1951 Dr. Banda published at his own expense a booklet the two of them wrote violently opposing Federation as being detrimental to African interests. The booklet strongly criticized colour discrimination in Southern Rhodesia and argued that colour discrimination would, as a result of Federation, cross into the northern territories. The booklet argued that instead the territories should be given self-government under one man one vote.

During the period 1950-1953 when anti-Federation activities by the African nationalist Parties in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were at their height, Dr. Banda often found himself host in London to African nationalist delegations from the northern territories each time they went for talks with the British government.

Federation Imposed

Nevertheless Federation was imposed against the wishes of the Africans in the three territories and Dr. Banda then left London to go and start a practice in Ghana. But he still maintained his contact with Nyasaland, mainly through Henry Chipembere. From Chipembere, who was then just a member of the Legislative Council without being a member of the then wobbling Nyasaland African National Congress, Dr. Banda learned that Manoah Chirwa and Clement Kumbikano had agreed to be nominated as members of the Federal parliament. This infuriated him as he believed that the Federal government should be boycotted completely by every self-respecting Nyasalander.

Chipembere appealed to Dr. Banda to use his influence to make Manoah Chirwa resign his Federal seat. Dr. Banda wrote a memorandum to the African National Congress and as a



EARLY DAYS: An early meeting of the Malawi Congress Party. Mr. ALEKE BANDA at the microphone, Dr. HASTING BANDA (with dark glasses) seated, with him former leader of the banned Southern Rhodesian National Democratic Party, Mr. MICHAEL MAWEMA.

result of the memorandum both Chirwa and Kumbikano were expelled from the A.N.C. for refusing to resign their Federal parliamentary seats.

Meanwhile the situation inside Congress as the years went by became more and more confused as the lack of strong capable leadership became evident. Chipembere and others became increasingly anxious that Dr. Banda himself should cut short his stay outside Nyasaland and come to be the rallying point in the struggle against Federation and for Nyasaland's independence. So eventually Dr. Banda returned to Nyasaland in 1958 and was hailed as a "messiah" who had come to lead his people from colonial bondage to liberty and to self-determination under one man one vote.

Return to Nyasaland

Dr. Banda took over the leadership of the A.N.C. on 1st August, 1958, when he was elected President General. Dr. Banda, who was regarded as a moderate and as a conservative in official circles, shocked the officials for the first time when he picked his own team of officials and organizers to assist him. The team included people like Henry Chipembere and Kanyama Chiume who were already branded as extremists. Nevertheless the doctor politician continued regardless.

Immediately Dr. Banda and his strong young team started working hard touring the country addressing meetings, intensifying the anti-Federation feeling and heightening the demand for self-government. It soon became almost impossible for officers of the Federal government to operate and in many cases officers of the territorial government found it very difficult to work without the blessing of Dr. Banda.

State of Emergency

By early 1959 tension had risen to such a pitch that on the 3rd March a State of Emergency was declared throughout the territory. The A.N.C. was banned and many Congress leaders as well as Dr. Banda himself were

arrested and sent to prison. Dr. Banda was sent to Gwelo prison in Southern Rhodesia.

Malawi Congress Party Born

For thirteen months Dr. Banda was out of circulation. (So was *Contact*, banned in Nyasaland during the emergency.) Meanwhile in Nyasaland a successor to the A.N.C. had been born. It was led by Nyasaland's first African lawyer, Orton Chirwa, and the secretary was a young senior secondary school student Aleke Banda, who had been kicked out of Southern Rhodesia for political activity. The new Party was the Malawi Congress Party and its headquarters were at Limbe. On Dr. Banda's release Orton Chirwa stood down and gave him the reins of leadership. Similarly Aleke Banda handed over to the late Dunduzu Chisiza. No sooner than they had taken over than a constitutional conference was called for in London to discuss Nyasaland's future.

At the talks Dr. Banda proved himself a shrewd and capable negotiator. Some of his critics at the time thought he had accepted far too little, but most people now see Dr. Banda's wisdom in having done that. Far from having his own way Dr. Banda was content to have a constitution that gave him a simple African majority in the House and an Executive which for a time was dominated by officials.

Dr. Banda further displayed his strength in the subsequent general election by winning all the available seats. By regular displays of ability Dr. Banda has won more and more power for his government from the British government without necessarily having another general election. The general election under the outgoing constitution was held in August, 1961, but since then Dr. Banda has grown in governmental strength to become Prime Minister. At 61, Dr. Banda is Nyasaland's most eligible bachelor. But the woman Dr. Banda loves most in the whole world is Malawi. All he lives for is her.

BRITISH BOMBERS FOR S.A.

"MAY BE USED FOR HARSH MEASURES OF REPRESSION"

From "Contact" Correspondent

LONDON: Why is Britain selling arms—including bombers—to South Africa? The recent announcements of the sale of helicopters, Buccaneer bombers, and Canberra bombers have been received in almost total silence by press and parliament alike. The discussion in the House of Commons on 31st October was unusually inadequate, for both opposition and government spokesmen were labouring under the delusion that the planes being sold to South Africa are fighters. But they are bombers.

Letter to Ministry

Attempting to find out more about the Buccaneer deal, *Peace News* wrote a letter to which the Ministry of Defence has replied.

"The possibility that some arms may be used for repression is taken into account," says the Ministry spokesman.

The full text reads:

I am directed to thank you for your letter of the 6th December

addressed to the Minister of Aviation which has been passed to this Ministry for reply.

It is not the practice of Her Majesty's Government to disclose details of defence equipment supplied to other governments. I can say, however, that it is the policy of H.M.G. to allow arms sales to countries with whom we are on friendly relations provided they are within their legitimate defence needs. All requests are scrutinized from the political as well as from the strategic and economic aspects before they are authorized. This applies to arms sales to South Africa and the added possibility that some arms may be used for harsh measures of repression is taken into account. But not all arms are used for repression.

Defence Requirements

In the past South Africa has relied considerably on the United Kingdom for defence requirements, and to cut off these supplies would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Moreover, it is considered important that South Africa should continue to co-operate with the United Kingdom in matters

of defence, particularly in the maintenance of the sea routes round the Cape. If South Africa is to keep her forces in an adequate state of efficiency she must obtain arms from abroad.

H.M.G. disapproval of the policy of apartheid has been made perfectly clear on many occasions. The possibility of influencing the emergence in that country of racial policies more in harmony with the present trend of world opinion and of the realities of human relationships will not, however, be enhanced by severing our contacts with her. This applies equally to the defence sphere as to others.

Several questions in the original letter from *Peace News* are left completely unanswered. *Peace News* asked whether the British government had vetoed any requests from South Africa for arms. It also asked what military justification H.M.G. considered there was for the bombers, and against what enemy they were intended to be used.

Finally it asked whether H.M.G. had ever asked for, or received, assurances that the Buccaneer bombers will not be used for internal repression.

Liberal Fined by Matanzima

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: In the tribal court of Chief Kaizer Matanzima at Qamata, on 1st February, a leading citizen of the Emigrant Tembuland region of the Transkei, Mr. Sopini Mgudlwa, was sentenced to a fine of R10 or 21 days for disobeying a summons to attend an inquiry held at Qumanco, St. Mark's District, on 25th January.

Contact understands that Mr. Mgudlwa was flown to Qamata by helicopter during the investigations that followed the 12th December skirmish between the Mobile Squad and about 200 men believed to be planning an attack on Chief Kaizer Matanzima.

Mr. Mgudlwa, who is a member of the Liberal Party, complained of his questioning and of certain allegations that were made about Liberal Party work. The inquiry of 25th January was to have considered Mr. Mgudlwa's complaint, but when the Chief's messenger came to Qumanco, Mr. Mgudlwa's home in the St. Mark's District, Mr. Mgudlwa alleges that he was not told that the inquiry concerned his complaint. For that reason, he did not attend.

Mr. Mgudlwa, who appeared with his brother Mr. H. Mgudlwa, has entered an appeal to have the case retried in the Magistrate's Court, Cofimvaba.

S. Rhodesia

"SABOTAGE ACT" AND MORE COLOUR BAR

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: The Southern Rhodesian parliament, with the White supremacist Rhodesian Front in power led by Mr. Winston Field, assembles on 12th February.

NYANDORO (left) and CHIKE-REMA (below) carried shoulder high by supporters when they arrived in Salisbury after being released from restriction at Gokwe.



The government is expected to adopt a tough policy concerning security, similar to the policy of the South African government, and to do its best to restore the colour bar in those spheres where it was abolished by the previous Whitehead government (cinemas, hotels, post offices, and perhaps worst of all, swimming baths).

Under tightened security laws (already in some instances as harsh as South Africa's) it will become a capital offence to throw petrol bombs or commit "sabotage".

Parliamentary Opposition

The parliamentary opposition consists, with the exception of one member, the Independent Dr. Arhn Palley, of Sir Edgar Whitehead's United Federal Party, itself responsible for introducing the present security laws. It will be interesting to see how the U.F.P. will react to the attempts to strengthen them—especially as many victims of petrol bomb attacks have been African members of the U.F.P. Will African U.F.P. members of parliament support the Rhodesian Front government as it tightens security measures?

Leaders Released

Six former leaders of the banned African National Congress were released from restriction last month by the Field government. They had been confined to a remote rural area for four years by Whitehead—without charge or trial. Among those released were two strong and determined African nationalists, Mr. George Nyandoro and Mr. Robert Chikerema. It is not certain what part the two men will play in the political struggle, but they are both followers of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, former leader of the banned Zimbabwe African

People's Union. It is not yet known whether the ban on ZAPU will be lifted by the new government.

Nkomo Meets Butler

During his visit to the Federation last week Mr. R. A. Butler, Britain's Minister for Central African Affairs had an hour-long meeting with Mr. Nkomo in Salisbury. It is considered significant that Mr. Butler saw Mr. Nkomo, a leader without an organization, but obviously regarded by the British government as the spokesman for his country's African majority. Mr. Nkomo was accompanied by former top ZAPU men such as Washington Malianga and Robert Mugabe; Robert Chikerema was also with him.

Mr. Nkomo demanded that:

- The ban on ZAPU be lifted.
- A fresh constitutional conference be called to discuss the transfer of power from the White minority to the majority.
- That the conference be followed by democratic elections.

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Doomed Suburb

By a Reporter

LADY SELBORNE, a suburb of Pretoria, is slowly dying as the Group Areas Act and other regulations compel its inhabitants to move to other parts.

Lady Selborne has been a predominantly African residential area since the late nineteenth century when President Paul Kruger gave freehold rights to people living there. Since that time a pleasant and well-ordered residential area has come into being, a community spirit grew up between the people of different races and tribes who lived there. Lady Selborne did not fit into the apartheid scheme, however, and it was declared a White group area last year.

Africans are having to move to one or other of the Pretoria locations (most of them to Ga Ranuka, a new location more than 20 miles from the city run on strict "ethnic group" lines) and people of other races to their respective Group Areas. In the process, freehold rights have been lost and are not to be had in the locations.

Ga Ranuka is the site of a "border" town, and those who have to go there will lose their right to work in Pretoria. Their labour will be required in the "border industries" which will be established at Ga Ranuka.

High School Down-graded

But many of the residents of Lady Selborne, reluctant to move, are digging in their heels and



A general view of Lady Selborne.

using every legal method to stay. The government's latest stratagem in making people move, to break people's will to resist, has been to down-grade the Lady Selborne High School. The school has been for many years one of the best in South Africa to which Africans could go, and has produced men of outstanding calibre (one of its best known "old boys" is Philip Kgosana who rose to fame for his part in the Pan-Africanist Congress anti-pass campaign in 1960). Its headmaster for some years was Mr. Bob Leshoai, the playwright and producer, now working with Union Artists.

When pupils returned to school last week they

were surprised to find that the matric classes had disappeared. The High School now only goes to Junior Certificate. Education Department authorities have stated that this was the wish of the people of Lady Selborne themselves but parents whom I interviewed were shocked at the de-grading of their old High School. Lady Selborne matric pupils must now attend school in Atteridgeville or Vlakfontein. This means a long walk to the buses (no buses run into Lady Selborne) and then into town to Pretoria station and from there a train out to either of the locations or, as in most cases, the expense of a taxi (10 cents each trip) into town, and then train fare.

Personal Files

IT has been widely noticed that Chief Kaizer Matanzima's speeches and statements contain traces of the language and way of thought of the Non-European Unity Movement. Chief Matanzima is said to have learnt his politics from Unity Movement members, or from members of the Cape African Teachers' Association, or the All-African Convention, constituent bodies of the N.E.U.M. which once wielded great influence in the Transkei. There should by rights be a noticeable change in these speeches, a new political force being present at Qamata, in the person of Mr. T. E. kaTshunungwa, ex-Cape Provincial Secretary of the A.N.C., 1955 Congress of the People official and Treason Trialist. But what has changed is Mr. Tshunungwa's own style, clearly to be seen in his widely publicized

attack on Mr. Hammington Majija and the Liberal Party in *Imvo, Umthunywa* and the Argus group newspapers. Despite Mr. Tshunungwa's long Congress career (briefly described here on 18th October 1962) during which he was an organizing-secretary of the historic Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955, and one of the Treason Trial accused, his own voice and views seem to have been obliterated by the familiar strains of Chief Matanzima's pro-apartheid line, with its obsessive anti-liberal kinks. Or it may be that Chief Matanzima writes Secretary Tshunungwa's statements for him, in reverse of the usual procedure. In any event, Mr. Tshunungwa would not have very great difficulty in writing in the correct Matanzima-N.E.U. Mesque manner, having himself been in that organization (he was president of the African Teachers' Association when principal of a primary school in the Transkei) before he took himself and his considerable talents (hard work among them) to the A.N.C., and thence to the pro-apartheid camp generalised by his fellow Emigrant Tembu, Chief Kaizer Matanzima.

Thembekile Enoch kaTshunungwa, aged 40, might be thought to be a forerunner into Matanzima's apartheid camp, a possible example to other frustrated politicians. But, despite his qualities of devotion to his cause-of-the-moment, and his preparedness for action (such as in the East London campaign against location lodgers' fees some years ago), Mr. kaTshunungwa's name does not inspire confidence, having been too long associated with band-wagons and winning horses.

AS THE PUBLICATIONS and Entertainments Bill is being debated before a three-quarters-empty House of Assembly, writers and editors throughout South Africa are having to face up to the possible ruin of South Africa's 180-year-old tradition of press and literary freedom. One of the glories of the free press is that it can give expression to the dissenting views of men and women who often have no other outlet for them. Without the expression of such views, and robbed of freedom of experiment when this may involve defiance of traditional morality, a society and a literature can lose its soul and die. This point was strongly taken by the novelist Jan Rabie in a statement to *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus*, with the extra dimension of the Afri-

kaner who sees his language in peril: "If there was ever a law which could kill not only our literature but also our language, it is this one. For that reason we must oppose it whatever the cost." Other Afrikaner writers have spoken strongly too: novelists like Frans Venter and W. A. de Klerk, the critic Dr. Rob. Antonissen, playwright Bartho Smit and others. *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus* printed their words on 27th January with commendable forthrightness. Perhaps it is understandable that these Afrikaner writers are more concerned with the Bill's literary than its political effects. If their books are suppressed by a board of control dominated by the kind of person whom Oliver Walker called Mrs. van der Grundy, they cannot be published elsewhere.

Writers in African languages have even less hope of overseas publication, but will nevertheless hardly be affected by the Bill, a strict censorship based on the narrow requirements of South African publishers having muzzled them almost as effectively as any law. So, to most non-Afrikaner freedom lovers the issue is a political one, and was most accurately stated by Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., in parliament: "The Bill is not aimed at suppressing smut, but at suppressing criticism of the government."

LAST year, that journal of Christian opinion, *Pro Veritate*, was mentioned here. Its 15th January issue shows no decline in its vigour or its courage. With internal censorship of books a fact from this week, one mourns for *Pro Veritate*, as one does for *Contact* itself or *Spark* or *The New African*. For does not the threat of censorship deter writers from writing as they should, however unafraid the editors may be? It is not impossible that *Pro Veritate* may itself suffer the penalties the Bill lays down for offenders who are not members of the Newspaper Press Union, and may be wiped out financially as a result. (It may belong to the N.P.U., though if its editorial board are also its proprietors, it cannot. The N.P.U. requires its members to represent newspapers owned by Whites, and *Pro Veritate* has a multi-racial editorial board, which includes Rev. E. E. Mahabane side by side with Prof. Dr. J. G. C. Kotze of Stellenbosch and Rev. C. F. B. Naudé, the Editor.)

By Jacob Bam

Definition of 'Undesirable'

THE following is the definition of "undesirable" in the Publications and Entertainments Bill, now before parliament. Section 5(2) reads:

A publication or object shall be deemed to be undesirable if it or any part of it—

- (a) is indecent or obscene or is offensive or harmful to public morals;
- (b) is blasphemous or is offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic;
- (c) brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt;
- (d) is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic;
- (e) is prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare or the peace and good order;
- (f) discloses, with reference to any judicial proceedings—
 - (i) any matter which is indecent or obscene or is offensive or harmful to public morals or any indecent or obscene medical, surgical or physiological details the disclosure of which is likely to be offensive or harmful to public morals;
 - (ii) for the dissolution or a declaration of nullity of marriage or for judicial separation or for restitution of conjugal rights, any particulars other than—
 - (aa) the names, addresses and occupations of the parties and witnesses;
 - (bb) a concise statement of the allegations, defences and counter-allegations in support of which evidence has been given;
 - (cc) submissions on any point of law arising in the course of the proceedings, and the decision of the court thereon;
 - (dd) the judgment and the verdict of the court and any observations made by the judge in giving judgment.

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ENGLAND

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE NEEDED

SIR,—It is evident that your correspondent, "Common Sense" (*Contact*, 24th January) is sadly lacking in common sense, as he is a supporter of the United Party.

For example, he states that "a Liberal Party government means Black rule, thus the Whites would never put the Liberals Party into power . . . we have got to find a solution by means of evolution, not revolution, and it would require a revolution to get the Liberal Party into power".

There are several fallacies in his argument.

Firstly, in terms of Liberal Party policy, all members of parliament will be democratically elected, i.e., by means of universal adult suffrage. Thus the colour of M.P.s will be irrelevant.

Secondly, with regard to "Common Sense's" point about a solution, I would like to say that the United Party does not offer a solution at all, since it stands for apartheid. Therefore the isolation of our country at UNO, the calls to boycott, the internal unrest, will continue. Neither will the U.P. be able to get South Africa back into the Commonwealth.

Is it possible that your correspondent

does not understand that the bane of our country is racialism, thus the solution is non-racialism—a policy to which only the Liberal Party is fully committed?

In any case, for a political Party to be able to offer a "solution" to a country's problems it must stand a fair chance of coming into power. Can "Common Sense" honestly tell us that the U.P., a Party virtually without a policy, a Party which provides such a half-hearted opposition to the Nats. can be regarded as a potential government?

Thirdly, he talks of a solution by means of "evolution, not revolution". However, as Mr. Chester Bowles has observed, a revolutionary situation has developed in South Africa. And a revolutionary situation requires a revolutionary change. Only a revolutionary change will satisfy the majority of South Africans, and it is only when we have government by the consent of the governed that South Africa will be able to move forward and attain its rightful place as a leader amongst the nations of Africa.

Thank heavens that the Liberal Party stands as a sound, well-organized political movement, fully equipped to lead South Africans on the road to non-racial democracy; to radical change without violence. It is now up to all those who hate apartheid but love freedom to give it their support, and to give it at once. The sooner people realize the urgent necessity for this, the better.

ALLAN GREENBLO,
Plumstead, Cape.

"Cluster of Gems"

SIR,—The heavens may not be all a cluster of stars, but the speech that Dr. Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, gave to the conference of freedom fighters in Accra on 4th June last was indeed a cluster of gems. Dr. Nkrumah's classic address covered all aspects of the titanic struggle in which the forces of African liberation to-day find themselves. These forces are locked in mortal combat with the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

On the perennial question of the use of violence in the liberation struggle, Dr. Nkrumah eloquently expressed the viewpoint of all freedom fighters when he proclaimed:

"We can endure the exasperation of protracted constitutional devices calculated to delay independence and sovereignty, we can even submit to the process of the piecemeal granting of freedom to us, accepting the ridiculous judgment of those who have set themselves up as umpires of our progress, and who invariably proclaim our unripeness for self-government. But we shall not tolerate the application of violence against us simply because we demand our freedom."

The 1962 conference of freedom fighters will go down as a decisive landmark in the African march towards total freedom and independence and towards the unity of Africa. The words with which Dr. Nkrumah closed the conference will echo through the corridors of time:

"Keep aloft, freedom fighters, keep aloft the fighting banner! Africa demands that we keep on fighting until victory is won. Now is the time to fight. Now is the time to win!"

TELLO MONGANGANE,
Teyateyaneng, Basutoland.

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

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

Looking-Glass Politics

SIR,—The article "Looking-Glass Politics" by T. V. R. Beard (*Contact*, 24th January) calls for comment.

To infer that there is no fundamental difference between Nationalist and United Party policies is misleading and harmful. A policy based on the fiction that our African people are not South African citizens is fundamentally different from a policy based on the fact that they are citizens. A return to United Party government would mean a beginning of the end of the many evils and dangers enumerated by Mr. Beard.

One wonders what the Liberal Party hopes to achieve by advocating universal franchise, with consequent Black rule, when it is known that the vast majority of the Whites would rather resort to arms than submit to such a drastic political change. We have got to arrive at a *modus operandi* for the successful and peaceful government of this multi-racial country, and that *modus operandi* cannot be based on either Black or White rule; it will have to be based on multi-racial rule. The most important thing is to maintain confidence in the stability of the country, allowing all citizens to share in the resulting prosperity, and then let the political solution evolve out of that national prosperity. This is the United Party way, and it is the only sane and safe way. Let me put a straightforward question to Liberal Party leaders. Would they go so far as to risk civil war in order to implement their policy? If not, how do they imagine their policy will ever be implemented?

V. G. DAVIES,
Camps Bay, Cape Town.

Trouble in Seretse's Party

SIR,—It may be unknown to Morena Seretse Khama that although members of the Democratic Party proclaim and allege that they are siding with the aims of their Party, there are bitter words about other sections of the African community from some members. These dissidents are encouraging the Bakalaka section to revolt against the Bamangwato and establish a chieftainship of their own.

These gentlemen allege that the Bamangwato are very proud of their land and envy people's business premises (an example, they allege, is that when a person leaves a place he is not allowed to sell the buildings he has erected at his own expense) and that consequently the Bamangwato chieftainship should be destroyed. Wonderfully enough, the people who say these things are supporters of the Democratic Party. According to the gospel they preach to the peaceful people of Bechuanaland, it would appear to me that they are doing the Democratic Party much harm, and in fact betraying Chief Seretse rather than supporting him.

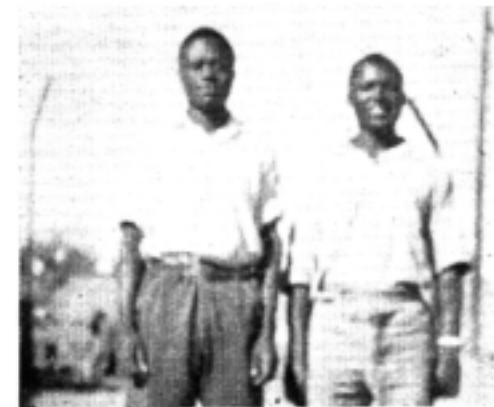
J. BAVELA,
Francistown.

PRIZE LETTER

TELL THE WHITES A FEW THINGS

SIR,—We want to tell the Whites of South West Africa a few things. Nothing can stand if our hands are not there to hold it. All hard work is done by us, and all hard treatment is continually upon our shoulders. If you do not believe this, visit the Ovambo contract labour compounds at Windhoek, Walvis Bay, Okahandja, Usakos, Lüderitz, Tsumeb or Grootfontein. In Grootfontein especially you will see how people lead a hard life.

Wherever hard work is, there the Ovambos are, especially on the railways and the mines. All the buildings here



in Windhoek were built with our labour, but we do not get good wages or good treatment. Sometimes we think we are not working for wages at all, they are so small.

A. SHATUKA (left in picture) and A. MBUMA, Windhoek.

"Liberals on the Fence"

SIR,—Thank you for your footnote to my letter in *Contact* (13th December, 1962), but I must tell you that I have withdrawn my support from the Liberal Party.

I have concluded that the Liberals are on the fence. I am now going to unite with my fellow oppressed Africans, for today the struggle is between master and servant. I am going to follow the same route as Dr. J. K. Nyerere: unite with the Africans alone during the struggle and co-operate with the Whites after freedom has been won.

I have every reason to withdraw my support from the Liberal Party. First and foremost, the Liberal Party is composed of people of different colours (Africans, Whites, Indians, Coloureds). All these people do not feel the oppressive laws the same. The Liberal White in fact can do no more than sympathize with the oppressed. If White Liberals felt the same oppression as the Africans, they would be thinking of nothing but positive action against oppression.

MICHAEL MATSOBANE,
Krugersdorp.

[Do you believe that it is possible to fight apartheid with apartheid? Liberals of all colours believe that apartheid is best fought with an organization which completely rejects apartheid, both in its own composition and in the kind of future it plans for South Africa.—EDITOR.]

WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS?

SIR,—I feel it is my duty to say a few words about things that are embarrassing the nation. I have been shocked by the large number of unemployed people amongst my fellow Swazis, especially from last year.

Some of these people were fired from such concerns as the Havelock Mine or the Mhlume Sugar Estates. These people were told that there were no more jobs for them, but strangely they were replaced by people from South Africa and from Mozambique. Now about half the Africans employed by these two companies come from outside Swaziland. Swazis are denied the chances, yet they are still expected to pay tax. Where on earth are they going to get the money from? Are they to steal and then be locked in jail?

I appeal to the National Council to bring these things to an immediate end. If no steps are taken, unnecessary trouble will emerge. I say this because I see many stranded people on the verge of making trouble because they have no jobs. Some of these people are young men from school who have been refused scholarships and bursaries to proceed with their studies. How are we to get educated people if they are refused these privileges?

Now the burning question is—what is the future of the Swazi workers? Is the working class to suffer the outrageous fortunes of life? It must be well remembered that Swazis are forbidden to enter Verwoerd's South Africa whereas Verwoerd's people enter our Swaziland in scores and get jobs.

Another example of how Swazi workers are neglected is shown by the British government's not inviting the workers' representatives to the constitutional talks now taking place in London. Are workers not affected by constitutional changes in Swaziland?

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SABATA AND THE TEMBUS STAND FIRM

By a Reporter

THE QUESTION being asked throughout South Africa for many months past, "Will Chief Sabata stand firm?", was answered with a clear "Yes!" as news of the Tembu Paramount Chief's meeting with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. De Wet Nel, came through on Saturday, 2nd February.

Contact understands that the original suggestion that this meeting take place was made by Mr. Hans Abraham, the Verwoerd government's "Commissioner General to the Xhosa National Unit", whom Chief Sabata saw after the fateful Transkeian Territorial Authority meeting of 11th-13th December last year. The Chief's attempts to put the Tembus' case for total rejection of the Transkei Bantustan were blocked at the beginning and end of this special session, held to enable the T.T.A. to discuss the Transkei Constitution Bill which had been prepared for parliament by government officials in Pretoria after meetings of the T.T.A.'s Recess Committee, held earlier in the year.

Meeting Cancelled

Chief Sabata was to have seen Mr. Nel in Cape Town on 17th January, an appointment Mr. Nel cancelled at the last minute, when all arrangements for the Chief's triumphal reception in Cape Town had been made. Eventually the date, 2nd February, was set down and the meeting place changed to Umtata. Government fears of the outcome of rushing the Bill through parliament when the country knew the Tembus' views had not been heard forced them to delay the Second Reading of the Bill, at which its principle would be accepted by par-

liament. Mr. Nel now faces the task of putting the Transkei Bantustan Bill through parliament in the knowledge that the Tembus are opposed to it in its entirety and that they have told him so through their Paramount Chief and twelve of his councillors.

Events of the day were:

- The procession of motor-cars that was to meet the Paramount Chief and his entourage at the entrance to Umtata and to drive with him to the meeting, was disbanded by order of the Umtata magistrate, Mr. Potgieter. A large number of steel-helmeted policemen was present and police activity had been noticeable all day.
- The meeting took place at "Abraham's Kraal" from 11.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. in the offices of Mr. Abraham, and was attended, on the government side by Mr. De Wet Nel, Mr. C. B. Young, Secretary for B.A.D., and Mr. V. Leibbrandt, Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, who arrived half-way through the proceedings.
- Among the Chief's councillors were two clergymen, one of whom, the Rev. Sol. Masela, welcomed the Minister on behalf of those present. There were many speakers and discussion of the Tembus' grievances with regard to the handling of the Bantustan plan was general.
- The specific request that Mr. De Wet Nel come and hear the views of the Tembus at a meeting at the Great Place, Bumbane, the following Saturday, 9th February, was not directly answered by the Minister, and this matter was left open.
- The Paramount Chief forcefully expressed the Tembus' rejection of

a apartheid self-government and repeated the demand that the Minister hear this from the Tembus themselves.

- Speaker after speaker repeated the complaint that their people's views had not been heard, and urged the Minister to hear the views of the Tembus direct.

Statement by Cape Town Representatives

The meeting over, Chief Sabata spoke briefly to his followers, and told them the outcome of the meeting: that the government proposals had not been accepted.

A further press statement was made by the party of four Cape Town men, representing the Tembu community of approximately 20,000 in the Cape Peninsula, who had held a series of large meetings in preparation for the Chief's expected visit to Cape Town. Their memorandum made two main points:

- It called on the government to hold a referendum to prove whether or not "Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo is representing the views of the minority of the people of South Africa" as the government maintains.
- It warned that "should the government enforce the Transkeian self-rule, the African people of South Africa will have no other choice but to take this matter to a higher court of the world".

Two of the Cape Town men, Messrs. Hudson Gila and Vulinyanga Mtirara, an uncle of the Paramount Chief, attended the meeting with Mr. De Wet Nel.

Bechuanaland

MYSTERIOUS LETTER PLANS "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY"

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: Copies of a mysterious letter have been circulating in Bechuanaland: the original is believed to have been addressed to Mr. Motsamai Mpho, former Secretary General of the Bechuanaland People's Party, and to have been written by a former "inner circle" member of the African National Congress now living in Lobatsi where the letter was posted. It is dated 6th December, 1962, and is signed "Comrade Joe".

The letter outlines vague plans for the achievement of a "glorious people's democracy" in Bechuanaland.

Meaningful parts of the letter read:

But do not let me delay in explaining that what really is of paramount importance, is not so much the campaign on the other side but for us to organize and co-ordinate such resources as would enable us to seize control immediately the opportunity presents itself. I presume that a man with your comprehension fully realizes that the word "constitutional" means nothing less than capitalistic dope. Such nonsense should

never be tolerated to retard the attainment of a people's democracy.

However, should we wish to succeed it will be necessary to exercise such diplomacy that our aims and objects are not revealed in advance. The proletariat should however always be aware that in the hour of decision they will be supported by the courageous forces who have already overthrown the yoke of the capitalistic blood suckers. So although making use of the £.s.d. and dollars of those western clique hypocrites, our comrades and the proletariat should know that they are merely paying a very low interest on what has been stolen from our forebears and that without socialism there never will be real freedom.

Although thus retaining the leadership of the B.P.P. never let slip any opportunity to promote in office only those comrades who are fully conversant with the aims and objects of International Socialism. Only then will it be possible to join hands with our comrades when D-Day comes and free our country from the claws of the Imperialists.

Your first goal should be to annihilate Matante and Motsete. You have

almost accomplished it already; a few more attacks aimed at their integrity may just have the desired effect. Once having discredited them with the people and the British government you will have to give your attention to Seretse. Although he is even more dangerous than the first mentioned it will not be advisable to attack them all at the same time.

Renegades like Seretse can never be tolerated in a free Africa. It will be in the interest of our cause to feed those gentlemen of the vultures. They are the real Empire stooges and will invariably seek alliance with Verwoerd should the winds of change not favour them.

You should really give your personal and earnest attention to these men. Your most militant Freedom Fighters should be assigned to dispose of them when the hour strikes. Those brats, they think they can disrupt the cause of history? I almost command that they should be disposed of simultaneously with those who may stand in the way of the achievement of our glorious people's democracy.

The letter then continues in Tswana.

Leballo's Call to African Youth

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: In a statement to Contact Mr. Potlako K. Leballo, former National Secretary of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, declares: "I pay tribute to African nationalism as the only invincible weapon in Africa for the total destruction of White domination, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

"The African nationalist youth is marching forward now as never before, and the African youth stands on the threshold of a new era, an era that bids the youth of this fatherland, the youth of the whole continent of Africa, take up its responsibilities to achieve first and foremost the political kingdom.

"The youth is committed to the destruction of White domination in this country without fear or favour. For those of other national groups who consider themselves Africans or are swimming in the same boat of savage oppression and human indignity, we offer the opportunity to help fashion the key to freedom, to a full and glorious life in a genuine non-racialistic African socialist democracy.

"On 21st March, 1960 the African people knocked at the door of history and 1963 is not only a year of destiny but it is a year of history. We are creating history uncreated. The African nationalist youth is now marching into a New Africa, a democratic Union of African States ruled on the basis of one man one vote.

"With the advent of the year 1963, the die is now cast for the last performance of African nationalism, and the whole civilized world is now awaiting the final gong of the last bell for a deadly knock-out-blow between invincible African nationalism and White settler domination with its supremacist savagery.

"We are taking the lead in 1963, and no doubt, we know for certain that everybody must follow as it was in 1960. We did not fail the African people in 1960 and we are not failing them in 1963. We live up to our promises because we are a tried African nationalist leadership.

"Finally the youth of a New Africa, if we do not meet before the greatest day of our lifetime, remember we are creating history, we are fighting for the greatest cause man has known — the total liberation of mankind. We have nothing to lose but a whole continent to regain.

"If some of us should be lost in this struggle, remember us in a free Africa and enter our names in the roll of African heroes. But we fight not to die, but to live so that we can build a clean, pure and lasting civilization among the nations of the world. We are now crossing our historical Rubicon and marching in unison with the rest of the continent through the glittering gates of a giant monolithic State of Africa — The Union of African States."